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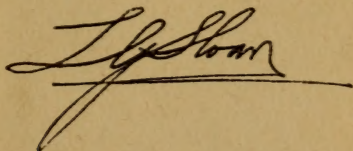
July 14-19, 1924.

My friend and associate, FRANK D. WATERMAN, New York, once said to me : " If Americans would read an authentic English History, a new view of the British people would be discovered, which would greatly tend to closer friendship between our two great countries."

Here, then, is a History of the English People, which I would ask you to accept as a souvenir of your visit to London. I trust that it may indeed be the means of strengthening the friendship between our two countries.

My thanks are due to Mrs. J. R. Green and Messrs. Macmillan & Co. for their co-operation.

Yours sincerely,

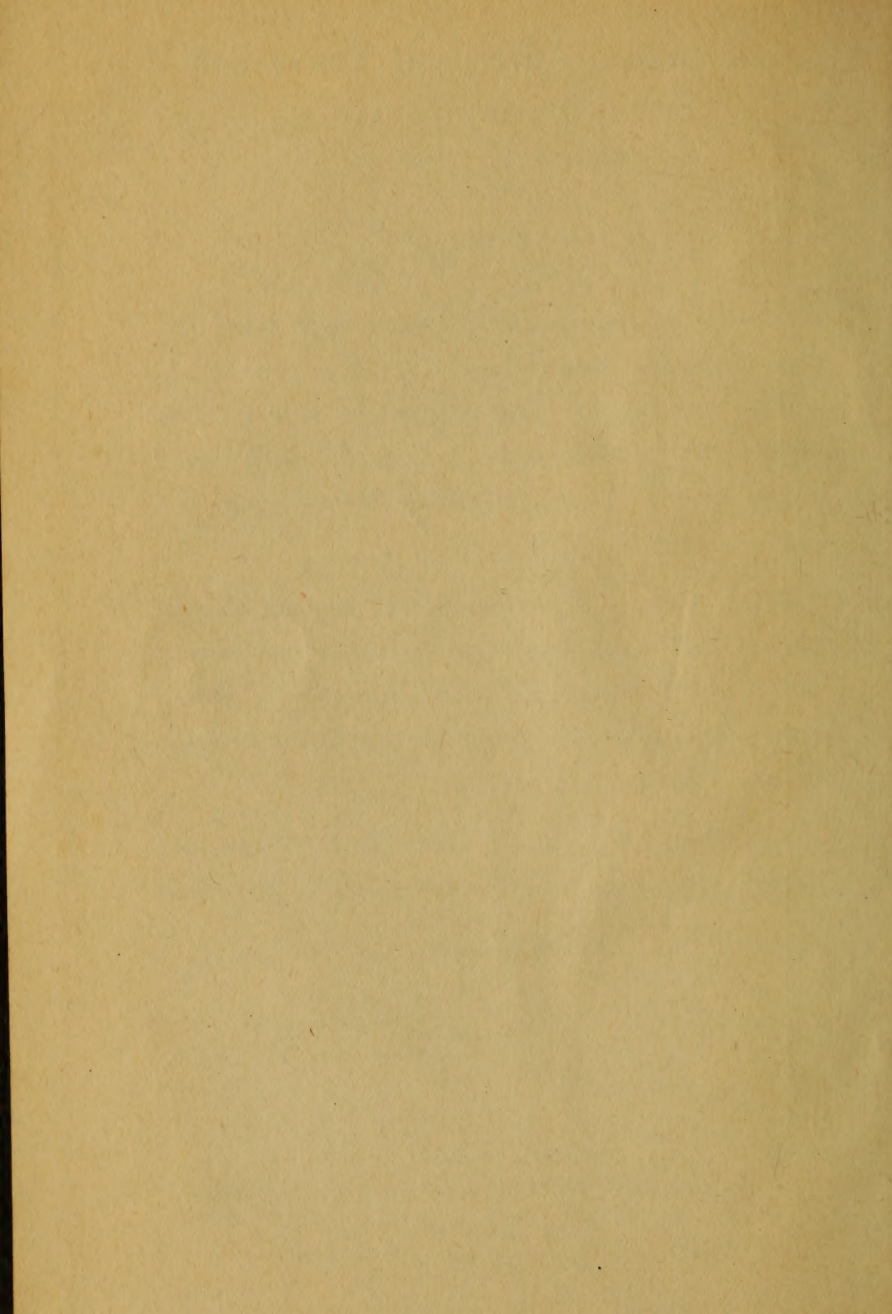


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A SHORT HISTORY
OF THE
ENGLISH PEOPLE

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A

SHORT HISTORY

OF THE

ENGLISH PEOPLE

BY

JOHN RICHARD GREEN

HONORARY FELLOW OF JESUS COLLEGE, OXFORD

REVISED AND ENLARGED, WITH EPILOGUE BY

ALICE STOPFORD GREEN

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WITH MAPS AND TABLES

MACMILLAN AND CO., LIMITED

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CHAPTER VIII.

*PURITAN ENGLAND.***Section I.—The Puritans, 1583—1603.**

[*Authorities.*—For the primary facts of the ecclesiastical history of this time, Strype's "Annals," and his lives of Grindal and Whitgift. Neal's "History of the Puritans," besides its inaccuracies, contains little for this period which is not taken from the more colourless Strype. For the origin of the Presbyterian movement, see the "Discourse of the Troubles at Frankfort, 1576," often republished; for its later contest with Elizabeth, Mr. Maskell's "Martin Marprelate," which gives copious extracts from the rare pamphlets printed under that name. Mr. Hallam's account of the whole struggle ("Constitutional History," caps. iv. and vii.) is admirable for its fulness, lucidity, and impartiality. Wallington's "Diary" gives us the common life of Puritanism; its higher side is shown in Mrs. Hutchinson's Memoirs of her husband, and in the early life of Milton, as told in Mr. Masson's biography.]

**The
Bible**

NO GREATER moral change ever passed over a nation than passed over England during the years which parted the middle of the reign of Elizabeth from the meeting of the Long Parliament. England became the people of a book, and that book was the Bible. It was as yet the one English book which was familiar to every Englishman; it was read at churches and read at home, and everywhere its words, as they fell on ears which custom had not deadened, kindled a startling enthusiasm. When Bishop Bonner set up the first six Bibles in St. Paul's "many well-disposed people used much to resort to the hearing thereof, especially when they could get any that had an audible voice to read to them." . . . "One John Porter used sometimes to be occupied in that goodly exercise, to the edifying of himself as well as others. This Porter was a fresh young man and of a big stature; and great multitudes would resort thither to hear him, because he could read well and had an audible voice." But the "goodly exercise" of readers such as Porter was soon superseded by the continued recitation of both Old Testament and New in the public services of the Church; while the small Geneva Bibles carried the Scripture into every home. The popularity of the Bible was owing to other causes besides that of religion. The whole prose literature of England, save the forgotten tracts of Wyclif, has grown up since the translation of the Scriptures by Tyndale and Coverdale. So far as the nation at large was concerned, no history, no romance, hardly any poetry, save the little-known verse

of Chaucer, existed in the English tongue when the Bible was ordered to be set up in churches. Sunday after Sunday, day after day, the crowds that gathered round Bonner's Bibles in the nave of St. Paul's, or the family group that hung on the words of the Geneva Bible in the devotional exercises at home, were leavened with a new literature. Legend and annal, war-song and psalm, State-roll and biography, the mighty voices of prophets, the parables of Evangelists, stories of mission journeys, of perils by the sea and among the heathen, philosophic arguments, apocalyptic visions, all were flung broadcast over minds unoccupied for the most part by any rival learning. The disclosure of the stores of Greek literature had wrought the revolution of the Renaissance. The disclosure of the older mass of Hebrew literature wrought the revolution of the Reformation. But the one revolution was far deeper and wider in its effects than the other. No version could transfer to another tongue the peculiar charm of language which gave their value to the authors of Greece and Rome. Classical letters, therefore, remained in the possession of the learned, that is, of the few; and among these, with the exception of Colet and More, or of the pedants who revived a Pagan worship in the gardens of the Florentine Academy, their direct influence was purely intellectual. But the tongue of the Hebrew, the idiom of the Hellenistic Greek, lent themselves with a curious felicity to the purposes of translation. As a mere literary monument, the English version of the Bible remains the noblest example of the English tongue, while its perpetual use made it from the instant of its appearance the standard of our language. For the moment however its literary effect was less than its social. The power of the book over the mass of Englishmen showed itself in a thousand superficial ways, and in none more conspicuously than in the influence it exerted on ordinary speech. It formed, we must repeat, the whole literature which was practically accessible to ordinary Englishmen; and when we recall the number of common phrases which we owe to great authors, the bits of Shakspeare, or Milton, or Dickens, or Thackeray, which unconsciously interweave themselves in our ordinary talk, we shall better understand the strange mosaic of Biblical words and phrases which coloured English talk two hundred years ago. The mass of picturesque allusion and illustration which we borrow from a thousand books, our fathers were forced to borrow from one; and the borrowing was the easier and the more natural that the range of the Hebrew literature fitted it for the expression of every phase of feeling. When Spenser poured forth his warmest love-notes in the "Epithalamion," he adopted the very words of the Psalmist, as he bade the gates open for the entrance of his bride. When Cromwell saw the mists break over the hills of Dunbar, he hailed the sun-burst with the cry of David: "Let God arise, and let his enemies be scattered. Like as the smoke vanisheth, so shalt thou

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drive them away!" Even to common minds this familiarity with grand poetic imagery in prophet and apocalypse gave a loftiness and ardour of expression, that with all its tendency to exaggeration and bombast we may prefer to the slipshod vulgarisms of to-day.

But far greater than its effect on literature or social phrase was the effect of the Bible on the character of the people at large. Elizabeth might silence or tune the pulpits; but it was impossible for her to silence or tune the great preachers of justice, and mercy, and truth, who spoke from the book which she had again opened for her people. The whole moral effect which is produced now-a-days by the religious newspaper, the tract, the essay, the lecture, the missionary report, the sermon, was then produced by the Bible alone; and its effect in this way, however dispassionately we examine it, was simply amazing. One dominant influence told on human action: and all the activities that had been called into life by the age that was passing away were seized, concentrated, and steadied to a definite aim by the spirit of religion. The whole temper of the nation felt the change. A new conception of life and of man superseded the old. A new moral and religious impulse spread through every class. Literature reflected the general tendency of the time; and the dumpy little quartos of controversy and piety, which still crowd our older libraries, drove before them the classical translations and Italian novelettes of the age of the Renaissance. "Theology rules there," said Grotius of England only two years after Elizabeth's death; and when Casaubon, the last of the great scholars of the sixteenth century, was invited to England by King James, he found both King and people indifferent to pure letters. "There is a great abundance of theologians in England," he says, "all point their studies in that direction." Even a country gentleman like Colonel Hutchinson felt the theological impulse. "As soon as he had improved his natural understanding with the acquisition of learning, the first studies he exercised himself in were the principles of religion." The whole nation became, in fact, a Church. The great problems of life and death, whose questionings found no answer in the higher minds of Shakspeare's day, pressed for an answer not only from noble and scholar but from farmer and shop-keeper in the age that followed him. We must not, indeed, picture the early Puritan as a gloomy fanatic. The religious movement had not as yet come into conflict with general culture. With the close of the Elizabethan age, indeed, the intellectual freedom which had marked it faded insensibly away; the bold philosophical speculations which Sidney had caught from Bruno, and which had brought on Marlowe and Raleigh the charge of atheism, died, like her own religious indifference, with the Queen. But the lighter and more elegant sides of the Elizabethan culture harmonized well enough with the temper of the Puritan gentleman. The figure of Colonel Hutchinson, one of the

Regicides, stands out from his wife's canvas with the grace and tenderness of a portrait by Vandyck. She dwells on the personal beauty which distinguished his youth, on "his teeth even and white as the purest ivory," "his hair of brown, very thickset in his youth, softer than the finest silk curling with loose great rings at the ends." Serious as was his temper in graver matters, the young squire of Owthorpe was fond of hawking, and piqued himself on his skill in dancing and fence. His artistic taste showed itself in a critical love of "paintings, sculpture, and all liberal arts," as well as in the pleasure he took in his gardens, "in the improvement of his grounds, in planting groves and walks and forest trees." If he was "diligent in his examination of the Scriptures," "he had a great love for music, and often diverted himself with a viol, on which he played masterly." We miss, indeed, the passion of the Elizabethan time, its caprice, its largeness of feeling and sympathy, its quick pulse of delight; but, on the other hand, life gained in moral grandeur, in a sense of the dignity of manhood, in orderliness and equable force. The temper of the Puritan gentleman was just, noble, and self-controlled. The larger geniality of the age that had passed away was replaced by an intense tenderness within the narrower circle of the home. "He was as kind a father," says Mrs. Hutchinson of her husband, "as dear a brother, as good a master, as faithful a friend as the world had." The wilful and lawless passion of the Renaissance made way for a manly purity. "Neither in youth nor riper years could the most fair or enticing woman ever draw him into unnecessary familiarity or dalliance. Wise and virtuous women he loved, and delighted in all pure and holy and unblameable conversation with them, but so as never to excite scandal or temptation. Scurrilous discourse even among men he abhorred; and though he sometimes took pleasure in wit and mirth, yet that which was mixed with impurity he never could endure." To the Puritan the wilfulness of life, in which the men of the Renaissance had revelled, seemed unworthy of life's character and end. His aim was to attain self-command, to be master of himself, of his thought and speech and acts. A certain gravity and reflectiveness gave its tone to the lightest details of his converse with the world about him. His temper, quick as it might naturally be, was kept under strict control. In his discourse he was ever on his guard against talkativeness or frivolity, striving to be deliberate in speech and "ranking the words beforehand." His life was orderly and methodical, sparing of diet and of self-indulgence; he rose early, "he never was at any time idle, and hated to see any one else so." The new sobriety and self-restraint marked itself even in his change of dress. The gorgeous colours and jewels of the Renaissance disappeared. Colonel Hutchinson "left off very early the wearing of anything that was costly, yet in his plainest negligent habit appeared very much a gentleman." The loss of colour and variety in costume

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reflected no doubt a certain loss of colour and variety in life itself; but it was a loss compensated by solid gains. Greatest among these, perhaps, was the new conception of social equality. Their common calling, their common brotherhood in Christ, annihilated in the mind of the Puritans that overpowering sense of social distinctions which characterized the age of Elizabeth. The meanest peasant felt himself ennobled as a child of God. The proudest noble recognized a spiritual equality in the poorest "saint." The great social revolution of the Civil Wars and the Protectorate was already felt in the demeanour of gentlemen like Hutchinson. "He had a loving and sweet courtesy to the poorest, and would often employ many spare hours with the commonest soldiers and poorest labourers." "He never disdained the meanest nor flattered the greatest." But it was felt even more in the new dignity and self-respect with which the consciousness of their "calling" invested the classes beneath the rank of the gentry. Take such a portrait as that which Nehemiah Wallington, a turner in East-cheap, has left us of a London housewife, his mother. "She was very loving," he says, "and obedient to her parents, loving and kind to her husband, very tender-hearted to her children, loving all that were godly, much misliking the wicked and profane. She was a pattern of sobriety unto many, very seldom was seen abroad except at church; when others recreated themselves at holidays and other times, she would take her needle-work and say, 'here is my recreation.' . . . God had given her a pregnant wit and an excellent memory. She was very ripe and perfect in all stories of the Bible, likewise in all the stories of the Martyrs, and could readily turn to them; she was also perfect and well seen in the English Chronicles, and in the descents of the Kings of England. She lived in holy wedlock with her husband twenty years, wanting but four days."

John
Milton

1608

The strength of the religious movement lay rather among the middle and professional classes than among the gentry; and it is in a Puritan of this class that we find the fullest and noblest expression of the new influence which was leavening the temper of the time. John Milton is not only the highest, but the completest type of Puritanism. His life is absolutely contemporaneous with his cause. He was born when it began to exercise a direct power over English politics and English religion; he died when its effort to mould them into its own shape was over, and when it had again sunk into one of many influences to which we owe our English character. His earlier verse, the pamphlets of his riper years, the epics of his age, mark with a singular precision the three great stages in its history. His youth shows us how much of the gaiety, the poetic ease, the intellectual culture of the Renaissance lingered in a Puritan home. Scrivener and "precisian" as his father was, he was a skilled musician; and the boy inherited his father's skill on lute and organ. One of the finest

outbursts in the scheme of education which he put forth at a later time is a passage in which he vindicates the province of music as an agent in moral training. His home, his tutor, his school were all rigidly Puritan ; but there was nothing narrow or illiberal in his early training. "My father," he says, "destined me while yet a little boy to the study of humane letters ; which I seized with such eagerness that from the twelfth year of my age I scarcely ever went from my lessons to bed before midnight." But to the Greek, Latin, and Hebrew he learnt at school, the scrivener advised him to add Italian and French. Nor were English letters neglected. Spenser gave the earliest turn to his poetic genius. In spite of the war between playwright and precisian, a Puritan youth could still in Milton's days avow his love of the stage, "if Jonson's learned sock be on, or sweetest Shakspeare, Fancy's child, warble his native woodnotes wild," and gather from the "masques and antique pageantry" of the court-revel hints for his own "Comus" and "Arcades." Nor does any shadow of the coming struggle with the Church disturb the young scholar's reverie, as he wanders beneath "the high embowed roof, with antique pillars massy proof, and storied windows richly dight, casting a dim religious light," or as he hears "the pealing organ blow to the full-voiced choir below, in service high and anthem clear." His enjoyment of the gaiety of life stands in bright contrast with the gloom and sternness which strife and persecution fostered in the later Puritanism. In spite of "a certain reservedness of natural disposition," which shrank from "festivities and jests, in which I acknowledge my faculty to be very slight," the young singer could still enjoy the "jest and youthful jollity" of the world around him, its "quips and cranks and wanton wiles ;" he could join the crew of Mirth, and look pleasantly on at the village fair, "where the jolly rebecks sound to many a youth and many a maid, dancing in the chequered shade." But his pleasures were "unreproved." There was nothing ascetic in his look, in his slender, vigorous frame, his face full of a delicate yet serious beauty, the rich brown hair which clustered over his brow : and the words we have quoted show his sensitive enjoyment of all that was beautiful. But from coarse or sensual self-indulgence the young Puritan turned with disgust : "A certain reservedness of nature, an honest haughtiness and self-esteem, kept me still above those low descents of mind." He drank in an ideal chivalry from Spenser, but his religion and purity disdained the outer pledge on which chivalry built up its fabric of honour. "Every free and gentle spirit," said Milton, "without that oath, ought to be born a knight." It was with this temper that he passed from his London school, St. Paul's, to Christ's College at Cambridge, and it was this temper that he preserved throughout his University career. He left Cambridge, as he said afterwards, "free from all reproach, and approved by all honest men," with a purpose of

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self-dedication "to that same lot, however mean or high, towards which time leads me, and the will of Heaven."

Even in the still calm beauty of a life such as this, we catch the sterner tones of the Puritan temper. The very height of its aim, the intensity of its moral concentration, brought with them a loss of the genial delight in all that was human which distinguished the men of the Renaissance. "If ever God instilled an intense love of moral beauty into the mind of any man," said Milton, "he has instilled it into mine." "Love Virtue," closed his "Comus," "she alone is free!" But this passionate love of virtue and of moral beauty, if it gave strength to human conduct, narrowed human sympathy and human intelligence. Already in Milton we note a certain "reservedness of temper," a contempt for "the false estimates of the vulgar," a proud retirement from the meaner and coarser life around him. Great as was his love for Shakspeare, we can hardly fancy him delighting in Falstaff. In minds of a less cultured order, this moral tension ended, no doubt, in a hard unsocial sternness of life. The ordinary Puritan "loved all that were godly, much misliking the wicked and profane." His bond to other men was not the sense of a common manhood, but the recognition of a brotherhood among the elect. Without the pale of the saints lay a world which was hateful to them, because it was the enemy of their God. It was this utter isolation from the "ungodly" that explains the contrast which startles us between the inner tenderness of the Puritans and the ruthlessness of so many of their actions. Cromwell, whose son's death (in his own words) went to his heart "like a dagger, indeed it did!" and who rode away sad and wearied from the triumph of Marston Moor, burst into horse-play as he signed the death-warrant of the King. A temper which had thus lost sympathy with the life of half the world around it could hardly sympathize with the whole of its own life. Humour, the faculty which above all corrects exaggeration and extravagance, died away before the new stress and strain of existence. The absolute devotion of the Puritan to a Supreme Will tended more and more to rob him of all sense of measure and proportion in common matters. Little things became great things in the glare of religious zeal; and the godly man learnt to shrink from a surplice, or a mince-pie at Christmas, as he shrank from impurity or a lie. Life became hard, rigid, colourless, as it became intense. The play, the geniality, the delight of the Elizabethan age were exchanged for a measured sobriety, seriousness, and self-restraint. But the self-restraint and sobriety which marked the Calvinist limited itself wholly to his outer life. In his inner soul sense, reason, judgement, were too often overborne by the terrible reality of invisible things. Our first glimpse of Oliver Cromwell is as a young country squire and farmer in the marsh levels around Huntingdon and St. Ives, buried from time to time in a deep melancholy, and haunted by fancies of coming death.

*Oliver
Cromwell*
b. 1599

"I live in Meshac," he writes to a friend, "which they say signifies Prolonging; in Kedar, which signifies Darkness; yet the Lord forsaketh me not." The vivid sense of a Divine Purity close to such men made the life of common men seem sin. "You know what my manner of life has been," Cromwell adds. "Oh, I lived in and loved darkness, and hated light. I hated godliness." Yet his worst sin was probably nothing more than an enjoyment of the natural buoyancy of youth, and a want of the deeper earnestness which comes with riper years. In imaginative tempers, like that of Bunyan, the struggle took a more picturesque form. John Bunyan was the son of a poor tinker at Elstow in Bedfordshire, and even in childhood his fancy revelled in terrible visions of Heaven and Hell. "When I was but a child of nine or ten years old," he tells us, "these things did so distress my soul, that then in the midst of my merry sports and childish vanities, amidst my vain companions, I was often much cast down and afflicted in my mind therewith; yet could I not let go my sins." The sins he could not let go were a love of hockey and of dancing on the village green; for the only real fault which his bitter self-accusation discloses, that of a habit of swearing, was put an end to at once and for ever by a rebuke from an old woman. His passion for bell-ringing clung to him even after he had broken from it as a "vain practice;" and he would go to the steeple-house and look on, till the thought that a bell might fall and crush him in his sins drove him panic-stricken from the door. A sermon against dancing and games drew him for a time from these indulgences; but the temptation again overmastered his resolve. "I shook the sermon out of my mind, and to my old custom of sports and gaming I returned with great delight. But the same day, as I was in the midst of a game of cat, and having struck it one blow from the hole, just as I was about to strike it the second time, a voice did suddenly dart from heaven into my soul, which said, 'Wilt thou leave thy sins and go to Heaven, or have thy sins and go to Hell?' At this I was put in an exceeding maze; wherefore, leaving my cat upon the ground, I looked up to heaven; and was as if I had with the eyes of my understanding seen the Lord Jesus looking down upon me, as being very hotly displeased with me, and as if He did severely threaten me with some grievous punishment for those and other ungodly practices."

Such was Puritanism, and it is of the highest importance to realize it thus in itself, in its greatness and its littleness, apart from the ecclesiastical system of Presbyterianism with which it is so often confounded. As we shall see in the course of our story, not one of the leading Puritans of the Long Parliament was a Presbyterian. Pym and Hampden had no sort of objection to Episcopacy, and the adoption of the Presbyterian system was only forced on the Puritan patriots in their later struggle by political considerations. But the

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*John
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growth of the movement, which thus influenced our history for a time, forms one of the most curious episodes in Elizabeth's reign. Her Church policy rested on the Acts of Supremacy and of Uniformity; the first of which placed all ecclesiastical jurisdiction and legislative power in the hands of the State, while the second prescribed a course of doctrine and discipline, from which no variation was legally permissible. For the nation at large Elizabeth's system was no doubt a wise and healthy one. Single-handed, unsupported by any of the statesmen or divines about her, the Queen forced on the warring religions a sort of armed truce. The main principles of the Reformation were accepted, but the zeal of the ultra-reformers was held at bay. The Bible was left open, private discussion was unrestrained, but the warfare of pulpit against pulpit was silenced by the licensing of preachers. Outer conformity, attendance at the common prayer, was exacted from all; but the changes in ritual, by which the zealots of Geneva gave prominence to the radical features of the religious change which was passing over the country, were steadily resisted. While England was struggling for existence, this balanced attitude of the Crown reflected faithfully enough the balanced attitude of the nation; but with the declaration of war by the Papacy in the Bull of Deposition the movement in favour of a more pronounced Protestantism gathered a new strength. Unhappily the Queen clung obstinately to her system of compromise, weakened and broken as it was. With the religious enthusiasm which was growing up around her she had no sympathy whatever. Her passion was for moderation, her aim was simply civil order; and both order and moderation were threatened by the knot of clerical bigots who gathered under the banner of Presbyterianism. Of these Thomas Cartwright was the chief. He had studied at Geneva; he returned with a fanatical faith in Calvinism, and in the system of Church government which Calvin had devised; and as Margaret Professor of Divinity at Cambridge he used to the full the opportunities which his chair gave him of propagating his opinions. No leader of a religious party ever deserved less of after sympathy than Cartwright. He was unquestionably learned and devout, but his bigotry was that of a mediæval inquisitor. The relics of the old ritual, the cross in baptism, the surplice, the giving of a ring in marriage, were to him not merely distasteful, as they were to the Puritans at large, they were idolatrous and the mark of the beast. His declamation against ceremonies and superstition however had little weight with Elizabeth or her Primates; what scared them was his reckless advocacy of a scheme of ecclesiastical government which placed the State beneath the feet of the Church. The absolute rule of bishops, indeed, he denounced as begotten of the devil; but the absolute rule of Presbyters he held to be established by the word of God. For the Church modelled after

the fashion of Geneva he claimed an authority which surpassed the wildest dreams of the masters of the Vatican. All spiritual authority and jurisdiction, the decreeing of doctrine, the ordering of ceremonies, lay wholly in the hands of the ministers of the Church. To them belonged the supervision of public morals. In an ordered arrangement of classes and synods these Presbyters were to govern their flocks, to regulate their own order, to decide in matters of faith, to administer "discipline." Their weapon was excommunication, and they were responsible for its use to none but Christ. The province of the civil ruler was simply to carry out the decisions of the Presbyters, "to see their decrees executed and to punish the contemners of them." The spirit of Calvinistic Presbyterianism excluded all toleration of practice or belief. Not only was the rule of ministers to be established as the one legal form of Church government, but all other forms, Episcopalian and Separatist, were to be ruthlessly put down. For heresy there was the punishment of death. Never had the doctrine of persecution been urged with such a blind and reckless ferocity. "I deny," wrote Cartwright, "that upon repentance there ought to follow any pardon of death. . . . Heretics ought to be put to death now. If this be bloody and extreme, I am content to be so counted with the Holy Ghost."

Opinions such as these might wisely have been left to the good sense of the people itself. Before many years they found in fact a crushing answer in the "Ecclesiastical Polity" of Richard Hooker, a clergyman who had been Master of the Temple, but whose distaste for the controversies of its pulpit drove him from London to a Wiltshire vicarage at Boscombe, which he exchanged at a later time for the parsonage of Bishopsbourne among the quiet meadows of Kent. The largeness of temper which characterized all the nobler minds of his day, the philosophic breadth which is seen as clearly in Shakspeare as in Bacon, was united in Hooker with a grandeur and stateliness of style, which raised him to the highest rank among English prose writers. Divine as he was, his spirit and method were philosophical rather than theological. Against the ecclesiastical dogmatism of Presbyterian or Catholic he set the authority of reason. He abandoned the narrow ground of Scriptural argument to base his conclusions on the general principles of moral and political science, on the eternal obligations of natural law. The Puritan system rested on the assumption that an immutable rule for human action in all matters relating to religion, to worship, and to the discipline and constitution of the Church, was laid down, and only laid down, in Scripture. Hooker urged that a Divine order exists, not in written revelation only, but in the moral relations, the historical developement, and the social and political institutions of men. He claimed for human reason the province of determining the laws of

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this order; of distinguishing between what is changeable and unchangeable in them, between what is eternal and what is temporary in the Bible itself. It was easy for him to push on to the field of theological controversy where men like Cartwright were fighting the battle of Presbyterianism, to show that no form of Church government had ever been of indispensable obligation, and that ritual observances had in all ages been left to the discretion of churches, and determined by the differences of times. But the truth on which Hooker based his argument was of far higher value than his argument itself; and the acknowledgement of a divine order in human history, of a divine law in human reason, which found expression in his work, harmonized with the noblest instincts of the Elizabethan age. Against Presbyterianism, indeed, the appeal was hardly needed. Popular as the Presbyterian system became in Scotland, it never took any general hold on England; it remained to the last a clerical rather than a national creed, and even in the moment of its seeming triumph under the Commonwealth it was rejected by every part of England save London and Lancashire, and part of Derbyshire. But the bold challenge to the Government which was delivered by Cartwright's party in a daring "Admonition to the Parliament," which demanded the establishment of government by Presbyters, raised a panic among English statesmen and prelates which cut off all hopes of a quiet appeal to reason. It is probable that, but for the storm which Cartwright raised, the steady growth of general discontent with the ceremonial usages he denounced would have brought about their abolition. The Parliament of 1571 had not only refused to bind the clergy to subscription to three articles on the Supremacy, the form of Church government, and the power of the Church to ordain rites and ceremonies, but favoured the project of reforming the Liturgy by the omission of the superstitious practices. But with the appearance of the "Admonition" this natural progress of opinion abruptly ceased. The moderate statesmen who had pressed for a change in ritual withdrew from union with a party which revived the worst pretensions of the Papacy. As dangers from without and from within thickened round the Queen the growing Puritanism of the clergy stirred her wrath above measure, and she met the growth of "nonconforming" ministers by a measure which forms the worst blot on her reign.

The new powers which were conferred in 1583 on the Ecclesiastical Commission converted the religious truce into a spiritual despotism. From being a temporary board which represented the Royal Supremacy in matters ecclesiastical, the Commission was now turned into a permanent body wielding the almost unlimited powers of the Crown. All opinions or acts contrary to the Statutes of Supremacy and Uniformity fell within its cognizance. A right of deprivation placed the clergy at

its mercy. It had power to alter or amend the statutes of colleges or schools. Not only heresy, and schism, and nonconformity, but incest or aggravated adultery were held to fall within its scope : its means of enquiry were left without limit, and it might fine or imprison at its will. By the mere establishment of such a Court half the work of the Reformation was undone. The large number of civilians on the board indeed seemed to furnish some security against the excess of ecclesiastical tyranny. Of its forty-four commissioners, however, few actually took any part in its proceedings ; and the powers of the Commission were practically left in the hands of the successive Primates. No Archbishop of Canterbury since the days of Augustine had wielded an authority so vast, so utterly despotic, as that of Whitgift and Bancroft and Abbot and Laud. The most terrible feature of their spiritual tyranny was its wholly personal character. The old symbols of doctrine were gone, and the lawyers had not yet stepped in to protect the clergy by defining the exact limits of the new. The result was that at the Commission-board at Lambeth the Primates created their own tests of doctrine with an utter indifference to those created by law. In one instance Parker deprived a vicar of his benefice for a denial of the verbal inspiration of the Bible. Nor did the successive Archbishops care greatly if the test was a varying or a conflicting one. Whitgift strove to force on the Church the Calvinistic supralapsarianism of his Lambeth Articles. Bancroft, who followed him, was as earnest in enforcing his anti-Calvinistic dogma of the Divine right of the episcopate. Abbot had no mercy for Arminianism. Laud had none for its opponents. It is no wonder that the Ecclesiastical Commission, which these men represented, soon stank in the nostrils of the English clergy. Its establishment however marked the adoption of a more resolute policy on the part of the Crown, and its efforts were backed by stern measures of repression. All preaching or reading in private houses was forbidden ; and in spite of the refusal of Parliament to enforce the requirement of them by law, subscription to the Three Articles was exacted from every member of the clergy.

For the moment these measures were crowned with success. The movement under Cartwright was checked ; Cartwright himself was driven from his Professorship ; and an outer uniformity of worship was more and more brought about by the steady pressure of the Commission. The old liberty which had been allowed in London and the other Protestant parts of the kingdom was no longer permitted to exist. The leading Puritan clergy, whose nonconformity had hitherto been winked at, were called upon to submit to the surplice, and to make the sign of the cross in baptism. The remonstrances of the country gentry availed as little as the protest of Lord Burleigh himself to protect two hundred of the best ministers from being driven from their parsonages on a refusal to subscribe to the Three Articles. But the persecution only gave fresh

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life and popularity to the doctrines which it aimed at crushing, by drawing together two currents of opinion which were in themselves perfectly distinct. The Presbyterian platform of Church discipline had as yet been embraced by the clergy only, and by few among the clergy. On the other hand, the wish of the Puritans for a reform in the Liturgy, the dislike of "superstitious usages," of the use of the surplice, the sign of the cross in baptism, the gift of the ring in marriage, the posture of kneeling at the Lord's Supper, was shared by a large number of the clergy and laity alike. At the opening of Elizabeth's reign almost all the higher Churchmen save Parker were opposed to them, and a motion in Convocation for their abolition was lost but by a single vote. The temper of the country gentlemen on this subject was indicated by that of Parliament; and it was well known that the wisest of the Queen's Councillors, Burleigh, Walsingham, and Knollys, were at one in this matter with the gentry. If their common persecution did not wholly succeed in fusing these two sections of religious opinion into one, it at any rate gained for the Presbyterians a general sympathy on the part of the Puritans, which raised them from a clerical clique into a popular party. Nor were the consequences of the persecution limited to the strengthening of the Presbyterians. The "Separatists" who were beginning to withdraw from attendance at public worship on the ground that the very existence of a national Church was contrary to the Word of God, grew quickly from a few scattered zealots to twenty thousand souls. Presbyterian and Puritan felt as bitter an abhorrence as Elizabeth herself of the "Brownists," as they were nicknamed after their founder Robert Brown. Parliament, Puritan as it was, passed a statute against them. Brown himself was forced to fly to the Netherlands, and of his followers many were driven into exile. So great a future awaited one of these congregations that we may pause to get a glimpse of "a poor people" in Lincolnshire and the neighbourhood, who "being enlightened by the Word of God," and their members "urged with the yoke of subscription," had been led "to see further." They rejected ceremonies as relics of idolatry, the rule of bishops as unscriptural, and joined themselves, "as the Lord's free people," into "a church estate on the fellowship of the Gospel." Feeling their way forward to the great principle of liberty of conscience, they asserted their Christian right "to walk in all the ways which God had made known or should make known to them." Their meetings or "conventicles" soon drew down the heavy hand of the law, and the little company resolved to seek a refuge in other lands; but their first attempt at flight was prevented, and when they made another, their wives and children were seized at the very moment of entering the ship. At last, however, the magistrates gave a contemptuous assent to their project; they were in fact "glad to be rid of them at any

price;" and the fugitives found shelter at Amsterdam, from whence some of them, choosing John Robinson as their minister, took refuge in 1609 at Leyden. "They knew they were pilgrims and looked not much on these things, but lifted up their eyes to Heaven, their dearest country, and quieted their spirits." Among this little band of exiles were those who were to become famous at a later time as the Pilgrim Fathers of the *Mayflower*.

It was easy to be "rid" of the Brownists; but the political danger of the course on which the Crown had entered was seen in the rise of a spirit of vigorous opposition, such as had not made its appearance since the accession of the Tudors. The growing power of public opinion received a striking recognition in the struggle which bears the name of the "Martin Marprelate controversy." The Puritans had from the first appealed by their pamphlets from the Crown to the people, and Whitgift bore witness to their influence on opinion by his efforts to gag the Press. The regulations of the Star-Chamber for this purpose are memorable as the first step in the long struggle of government after government to check the liberty of printing. The irregular censorship which had long existed was now finally organized. Printing was restricted to London and the two Universities, the number of printers reduced, and all candidates for licence to print were placed under the supervision of the Company of Stationers. Every publication too, great or small, had to receive the approbation of the Primate or the Bishop of London. The first result of this system of repression was the appearance, in the very year of the Armada, of a series of anonymous pamphlets bearing the significant name of "Martin Marprelate," and issued from a secret press which found refuge from the royal pursuivants in the country-houses of the gentry. The press was at last seized; and the suspected authors of these scurrilous libels, Penry, a young Welshman, and a minister named Udall, died, the one in prison, the other on the scaffold. But the virulence and boldness of their language produced a powerful effect, for it was impossible under the system of Elizabeth to "mar" the bishops without attacking the Crown; and a new age of political liberty was felt to be at hand when Martin Marprelate forced the political and ecclesiastical measures of the Government into the arena of public discussion. The suppression, indeed, of these pamphlets was far from damping the courage of the Presbyterians. Cartwright, who had been appointed by Lord Leicester to the mastership of an hospital at Warwick, was bold enough to organize his system of Church discipline among the clergy of that county and of Northamptonshire. His example was widely followed; and the general gatherings of the whole ministerial body of the clergy, and the smaller assemblies for each diocese or shire, which in the Presbyterian scheme bore the name of Synods and Classes, began to be held in many parts of England for

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the purposes of debate and consultation. The new organization was quickly suppressed indeed, but Cartwright was saved from the banishment which Whitgift demanded by a promise of submission; his influence steadily increased; and the struggle, transferred to the higher sphere of the Parliament, widened into the great contest for liberty under James, and the Civil War under his successor.

Section II.—The First of the Stuarts. 1604—1623.

[*Authorities.*—Mr. Gardiner's "History of England from the Accession of James I." is invaluable for its fairness and good sense, and for the fresh information collected in it. We have Camden's "Annals of James I.," Goodman's "Court of James I.," Weldon's "Secret History of the Court of James I.," Roger Coke's "Detection," the correspondence in the "Cabala," the letters in the "Court and Times of James I.," the documents in Winwood's "Memorials of State," and the reported proceedings of the last two Parliaments. The Camden Society has published the correspondence of James with Cecil, and Walter Yonge's "Diary." The letters and works of Bacon (fully edited by Mr. Spedding) are necessary for a knowledge of the period. Hacket's "Life of Williams," and Harrington's "Nugæ Antiquæ" throw valuable side-light on the politics of the time. But the Stuart system can only be fairly studied in the State-papers, calendars of which are being published by the Master of the Rolls.] [The State Papers are now carried on to 1644.—ED.]

The
Catholic
Reaction

To judge fairly the attitude and policy of the English Puritans, that is of three-fourths of the Protestants of England, at this moment, we must cursorily review the fortunes of Protestantism during the reign of Elizabeth. At its opening the success of the Reformation seemed almost everywhere secure. Already triumphant in the north of Germany at the peace of Augsburg, it was fast advancing to the conquest of the south. The nobles of Austria as well as the nobles and the towns of Bavaria were forsaking the older religion. A Venetian ambassador estimated the German Catholics at little more than one-tenth of the whole population of Germany. The new faith was firmly established in Scandinavia. Eastward the nobles of Hungary and Poland became Protestants in a mass. In the west France was yielding more and more to heresy. Scotland flung off Catholicism under Mary, and England veered round again to Protestantism under Elizabeth. Only where the dead hand of Spain lay heavy, in Castille, in Aragon, or in Italy, was the Reformation thoroughly crushed out; and even the dead hand of Spain failed to crush heresy in the Low Countries. But at the very instant of its seeming triumph, the advance of the new religion was suddenly arrested. The first twenty years of Elizabeth's reign were a period of suspense. The progress of Protestantism gradually ceased. It wasted its strength in theological controversies and persecutions, and in the bitter and venomous discussions between the Churches which followed Luther and the Churches which followed

Zwingli or Calvin. It was degraded and weakened by the prostitution of the Reformation to political ends, by the greed and worthlessness of the German princes who espoused its cause, by the factious lawlessness of the nobles in Poland, and of the Huguenots in France. Meanwhile the Papacy succeeded in rallying the Catholic world round the Council of Trent. The Roman Church, enfeebled and corrupted by the triumph of ages, felt at last the uses of adversity. Her faith was settled and defined. The Papacy was owned afresh as the centre of Catholic union. The enthusiasm of the Protestants roused a counter enthusiasm among their opponents; new religious orders rose to meet the wants of the day; the Capuchins became the preachers of Catholicism, the Jesuits became not only its preachers, but its directors, its schoolmasters, its missionaries, its diplomatists. Their organization, their blind obedience, their real ability, their fanatical zeal galvanized the pulpit, the school, the confessional into a new life. If the Protestants had enjoyed the profitable monopoly of martyrdom at the opening of the century, the Catholics won a fair share of it as soon as the disciples of Loyola came to the front. The tracts which pictured the tortures of Campian and Southwell roused much the same fire at Toledo or Vienna as the pages of Foxe had roused in England. Even learning came to the aid of the older faith. Bellarmine, the greatest of controversialists at this time, Baronius, the most erudite of Church historians, were both Catholics. With a growing inequality of strength such as this, we can hardly wonder that the tide was seen at last to turn. A few years before the fight with the Armada Catholicism began definitely to win ground. Southern Germany, where Bavaria was restored to Rome, and where the Austrian House so long lukewarm in the faith at last became zealots in its defence, was re-Catholicized. The success of Socinianism in Poland severed that kingdom from any real communion with the general body of the Protestant Churches; and these again were more and more divided into two warring camps by the controversies about the Sacrament and Free Will. Everywhere the Jesuits won converts, and their peaceful victories were soon backed by the arms of Spain. In the fierce struggle which followed, Philip was undoubtedly worsted. England was saved by its defeat of the Armada; the United Provinces of the Netherlands rose into a great Protestant power through their own dogged heroism and the genius of William the Silent. France was rescued from the grasp of the Catholic League, at a moment when all hope seemed gone, by the unconquerable energy of Henry of Navarre. But even in its defeat Catholicism gained ground. In the Low Countries, the Reformation was driven from the Walloon provinces, from Brabant, and from Flanders. In France Henry the Fourth found himself obliged to purchase Paris by a mass; and the conversion of the King was followed by a quiet breaking up of the Huguenot party. Nobles and scholars alike forsook Protest-

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antism ; and though the Reformation remained dominant south of the Loire, it lost all hope of winning France as a whole to its side.

At the death of Elizabeth, therefore, the temper of every earnest Protestant, whether in England or abroad, was that of a man who, after cherishing the hope of a crowning victory, is forced to look on at a crushing and irremediable defeat. The dream of a Reformation of the universal Church was utterly at an end. The borders of Protestantism were narrowing every day, nor was there a sign that the triumph of the Papacy was arrested. As hope after hope died into defeat and disaster, the mood of the Puritan grew sterner and more intolerant. What intensified the dread was a sense of defection and uncertainty within the pale of the Church of England itself. As a new Christendom fairly emerged from the troubled waters, the Renaissance again made its influence felt. Its voice was heard above all in the work of Hooker, and the appeal to reason and to humanity which there found expression coloured through its results the after history of the English Church. On the one hand the historical feeling showed itself in a longing to ally the religion of the present with the religion of the past, to claim part in the great heritage of Catholic tradition. Men like George Herbert started back from the bare, intense spiritualism of the Puritan to find nourishment for devotion in the outer associations which the piety of ages had grouped around it, in holy places and holy things, in the stillness of church and altar, in the awful mystery of sacraments. Men like Laud, unable to find standing ground in the purely personal relation between man and God which formed the basis of Calvinism, fell back on the consciousness of a living Christendom, which, torn and rent as it seemed, was soon to resume its ancient unity. On the other hand, the appeal which Hooker addressed to reason produced a school of philosophical thinkers whose timid upgrowth was almost lost in the clash of warring creeds about them, but who were destined—as the Latitudinarians of later days—to make a deep impression on religious thought. As yet however this rationalizing movement limited itself to the work of moderating and reconciling, to recognizing with Calixtus the pettiness of the points of difference which parted Christendom, and the greatness of its points of agreement, or to revolting with Arminius from the more extreme tenets of Calvin and Calvin's followers. No men could be more opposed in their tendencies to one another than the later High Churchmen, such as Laud, and the later Latitudinarians, such as Hales. But to the ordinary English Protestant both Latitudinarian and High Churchman were equally hateful. To him the struggle with the Papacy was not one for compromise or comprehension. It was a struggle between light and darkness, between life and death. No innovation in faith or worship was of small account, if it tended in the direction of Rome. Ceremonies, which in an hour of triumph might have been allowed as solaces to weak brethren he looked on as acts

of treason in this hour of defeat. The peril was too great to admit of tolerance or moderation. Now that falsehood was gaining ground, the only security for truth was to draw a hard and fast line between truth and falsehood. There was as yet indeed no general demand for any change in the form of Church government, or of its relation to the State, but for some change in the outer ritual of worship which should correspond to the advance which had been made to a more pronounced Protestantism. We see the Puritan temper in the Millenary Petition (as it was called), which was presented to James the First on his accession by some eight hundred clergymen, about a tenth of the whole number in his realm. It asked for no change in the government or organization of the Church, but for a reform of its courts, the removal of superstitious usages from the Book of Common Prayer, the disuse of lessons from the apocryphal books of Scripture, a more rigorous observance of Sundays, and the provision and training of preaching ministers. Even statesmen who had little sympathy with the religious spirit about them pleaded for the purchase of religious and national union by ecclesiastical reforms. "Why," asked Bacon, "should the civil state be purged and restored by good and wholesome laws made every three years in Parliament assembled, devising remedies as fast as time breedeth mischief, and contrariwise the ecclesiastical state still continue upon the dregs of time, and receive no alteration these forty-five years or more?" A general expectation, in fact, prevailed that, now the Queen's opposition was removed, something would be done. But, different as his theological temper was from the purely secular temper of Elizabeth, her successor was equally resolute against all changes in Church matters.

No sovereign could have jarred against the conception of an English ruler which had grown up under Plantagenet or Tudor more utterly than James the First. His big head, his slobbering tongue, his quilted clothes, his rickety legs, stood out in as grotesque a contrast with all that men recalled of Henry or Elizabeth as his gabble and rhodomontade, his want of personal dignity, his buffoonery, his coarseness of speech, his pedantry, his contemptible cowardice. Under this ridiculous exterior however lay a man of much natural ability, a ripe scholar, with a considerable fund of shrewdness, of mother-wit, and ready repartee. His canny humour lights up the political and theological controversies of the time with quaint incisive phrases, with puns and epigrams and touches of irony, which still retain their savour. His reading, especially in theological matters, was extensive; and he was a voluminous author on subjects which ranged from predestination to tobacco. But his shrewdness and learning only left him, in the phrase of Henry the Fourth, "the wisest fool in Christendom." He had the temper of a pedant, a pedant's conceit, a pedant's love of theories, and a pedant's inability to bring his theories into any relation with actual facts.

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All might have gone well had he confined himself to speculations about witchcraft, about predestination, about the noxiousness of smoking. Unhappily for England and for his successor, he clung yet more passionately to theories of government which contained within them the seeds of a death-struggle between his people and the Crown. Even before his accession to the English throne, he had formulated his theory of rule in a work on "The True Law of Free Monarchy;" and announced that, "although a good King will frame his actions to be according to law, yet he is not bound thereto, but of his own will and for example-giving to his subjects." With the Tudor statesmen who used the phrase, "an absolute King," or "an absolute monarchy," meant a sovereign or rule complete in themselves, and independent of all foreign or Papal interference. James chose to regard the words as implying the monarch's freedom from all control by law, or from responsibility to anything but his own royal will. The King's theory however was made a system of government; it was soon, as the Divine Right of Kings, to become a doctrine which bishops preached from the pulpit, and for which brave men laid their heads on the block. The Church was quick to adopt its sovereign's discovery. Convocation in its book of Canons denounced as a fatal error the assertion that "all civil power, jurisdiction, and authority were first derived from the people and disordered multitude, or either is originally still in them, or else is deduced by their consent naturally from them; and is not God's ordinance originally descending from Him and depending upon Him." In strict accordance with James's theory, these doctors declared sovereignty in its origin to be the prerogative of birthright, and inculcated passive obedience to the monarch as a religious obligation. Cowell, a civilian, followed up the discoveries of Convocation by an announcement that "the King is above the law by his absolute power," and that "notwithstanding his oath he may alter and suspend any particular law that seemeth hurtful to the public estate." The book was suppressed on the remonstrance of the House of Commons, but the party of passive obedience grew fast. A few years before the death of James, the University of Oxford decreed solemnly that "it was in no case lawful for subjects to make use of force against their princes, or to appear offensively or defensively in the field against them." The King's "arrogant speeches," if they roused resentment in the Parliaments to which they were addressed, created by sheer force of repetition a certain belief in the arbitrary power they challenged for the Crown. We may give one instance of their tone from a speech delivered in the Star-Chamber. "As it is atheism and blasphemy to dispute what God can do," said James, "so it is presumption and a high contempt in a subject to dispute what a King can do, or to say that a King cannot do this or that." "If the practice should follow the positions," once commented a thoughtful observer on words such as

these, "we are not likely to leave to our successors that freedom we received from our forefathers."

It is necessary to weigh throughout the course of James's reign this aggressive attitude of the Crown, if we would rightly judge what seems at first sight to be an aggressive tone in some of the proceedings of the Parliaments. With new claims of power such as these before them, to have stood still would have been ruin. The claim, too, was one which jarred against all that was noblest in the temper of the time. Men were everywhere reaching forward to the conception of law. Bacon sought for law in material nature; Hooker asserted the rule of law over the spiritual world. The temper of the Puritan was eminently a temper of law. The diligence with which he searched the Scriptures sprang from his earnestness to discover a Divine Will which in all things, great or small, he might implicitly obey. But this implicit obedience was reserved for the Divine Will alone; for human ordinances derived their strength only from their correspondence with the revealed law of God. The Puritan was bound by his very religion to examine every claim made on his civil and spiritual obedience by the powers that be; and to own or reject the claim, as it accorded with the higher duty which he owed to God. "In matters of faith," Mrs. Hutchinson tells us of her husband, "his reason always submitted to the Word of God; but in all other things the greatest names in the world would not lead him without reason." It was plain that an impassable gulf parted such a temper as this from the temper of unquestioning devotion to the Crown which James demanded. It was a temper not only legal, but even pedantic in its legality, intolerant from its very sense of a moral order and law of the lawlessness and disorder of a personal tyranny; a temper of criticism, of judgement, and, if need be, of stubborn and unconquerable resistance; of a resistance which sprang, not from the disdain of authority, but from the Puritan's devotion to an authority higher than that of kings. But if the theory of a Divine Right of Kings was certain to rouse against it all the nobler energies of Puritanism, there was something which roused its nobler and its pettier instincts of resistance alike in the place accorded by James to Bishops. Elizabeth's conception of her ecclesiastical Supremacy had been a sore stumbling-block to her subjects, but Elizabeth at least regarded the Supremacy simply as a branch of her ordinary prerogative. The theory of James, however, was as different from that of Elizabeth, as his view of kingship was different from hers. It was the outcome of the bitter years of humiliation which he had endured in Scotland in his struggle with Presbyterianism. The Scotch presbyters had insulted and frightened him in the early days of his reign, and he chose to confound Puritanism with Presbyterianism. No prejudice, however, was really required to suggest his course. In itself it was logical, and consistent with the premisses from which it

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started. If theologically his opinions were Calvinistic, in the ecclesiastical fabric of Calvinism, in its organization of the Church, in its annual assemblies, in its public discussion and criticism of acts of government through the pulpit, he saw an organized democracy which threatened his crown. The new force which had overthrown episcopacy in Scotland, was a force which might overthrow the monarchy itself. It was the people which in its religious or its political guise was the assailant of both. And as their foe was the same, so James argued with the shrewd short-sightedness of his race, their cause was the same. "No bishop," ran his famous adage, "no King!" Hopes of ecclesiastical change found no echo in a King who, among all the charms that England presented him, saw none so attractive as its ordered and obedient Church, its synods that met at the royal will, its courts that carried out the royal ordinances, its bishops that held themselves to be royal officers. If he accepted the Millenary Petition, and summoned a conference of prelates and Puritan divines at Hampton Court, he showed no purpose of discussing the grievances alleged. He revelled in the opportunity for a display of his theological reading; but he viewed the Puritan demands in a purely political light. The bishops declared that the insults he showered on their opponents were dictated by the Holy Ghost. The Puritans still ventured to dispute his infallibility. James broke up the conference with a threat which revealed the policy of the Crown. "I will make them conform," he said of the remonstrants, "or I will harry them out of the land."

It is only by thoroughly realizing the temper of the nation on religious and civil subjects, and the temper of the King, that we can understand the long Parliamentary conflict which occupied the whole of James's reign. But to make its details intelligible we must briefly review the relations between the two Houses and the Crown. The wary prescience of Wolsey had seen in Parliament, even in its degradation under the Tudors, the memorial of an older freedom, and a centre of national resistance to the new despotism which Henry was establishing, should the nation ever rouse itself to resist. Never perhaps was English liberty in such deadly peril as when Wolsey resolved on the practical suppression of the two Houses. But the bolder genius of Cromwell set aside the traditions of the New Monarchy. His confidence in the power of the Crown revived the Parliament as an easy and manageable instrument of tyranny. The old forms of constitutional freedom were turned to the profit of the royal despotism, and a revolution which for the moment left England absolutely at Henry's feet was wrought out by a series of parliamentary statutes. Throughout Henry's reign Cromwell's confidence was justified by the spirit of slavish submission which pervaded the Houses. But the effect of the religious change for which his measures made room began to be felt during the minority of Edward the Sixth; and

the debates and divisions on the religious reaction which Mary pressed on the Parliament were many and violent. A great step forward was marked by the effort of the Crown to neutralize by "management" an opposition which it could no longer overawe. The Parliaments were packed with nominees of the Crown. Twenty-two new boroughs were created under Edward, fourteen under Mary; some, indeed, places entitled to representation by their wealth and population, but the bulk of them small towns or hamlets which lay wholly at the disposal of the royal Council. Elizabeth adopted the system of her two predecessors, both in the creation of boroughs and the recommendation of candidates; but her keen political instinct soon perceived the uselessness of both expedients. She fell back as far as she could on Wolsey's policy of practical abolition, and summoned Parliaments at longer and longer intervals. By rigid economy, by a policy of balance and peace, she strove, and for a long time successfully strove, to avoid the necessity of assembling them at all. But Mary of Scotland and Philip of Spain proved friends to English liberty in its sorest need. The struggle with Catholicism forced Elizabeth to have more frequent recourse to her Parliament, and as she was driven to appeal for increasing supplies the tone of the Houses rose higher and higher. On the question of taxation or monopolies her fierce spirit was forced to give way to their demands. On the question of religion she refused all concession, and England was driven to await a change of system from her successor. But it is clear, from the earlier acts of his reign, that James was preparing for a struggle with the Houses rather than for a policy of concession. During the Queen's reign, the power of Parliament had sprung mainly from the continuance of the war, and from the necessity under which the Crown lay of appealing to it for supplies. It is fair to the war party in Elizabeth's Council to remember that they were fighting, not merely for Protestantism abroad, but for constitutional liberty at home. When Essex overrode Burleigh's counsels of peace, the old minister pointed to the words of the Bible, "a bloodthirsty man shall not live out half his days." But Essex and his friends had nobler motives for their policy of war than a thirst for blood; as James had other motives for his policy of peace than a hatred of bloodshedding. The peace which he hastened to conclude with Spain was necessary to establish the security of his throne by depriving the Catholics, who alone questioned his title, of foreign aid. With the same object of averting a Catholic rising, he relaxed the penal laws against Catholics, and released recusants from payment of fines. But however justifiable such steps might be, the sterner Protestants heard angrily of negotiations with Spain and with the Papacy which seemed to show a withdrawal from the struggle with Catholicism at home and abroad.

The Parliament of 1604 met in another mood from that of any

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Parliament which had met for a hundred years. Short as had been the time since his accession, the temper of the King had already disclosed itself; and men were dwelling ominously on the claims of absolutism in Church and State which were constantly on his lips. Above all, the hopes of religious concessions to which the Puritans had clung had been dashed to the ground in the Hampton Court Conference; and of the squires and merchants who thronged the benches at Westminster three-fourths were in sympathy Puritan. They listened with coldness and suspicion to the proposals of the King for the union of England and Scotland under the name of Great Britain. What the House was really set on was religious reform. The first step of the Commons was to name a committee to frame bills for the redress of the more crying ecclesiastical grievances; and the rejection of the measures they proposed was at once followed by an outspoken address to the King. The Parliament, it said, had come together in a spirit of peace: "Our desires were of peace only, and our device of unity." Their aim had been to put an end to the long-standing dissension among the ministers, and to preserve uniformity by the abandonment of "a few ceremonies of small importance," by the redress of some ecclesiastical abuses, and by the establishment of an efficient training for a preaching clergy. If they had waived their right to deal with these matters during the old age of Elizabeth, they asserted it now. "Let your Majesty be pleased to receive public information from your Commons in Parliament, as well of the abuses in the Church, as in the civil state and government." The claim of absolutism was met in words which sound like a prelude to the Petition of Right. "Your Majesty would be misinformed," said the address, "if any man should deliver that the Kings of England have any absolute power in themselves either to alter religion, or to make any laws concerning the same, otherwise than as in temporal causes, by consent of Parliament." The address was met by a petulant scolding from James, and the Houses were adjourned. The support of the Crown emboldened the bishops to a fresh defiance of the Puritan pressure. The act of Elizabeth which sanctioned the Thirty-nine Articles compelled ministers to subscribe only to those which concerned the faith and the sacraments; but the Convocation of 1604 by its canons required subscription to the articles touching rites and ceremonies. The new archbishop, Bancroft, added a requirement of rigid conformity with the rubrics on the part of all beneficed clergymen. In the following spring three hundred of the Puritan clergy were driven from their livings for a refusal to comply with these demands.

**The Gun-
powder
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The breach with the Puritans was followed by a breach with the Catholics. The increase in their numbers since the remission of fines had spread a general panic; and Parliament had re-enacted the penal laws. A rumour of his own conversion so angered the King that these

were now put in force with even more severity than of old. The despair of the Catholics gave fresh life to a conspiracy which had long been ripening. Hopeless of aid from abroad, or of success in an open rising at home, a small knot of desperate men, with Robert Catesby, who had taken part in the rising of Essex, at their head, resolved to destroy at a blow both King and Parliament. Barrels of powder were placed in a cellar beneath the Parliament House; and while waiting for the fifth of November, when the Parliament was summoned to meet, the plans of the little group widened into a formidable conspiracy. Catholics of greater fortune, such as Sir Everard Digby and Francis Tresham, were admitted to their confidence, and supplied money for the larger projects they designed. Arms were bought in Flanders, horses were held in readiness, a meeting of Catholic gentlemen was brought about under show of a hunting party to serve as the beginning of a rising. The destruction of the King was to be followed by the seizure of his children and an open revolt, in which aid might be called for from the Spaniards in Flanders. Wonderful as was the secrecy with which the plot was concealed, the family affection of Tresham at the last moment gave a clue to it by a letter to Lord Monteagle, his relative, which warned him to absent himself from the Parliament on the fatal day; and further information brought about the discovery of the cellar and of Guido Fawkes, a soldier of fortune, who was charged with the custody of it. The hunting party broke up in despair, the conspirators were chased from county to county, and either killed or sent to the block, and Garnet, the Provincial of the English Jesuits, was brought to trial and executed. He had shrunk from all part in the plot, but its existence had been made known to him by another Jesuit, Greenway, and horror-stricken as he represented himself to have been he had kept the secret and left the Parliament to its doom.

Parliament was drawn closer to the King by deliverance from a common peril, and when the Houses met in 1606 the Commons were willing to vote a sum large enough to pay the debt left by Elizabeth after the war. But the prodigality of James was fast raising his peace expenditure to the level of the war expenditure of Elizabeth; and he was driven by the needs of his treasury, and the desire to free himself from Parliamentary control, to seek new sources of revenue. His first great innovation was the imposition of customs duties. It had long been declared illegal for the Crown to levy any duties ungranted by Parliament save those on wool, leather, and tin. A duty on imports indeed had been imposed in one or two instances by Mary, and this impost had been extended by Elizabeth to currants and wine; but these instances were too trivial and exceptional to break in upon the general usage. A more dangerous precedent lay in the duties which the great trading companies, such as those to the Levant and to the Indies, exacted from merchants, in exchange—as was held—for the protection they

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afforded them in far-off seas. The Levant Company was now dissolved, and James seized on the duties it had levied as lapsing to the Crown. Parliament protested in vain. James cared quite as much to assert his absolute authority as to fill his treasury. A case therefore was brought before the Exchequer Chamber, and the judgement of the Court asserted the King's right to levy what customs duties he would at his pleasure. "All customs," said the Judges, "are the effects of foreign commerce, but all affairs of commerce and treaties with foreign nations belong to the King's absolute power. He therefore, who has power over the cause, has power over the effect." The importance of a decision which would go far to free the Crown from the necessity of resorting to Parliament was seen keenly enough by James. English commerce was growing fast, and English merchants were fighting their way to the Spice Islands, and establishing settlements in the dominions of the Mogul. The judgement gave James a revenue which was sure to grow rapidly, and the needs of his treasury forced him to action. After two years' hesitation a royal proclamation imposed a system of customs duties on many articles of export and import. But if the new impositions came in fast, the royal debt grew faster. Every year the expenditure of James reached a higher level, and necessity forced on the King a fresh assembling of Parliament. The "great contract" drawn up by Cecil, now Earl of Salisbury, proposed that James should waive certain oppressive feudal rights, such as those of wardship and marriage, and the right of purveyance, on condition that the Commons raised the royal revenue by a sum of two hundred thousand a year. The bargain failed however before the distrust of the Commons: and the King's demand for a grant to pay off the royal debt was met by a petition of grievances. They had jealously watched the new character given by James to royal proclamations, by which he created new offences, imposed new penalties, and called offenders before courts which had no legal jurisdiction over them. The province of the spiritual courts had been as busily enlarged. It was in vain that the judges, spurred no doubt by the old jealousy between civil and ecclesiastical lawyers, entertained appeals against the High Commission, and strove by a series of decisions to set bounds to its limitless claims of jurisdiction, or to restrict its powers of imprisonment to cases of schism and heresy. The judges were powerless against the Crown; and James was vehement in his support of courts which were closely bound up with his own prerogative. Were the treasury once full no means remained of redressing these evils. Nor were the Commons willing to pass over silently the illegalities of the past years. James forbade them to enter on the subject of the new duties, but their remonstrance was none the less vigorous. "Finding that your Majesty without advice or counsel of Parliament hath lately in time of peace set both greater impositions and more in number than any of your noble ancestors did ever in time of war," they prayed

"that all impositions set without the assent of Parliament may be quite abolished and taken away," and that "a law be made to declare that all impositions set upon your people, their goods or merchandise, save only by common consent in Parliament, are and shall be void." As to Church grievances their demands were in the same spirit. They prayed that the deposed ministers might be suffered to preach, and that the jurisdiction of the High Commission should be regulated by statute; in other words, that ecclesiastical like financial matters should be taken out of the sphere of the prerogative and be owned as lying henceforth within the cognizance of Parliament. Whatever concessions James might offer on other subjects, he would allow no interference with his ecclesiastical prerogative; the Parliament was dissolved, and three years passed before the financial straits of the Government forced James to face the two Houses again. But the spirit of resistance was now fairly roused. Never had an election stirred so much popular passion as that of 1614. In every case where rejection was possible, the court candidates were rejected. All the leading members of the popular party, or as we should now call it, the Opposition, were again returned. But three hundred of the members were wholly new men; and among these we note for the first time the names of two leaders in the later struggle with the Crown. Yorkshire returned Thomas Wentworth; St. Germans, John Eliot. Signs of an unprecedented excitement were seen in the vehement cheering and hissing which for the first time marked the proceedings of the Commons. But the policy of the Parliament was precisely the same as that of its predecessors. It refused to grant supplies till it had considered public grievances, and it fixed on the impositions and the abuses of the Church as the first to be redressed. Unluckily the inexperience of the bulk of the House of Commons led it into quarrelling on a point of privilege with the Lords; and the King, who had been frightened beyond his wont at the vehemence of their tone and language, seized on the quarrel as a pretext for their dissolution.

Four of the leading members in the dissolved Parliament were sent to the Tower; and the terror and resentment which it had roused in the King's mind were seen in the obstinacy with which he long persisted in governing without any Parliament at all. For seven years he carried out with a blind recklessness his theory of an absolute rule, unfettered by any scruples as to the past, or any dread of the future. All the abuses which Parliament after Parliament had denounced were not only continued, but carried to a greater extent than before. The spiritual courts were encouraged in fresh encroachments. Though the Crown lawyers admitted the illegality of proclamations they were issued in greater numbers than ever. Impositions were strictly levied. But the treasury was still empty; and a fatal necessity at last drove James to a formal breach of law. He fell back on a resource which

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even Wolsey in the height of the Tudor power had been forced to abandon. But the letters from the Council demanding benevolences or gifts from the richer landowners remained generally unanswered. In the three years which followed the dissolution of 1614 the strenuous efforts of the sheriffs only raised sixty thousand pounds, a sum less than two-thirds of the value of a single subsidy; and although the remonstrances of the western counties were roughly silenced by the threats of the Council, two counties, those of Hereford and Stafford, sent not a penny to the last. In his distress for money James was driven to expedients which widened the breach between the gentry and the Crown. He had refused to part with the feudal rights which came down to him from the Middle Ages, such as his right to the wardship of young heirs and the marriage of heiresses, and these were steadily used as a means of extortion. He degraded the nobility by a shameless sale of peerages. Of the forty-five lay peers whom he added to the Upper House during his reign, many were created by sheer bargaining. A proclamation which forbade the increase of houses in London brought heavy fines into the treasury. By shifts such as these James put off from day to day the necessity for again encountering the one body which could permanently arrest his effort after despotic rule. But there still remained a body whose tradition was strong enough, not indeed to arrest, but to check it. The lawyers had been subservient beyond all other classes to the Crown. In the narrow pedantry with which they bent before isolated precedents, without realizing the conditions under which these precedents had been framed, and to which they owed their very varying value, the judges had supported James in his claims. But beyond precedents even the judges refused to go. They had done their best, in a case that came before them, to restrict the jurisdiction of the ecclesiastical courts within legal and definite bounds: and when James asserted an inherent right in the King to be heard before judgement was delivered, whenever any case affecting the prerogative came before his courts, they timidly, but firmly, repudiated such a right as unknown to the law. James sent for them to the Royal closet, and rated them like school-boys, till they fell on their knees, and, with a single exception, pledged themselves to obey his will. The Chief-Justice, Sir Edward Coke, a narrow-minded and bitter-tempered man, but of the highest eminence as a lawyer, and with a reverence for the law that overrode every other instinct, alone remained firm. When any case came before him, he answered, he would act as it became a judge to act. Coke was at once dismissed from the Council, and a provision which made the judicial office tenable at the King's pleasure, but which had long fallen into disuse, was revived to humble the common law in the person of its chief officer; on the continuance of his resistance he was deprived of his post of Chief-Justice. No act of James seems to have stirred a deeper

resentment among Englishmen than this announcement of his will to tamper with the course of justice. It was an outrage on the growing sense of law, as the profusion and profligacy of the court were an outrage on the growing sense of morality. The treasury was drained to furnish masques and revels on a scale of unexampled splendour. Lands and jewels were lavished on young adventurers, whose fair faces caught the royal fancy. If the court of Elizabeth was as immoral as that of her successor, its immorality had been shrouded by a veil of grace and chivalry. But no veil hid the degrading grossness of the court of James. The King was held, though unjustly, to be a drunkard. Actors in a masque performed at court were seen rolling intoxicated at his feet. A scandalous trial showed great nobles and officers of state in league with cheats and astrologers and poisoners. James himself had not shrunk from meddling busily in the divorce of Lady Essex; and her subsequent bridal with one of his favourites was celebrated in his presence. Before scenes such as these, the half-idolatrous reverence with which the sovereign had been regarded throughout the period of the Tudors died away into abhorrence and contempt. The players openly mocked at the King on the stage. Mrs. Hutchinson denounced the orgies of Whitehall in words as fiery as those with which Elijah denounced the sensuality of Jezebel. But the immorality of James's court was hardly more despicable than the folly of his government. In the silence of Parliament, the royal Council, composed as it was not merely of the ministers, but of the higher nobles and hereditary officers of state, had served even under a despot like Henry the Eighth as a check upon the arbitrary will of the sovereign. But after the death of Lord Burleigh's son, Robert Cecil, the minister whom Elizabeth had bequeathed to him, and whose services in procuring his accession were rewarded by the Earldom of Salisbury, all real control over affairs was withdrawn by James from the Council, and entrusted to worthless favourites whom the King chose to raise to honour. A Scotch page named Carr was created Viscount Rochester and Earl of Somerset, and married after her divorce to Lady Essex. Supreme in State affairs, domestic and foreign, he was at last hurled from favour and power on the charge of a horrible crime, the murder of Sir Thomas Overbury by poison, of which he and his Countess were convicted of being the instigators. Another favourite was already prepared to take his place. George Villiers, a handsome young adventurer, was raised rapidly through every rank of the peerage, made Marquis and Duke of Buckingham, and entrusted with the appointment to high offices of state. The payment of bribes to him, or marriage with his greedy relatives, became the one road to political preferment. Resistance to his will was inevitably followed by dismissal from office. Even the highest and most powerful of the nobles were made to tremble at the nod of this young

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upstart. "Never any man in any age, nor, I believe, in any country," says the astonished Clarendon, "rose in so short a time to so much greatness of honour, power, or fortune, upon no other advantage or recommendation than of the beauty or gracefulness of his person." Buckingham indeed had no inconsiderable abilities, but his self-confidence and recklessness were equal to his beauty; and the haughty young favourite on whose neck James loved to loll, and whose cheek he slobbered with kisses, was destined to drag down in his fatal career the throne of the Stuarts.

The new system was even more disastrous in its results abroad than at home. The withdrawal of power from the Council left James in effect his own chief minister, and master of the control of affairs as no English sovereign had been before him. At his accession he found the direction of foreign affairs in the hands of Salisbury, and so long as Salisbury lived the Elizabethan policy was in the main adhered to. Peace, indeed, was made with Spain; but a close alliance with the United Provinces, and a more guarded alliance with France, held the ambition of Spain in check almost as effectually as war. When danger grew threatening in Germany from the Catholic zeal of the House of Austria, the marriage of the King's daughter, Elizabeth, with the heir of the Elector-Palatine promised English support to its Protestant powers. But the death of Salisbury, and the dissolution of the Parliament of 1614, were quickly followed by a disastrous change. James at once proceeded to undo all that the struggle of Elizabeth and the triumph of the Armada had done. His quick, shallow intelligence held that in a joint action with Spain it had found a way by which the Crown might at once exert weight abroad, and be rendered independent of the nation at home. A series of negotiations was begun for the marriage of his son with a Princess of Spain. Each of his successive favourites supported the Spanish alliance; and after years of secret intrigue the King's intentions were proclaimed to the world, at the moment when the policy of the House of Austria threatened the Protestants of Southern Germany with utter ruin or civil war. From whatever quarter the first aggression should come, it was plain that a second great struggle in arms between Protestantism and Catholicism was to be fought out on German soil. It was their prescience of the coming conflict which, on the very eve of the crisis, spurred a party among his ministers who still clung to the traditions of Salisbury to support an enterprise which promised to detach the King from his new policy by entangling him in a war with Spain. Sir Walter Raleigh, the one great warrior of the Elizabethan time who still lingered on, had been imprisoned ever since the beginning of the new reign in the Tower on a charge of treason. He now disclosed to James his knowledge of a gold-mine on the Orinoco, and prayed that he might sail thither and work its treasures for the King. The King was tempted by the bait of

gold ; but he forbade any attack on Spanish territory, or the shedding of Spanish blood. Raleigh however had risked his head again and again, he believed in the tale he told, and he knew that if war could be brought about between England and Spain a new career was open to him. He found the coast occupied by Spanish troops ; evading direct orders to attack he sent his men up the country, where they plundered a Spanish town, found no gold-mine, and came broken and defeated back. The daring of the man saw a fresh resource ; he proposed to seize the Spanish treasure ships as he returned, and, like Drake, to turn the heads of nation and King by the immense spoil. But his men would not follow him, and he was brought home to face his doom. James at once put his old sentence in force ; and the death of the broken-hearted adventurer on the scaffold atoned for the affront to Spain. The failure of Raleigh came at a critical moment in German history. The religious truce which had so long preserved the peace of Germany was broken in 1618 by the revolt of Bohemia against the rule of the Catholic House of Austria ; and when the death of the Emperor Matthias raised his cousin Ferdinand in 1619 to the Empire and to the throne of Bohemia, its nobles declared the realm vacant and chose Frederick, the young Elector Palatine, as their King. The German Protestants were divided by the fatal jealousy between their Lutheran and Calvinist princes ; but it was believed that Frederick's election could unite them, and the Bohemians counted on England's support when they chose James's son-in-law for their king. A firm policy would at any rate have held Spain inactive, and limited the contest to Germany itself. But the "statecraft" on which James prided himself led him to count, not on Spanish fear, but on Spanish friendship. He refused aid to the Protestant Union of the German Princes when they espoused the cause of Bohemia, and threatened war against Holland, the one power which was earnest in the Palatine's cause. It was in vain that both court and people were unanimous in their cry for war. James still pressed his son-in-law to withdraw from Bohemia, and relied in such a case on the joint efforts of England and Spain to restore peace. But Frederick refused consent, and Spain quickly threw aside the mask. Her famous battalions were soon moving up the Rhine to the aid of the Emperor ; and their march turned the local struggle in Bohemia into a European war. While the Spaniards occupied the Palatinate, the army of the Catholic League under Maximilian of Bavaria marched down the Danube, reduced Austria to submission, and forced Frederick to battle before the walls of Prague. Before the day was over he was galloping off, a fugitive, to North Germany, to find the Spaniards encamped as its masters in the heart of the Palatinate.

James had been duped, and for the moment he bent before the burst of popular fury which the danger to German Protestantism called up. He had already been brought to suffer Sir Horace Vere to take some

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English volunteers to the Palatinate. But the succour had come too late. The cry for a Parliament, the necessary prelude to a war, overpowered the King's secret resistance; and the Houses were again called together. But the Commons were bitterly chagrined as they found only demands for supplies, and a persistence in the old efforts to patch up a peace. James even sought the good will of the Spaniards by granting license for the export of arms to Spain. The resentment of the Commons found expression in their dealings with home affairs. The most crying constitutional grievance arose from the revival of monopolies, in spite of the pledge of Elizabeth to suppress them. A parliamentary right which had slept ever since the reign of Henry VI., the right of the Lower House to impeach great offenders at the bar of the Lords, was revived against the monopolists; and James was driven by the general indignation to leave them to their fate. But the practice of monopolies was only one sign of the corruption of the court. Sales of peerages and offices of state had raised a general disgust; and this disgust showed itself in the impeachment of the highest among the officers of State, the Chancellor, Francis Bacon, the most distinguished man of his time for learning and ability. At the accession of James the rays of royal favour had broken slowly upon Bacon. He became successively Solicitor and Attorney-General; the year of Shakspeare's death saw him called to the Privy Council; he verified Elizabeth's prediction by becoming Lord Keeper. At last the goal of his ambition was reached. He had attached himself to the rising fortunes of Buckingham, and the favour of Buckingham made him Lord Chancellor. He was raised to the peerage as Baron Verulam, and created, at a later time, Viscount St. Albans. But the nobler dreams for which these meaner honours had been sought escaped his grasp. His projects still remained projects, while to retain his hold on office he was stooping to a miserable compliance with the worst excesses of Buckingham and his royal master. The years during which he held the Chancellorship were the most disgraceful years of a disgraceful reign. They saw the execution of Raleigh, the sacrifice of the Palatinate, the exaction of benevolences, the multiplication of monopolies, the supremacy of Buckingham. Against none of the acts of folly and wickedness which distinguished James's government did Bacon do more than protest; in some of the worst, and above all in the attempt to coerce the judges into prostrating law at the King's feet, he took a personal part. But even his remonstrances were too much for the young favourite, who regarded him as the mere creature of his will. It was in vain that Bacon flung himself on the Duke's mercy, and begged him to pardon a single instance of opposition to his caprice. A Parliament was impending, and Buckingham resolved to avert from himself the storm which was gathering by sacrificing to it his meaner dependants. To ordinary eyes the Chancellor was at

the summit of human success. Jonson had just sung of him as one "whose even thread the Fates spin round and full out of their choicest and their whitest wool," when the storm burst. The Commons charged Bacon with corruption in the exercise of his office. It had been customary among Chancellors to receive gifts from successful suitors after their suit was ended. Bacon, it is certain, had taken such gifts from men whose suits were still unsettled; and though his judgement may have been unaffected by them, the fact of their reception left him with no valid defence. He at once pleaded guilty to the charge. "I do plainly and ingenuously confess that I am guilty of corruption, and do renounce all defence." "I beseech your Lordships," he added, "to be merciful to a broken reed." The heavy fine imposed on him was remitted by the Crown; but the Great Seal was taken from him, and he was declared incapable of holding office in the State or of sitting in Parliament. Bacon's fall restored him to that position of real greatness from which his ambition had so long torn him away. "My conceit of his person," said Ben Jonson, "was never increased towards him by his place or honours. But I have and do reverence him for his greatness that was only proper to himself, in that he seemed to me ever by his work one of the greatest men, and most worthy of admiration, that had been in many ages. In his adversity I ever prayed that God would give him strength: for greatness he could not want." His intellectual activity was never more conspicuous than in the last four years of his life. He had presented "Novum Organum" to James in the year before his fall; in the year after it he produced his "Natural and Experimental History." He began a digest of the laws, and a "History of England under the Tudors," revised and expanded his "Essays," dictated a jest book, and busied himself with experiments in physics. It was while studying the effect of cold in preventing animal putrefaction that he stopped his coach to stuff a fowl with snow and caught the fever which ended in his death.

James was too shrewd to mistake the importance of Bacon's impeachment; but the hostility of Buckingham to the Chancellor, and Bacon's own confession of his guilt, made it difficult to resist his condemnation. Energetic too as its measures were against corruption and monopolists, the Parliament respected scrupulously the King's prejudices in other matters; and even when checked by an adjournment, resolved unanimously to support him in any earnest effort for the Protestant cause. A warlike speech from a member before the adjournment roused an enthusiasm which recalled the days of Elizabeth. The Commons answered the appeal by a unanimous vote, "lifting their hats as high as they could hold them," that for the recovery of the Palatinate they would adventure their fortunes, their estates, and their lives. "Rather this declaration," cried a leader of the country party when it was read by the Speaker, "than ten thou-

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sand men already on the march." For the moment the resolve seemed to give vigour to the royal policy. James had aimed throughout at the restitution of Bohemia to Ferdinand, and at inducing the Emperor, through the mediation of Spain, to abstain from any retaliation on the Palatinate. He now freed himself for a moment from the trammels of diplomacy, and enforced a cessation of the attack on his son-in-law's dominions by a threat of war. The suspension of arms lasted through the summer ; but mere threats could do no more, and on the conquest of the Upper Palatinate by the forces of the Catholic League, James fell back on his old policy of mediation through the aid of Spain. The negotiations for the marriage with the Infanta were pressed more busily. Gondomar, the Spanish Ambassador, who had become all-powerful at the English court, was assured that no effectual aid should be sent to the Palatinate. The English fleet, which was cruising by way of menace off the Spanish coast, was called home. The King dismissed those of his ministers who still opposed a Spanish policy ; and threatened on trivial pretexts a war with the Dutch, the one great Protestant power that remained in alliance with England, and was ready to back the Elector. But he had still to reckon with his Parliament ; and the first act of the Parliament on its re-assembling was to demand a declaration of war with Spain. The instinct of the nation was wiser than the statecraft of the King. Ruined and enfeebled as she really was, Spain to the world at large still seemed the champion of Catholicism. It was the entry of her troops into the Palatinate which had first widened the local war in Bohemia into a great struggle for the suppression of Protestantism along the Rhine ; above all it was Spanish influence, and the hopes held out of a marriage of his son with a Spanish Infanta, which were luring the King into his fatal dependence on the great enemy of the Protestant cause. In their petition the Houses coupled with their demands for war the demand of a Protestant marriage for their future King. Experience proved in later years how perilous it was for English freedom that the heir to the Crown should be brought up under a Catholic mother ; but James was beside himself at their presumption in dealing with mysteries of state. "Bring stools for the Ambassadors," he cried in bitter irony as their committee appeared before him. He refused the petition, forbade any further discussion of state policy, and threatened the speakers with the Tower. "Let us resort to our prayers," a member said calmly as the King's letter was read, "and then consider of this great business." The temper of the House was seen in the Protestation which met the royal command to abstain from discussion. It resolved "That the liberties, franchises, privileges, and jurisdictions of Parliament are the ancient and undoubted birth-right and inheritance of the subjects of England ; and that the arduous and urgent affairs concerning the King, state, and defence of the

realm, and of the Church of England, and the making and maintenance of laws, and redress of grievances, which daily happen within this realm, are proper subjects and matter of council and debate in Parliament. And that in the handling and proceeding of those businesses every member of the House hath, and of right ought to have, freedom of speech to propound, treat, reason, and bring to conclusion the same."

The King answered the Protestation by a characteristic outrage. He sent for the Journals of the House, and with his own hand tore out the pages which contained it. "I will govern," he said, "according to the common weal, but not according to the common will." A few days after he dissolved the Parliament. "It is the best thing that has happened in the interests of Spain and of the Catholic religion since Luther began preaching," wrote the Count of Gondomar to his master, in his joy that all danger of war had passed away. "I am ready to depart," Sir Henry Savile, on the other hand, murmured on his death-bed, "the rather that having lived in good times I foresee worse." Abroad indeed all was lost; and Germany plunged wildly and blindly forward into the chaos of the Thirty Years' War. But for England the victory of freedom was practically won. James had himself ruined the main bulwarks of the monarchy. In his desire for personal government he had destroyed the authority of the Council. He had accustomed men to think lightly of the ministers of the Crown, to see them browbeaten by favourites, and driven from office for corruption. He had disenchanted his people of their blind faith in the monarchy by a policy at home and abroad which ran counter to every national instinct. He had quarrelled with, and insulted the Houses, as no English sovereign had ever done before; and all the while the authority he boasted of was passing, without his being able to hinder it, to the Parliament which he outraged. There was shrewdness as well as anger in his taunt at its "ambassadors." A power had at last risen up in the Commons with which the Monarchy was henceforth to reckon. In spite of the King's petulant outbreaks, Parliament had asserted its exclusive right to the control of taxation. It had attacked monopolies. It had reformed abuses in the courts of law. It had revived the right of impeaching and removing from office the highest ministers of the Crown. It had asserted its privilege of free discussion on all questions connected with the welfare of the realm. It had claimed to deal with the question of religion. It had even declared its will on the sacred "mystery" of foreign policy. James might tear the Protestation from its Journals, but there were pages in the record of the Parliament of 1621 which he never could tear out.

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Section III.—The King and the Parliament. 1623–1629.

[*Authorities.*—For the first part of this period we have still Mr. Gardiner's "History of England from the accession of James I.," which throws a full

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and fresh light on one of the most obscure times in our history. His work is as valuable for the early reign of Charles, a period well illustrated by Mr. Forster's "Life of Sir John Eliot." Among the general accounts of the reign of Charles, Mr. Disraeli's "Commentaries on the Reign of Charles I." is the most prominent on the one side; Brodie's "History of the British Empire," and Godwin's "History of the Commonwealth," on the other. M. Guizot's work is accurate and impartial, and Lingard of especial value for the history of the English Catholics, and for his detail of foreign affairs. For the ecclesiastical side see Laud's "Diary." The Commons' Journal gives the proceedings of the Parliaments. Throughout this period the Calendars of State Papers, now issuing under the direction of the Master of the Rolls, are of the greatest historic value. Ranke's "History of England in the Seventeenth Century" is important for the whole Stuart period.]

In the obstinacy with which he clung to his Spanish policy James stood absolutely alone; for not only the old nobility and the statesmen who preserved the tradition of the age of Elizabeth, but even his own ministers, with the exception of Buckingham and the Treasurer, Cranfield, were at one with the Commons. The King's aim, as we have said, was to enforce peace on the combatants, and to bring about the restitution of the Palatinate to the Elector, through the influence of Spain. It was to secure this influence that he pressed for a closer union with the great Catholic power; and of this union, and the success of the policy which it embodied, the marriage of his son Charles with the Infanta, which had been held out as a lure to his vanity, was to be the sign. But the more James pressed for this consummation of his projects, the more Spain held back. At last Buckingham proposed to force the Spaniard's hand by the arrival of Charles himself at the Spanish Court. The Prince quitted England in disguise, and appeared with Buckingham at Madrid to claim his bride. It was in vain that Spain rose in its demands; for every new demand was met by fresh concessions on the part of England. The abrogation of the penal laws against the Catholics, a Catholic education for the Prince's children, a Catholic household for the Infanta, all were no sooner asked than they were granted. But the marriage was still delayed, while the influence of the new policy on the war in Germany was hard to see. The Catholic League and its army, under the command of Count Tilly, won triumph after triumph over their divided foes. The reduction of Heidelberg and Mannheim completed the conquest of the Palatinate, whose Elector fled helplessly to Holland, while his Electoral dignity was transferred by the Emperor to the Duke of Bavaria. But there was still no sign of the hoped-for intervention on the part of Spain. At last the pressure of Charles himself brought about the disclosure of the secret of its policy. "It is a maxim of state with us," Olivares confessed, as the Prince demanded an energetic interference in Germany, "that the King of Spain must never fight against the Emperor. We cannot employ our forces against the Emperor." "If you hold to that," replied the Prince, "there is an end of all."

His return was the signal for a burst of national joy. All London was alight with bonfires, in her joy at the failure of the Spanish match, and of the collapse, humiliating as it was, of the policy which had so long trailed English honour at the chariot-wheels of Spain. Charles returned to take along with Buckingham the direction of affairs out of his father's hands. The journey to Madrid had revealed to those around him the strange mixture of obstinacy and weakness in the Prince's character, the duplicity which lavished promises because it never purposed to be bound by any, the petty pride that subordinated every political consideration to personal vanity or personal pique. He had granted demand after demand, till the very Spaniards lost faith in his concessions. With rage in his heart at the failure of his efforts, he had renewed his betrothal on the very eve of his departure, only that he might insult the Infanta by its withdrawal when he was safe at home. But to England at large the baser features of his character were still unknown. The stately reserve, the personal dignity and decency of manners which distinguished the Prince, contrasted favourably with the gabble and indecorum of his father. The courtiers indeed who saw him in his youth, would often pray God that "he might be in the right way when he was set; for if he was in the wrong he would prove the most wilful of any king that ever reigned." But the nation was willing to take his obstinacy for firmness; as it took the pique which inspired his course on his return for patriotism and for the promise of a nobler rule. Under the pressure of Charles and Buckingham the King was forced to call a Parliament, and to concede the point on which he had broken with the last, by laying before it the whole question of the Spanish negotiations. Buckingham and the Prince gave their personal support to Parliament in its demand for a rupture of the treaties with Spain and a declaration of war. A subsidy was eagerly voted; the persecution of the Catholics, which had long been suspended out of deference to Spanish intervention, began with new vigour. The head of the Spanish party, Cranfield, Earl of Middlesex, the Lord Treasurer, was impeached on a charge of corruption, and dismissed from office. James was swept along helplessly by the tide; but his shrewdness saw clearly the turn that affairs were taking; and it was only by hard pressure that the favourite succeeded in wresting his consent to the disgrace of Middlesex. "You are making a rod for your own back," said the King. But Buckingham and Charles persisted in their plans of war. A treaty of alliance was concluded with Holland; negotiations were begun with the Lutheran Princes of North Germany, who had looked coolly on at the ruin of the Elector Palatine; an alliance with France was proposed, and the marriage of Charles with Henrietta, a daughter of Henry the Fourth of France, and sister of its King. To restore the triple league was to restore the system of Elizabeth; but the first whispers of a Catholic Queen woke opposition in the Commons. At this juncture the death

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of the King placed Charles upon the throne ; and his first Parliament met in May, 1625. "We can hope everything from the King who now governs us," cried Sir Benjamin Rudyerd in the Commons. But there were cooler heads in the Commons than Sir Benjamin Rudyerd's ; and enough had taken place in the few months since its last session to temper its loyalty with caution.

The war with Spain, it must be remembered, meant to the mass of Englishmen a war with Catholicism ; and the fervour against Catholicism without roused a corresponding fervour against Catholicism within the realm. Every English Catholic seemed to Protestant eyes an enemy at home. A Protestant who leant towards Catholic usage or dogma was a secret traitor in the ranks. But it was suspected, and suspicion was soon to be changed into certainty, that in spite of his pledge to make no religious concessions to France, Charles had on his marriage promised to relax the penal laws against Catholics, and that a foreign power had again been given the right of intermeddling in the civil affairs of the realm. And it was to men with Catholic leanings that Charles seemed disposed to show favour. Bishop Laud was recognized as the centre of that varied opposition to Puritanism, whose members were loosely grouped under the name of Arminians ; and Laud now became the King's adviser in ecclesiastical matters. With Laud at its head the new party grew in boldness as well as numbers. It naturally sought for shelter for its religious opinions by exalting the power of the Crown. A court favourite, Montague, ventured to slight the Reformed Churches of the Continent in favour of the Church of Rome, and to advocate as the faith of the Church the very doctrines rejected by the Calvinists. The temper of the Commons on religious matters was clear to every observer. "Whatever mention does break forth of the fears or dangers in religion, and the increase of Popery," wrote a member who was noting the proceedings of the House, "their affections are much stirred." Their first act was to summon Montague to the bar and to commit him to prison. But there were other grounds for their distrust besides the King's ecclesiastical tendency. The conditions on which the last subsidy had been granted for war with Spain had been contemptuously set aside ; in his request for a fresh grant Charles neither named a sum nor gave any indication of what war it was to support. His reserve was met by a corresponding caution. While voting a small and inadequate subsidy, the Commons restricted their grant of certain customs duties called tonnage and poundage, which had commonly been granted to the new sovereign for life, to a single year, so as to give time for consideration of the additional impositions laid by James on these duties. The restriction was taken as an insult ; Charles refused to accept the grant on such a condition, and adjourned the Houses. When they met again at Oxford it was in a sterner temper, for Charles had shown his defiance of Parliament

by drawing Montague from prison, by promoting him to a royal chaplaincy, and by levying the disputed customs without authority of law. "England," cried Sir Robert Phelips, "is the last monarchy that yet retains her liberties. Let them not perish now!" But the Commons had no sooner announced their resolve to consider public grievances before entering on other business than they were met by a dissolution. Buckingham, to whom the firmness of the Commons seemed simply the natural discontent which follows on ill success, resolved to lure them from their constitutional struggle by a great military triumph. His hands were no sooner free than he sailed for the Hague to conclude a general alliance against the House of Austria, while a fleet of ninety vessels and ten thousand soldiers left Plymouth in October for the coast of Spain. But these vast projects broke down before Buckingham's administrative incapacity. The plan of alliance proved fruitless. After an idle descent on Cadiz the Spanish expedition returned broken with mutiny and disease; and the enormous debt which had been incurred in its equipment forced the favourite to advise a new summons of the Houses. But he was keenly alive to the peril in which his failure had plunged him, and to a coalition which had been formed between his rivals at Court and the leaders of the last Parliament. His reckless daring led him to anticipate the danger, and by a series of blows to strike terror into his opponents. The Councillors were humbled by the committal of Lord Arundel to the Tower. Sir Robert Phelips, Coke, and four other leading patriots were made sheriffs of their counties, and thus prevented from sitting in the coming Parliament. But their exclusion only left the field free for a more terrible foe.

If Hampden and Pym are the great figures which embody the later national resistance, the earlier struggle for Parliamentary liberty centres in the figure of Sir John Eliot. Of an old family which had settled under Elizabeth near the fishing hamlet of St. Germans, and raised their stately mansion of Port Eliot, he had risen to the post of Vice-Admiral of Devonshire under the patronage of Buckingham, and had seen his activity in the suppression of piracy in the Channel rewarded by an unjust imprisonment. He was now in the first vigour of manhood, with a mind exquisitely cultivated and familiar with the poetry and learning of his day, a nature singularly lofty and devout, a fearless and vehement temper. There was a hot impulsive element in his nature which showed itself in youth in his drawing sword on a neighbour who denounced him to his father, and which in later years gave its characteristic fire to his eloquence. But his intellect was as clear and cool as his temper was ardent. In the general enthusiasm which followed on the failure of the Spanish marriage, he had stood almost alone in pressing for a recognition of the rights of Parliament, as a preliminary to any real reconciliation with the Crown. He fixed, from the very outset of his career, on the responsibility of the royal

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ministers to Parliament, as the one critical point for English liberty. It was to enforce the demand of this that he availed himself of Buckingham's sacrifice of the Treasurer, Middlesex, to the resentment of the Commons. "The greater the delinquent," he urged, "the greater the delict. They are a happy thing, great men and officers, if they be good, and one of the greatest blessings of the land : but power converted into evil is the greatest curse that can befall it." But the new Parliament had hardly met, when he came to the front to threaten a greater criminal than Middlesex. So menacing were his words, as he called for an inquiry into the failure before Cadiz, that Charles himself stooped to answer threat with threat. "I see," he wrote to the House, "you especially aim at the Duke of Buckingham. I must let you know that I will not allow any of my servants to be questioned among you, much less such as are of eminent place and near to me." A more direct attack on a right already acknowledged in the impeachment of Bacon and Middlesex could hardly be imagined, but Eliot refused to move from his constitutional ground. The King was by law irresponsible, he "could do no wrong." If the country therefore was to be saved from a pure despotism, it must be by enforcing the responsibility of the ministers who counselled and executed his acts. Eliot persisted in denouncing Buckingham's incompetence and corruption, and the Commons ordered the subsidy which the Crown had demanded to be brought in "when we shall have presented our grievances, and received his Majesty's answer thereto." Charles summoned them to Whitehall, and commanded them to cancel the condition. He would grant them "liberty of counsel, but not of control ;" and he closed the interview with a significant threat. "Remember," he said, "that Parliaments are altogether in my power for their calling, sitting, and dissolution : and, therefore, as I find the fruits of them to be good or evil, they are to continue or not to be." But the will of the Commons was as resolute as the will of the King. Buckingham's impeachment was voted and carried to the Lords. The favourite took his seat as a peer to listen to the charge with so insolent an air of contempt that one of the managers appointed by the Commons to conduct it turned sharply on him. "Do you jeer, my Lord !" said Sir Dudley Digges. "I can show you when a greater man than your Lordship—as high as you in place and power, and as deep in the King's favour—has been hanged for as small a crime as these articles contain." The "proud carriage" of the Duke provoked an invective from Eliot which marks a new era in Parliamentary speech. From the first the vehemence and passion of his words had contrasted with the grave, colourless reasoning of older speakers. His opponents complained that Eliot aimed to "stir up affections." The quick emphatic sentences he substituted for the cumbrous periods of the day, his rapid argument, his vivacious and caustic allusions, his passionate appeals, his fearless invective, struck

a new note in English eloquence. The frivolous ostentation of Buckingham, his very figure blazing with jewels and gold, gave point to the fierce attack. "He has broken those nerves and sinews of our land, the stores and treasures of the King. There needs no search for it. It is too visible. His profuse expenses, his superfluous feasts, his magnificent buildings, his riots, his excesses, what are they but the visible evidences of an express exhausting of the State, a chronicle of the immensity of his waste of the revenues of the Crown?" With the same terrible directness Eliot reviewed the Duke's greed and corruption, his insatiate ambition, his seizure of all public authority, his neglect of every public duty, his abuse for selfish ends of the powers he had accumulated. "The pleasure of his Majesty, his known directions, his public acts, his acts of council, the decrees of courts—all must be made inferior to this man's will. No right, no interest may withstand him. Through the power of state and justice he has dared ever to strike at his own ends." "My Lords," he ended, after a vivid parallel between Buckingham and Sejanus, "you see the man! What have been his actions, what he is like, you know! I leave him to your judgment. This only is conceived by us, the knights, citizens, and burgesses of the Commons House of Parliament, that by him came all our evils, in him we find the causes, and on him must be the remedies! *Pereat qui perdere cuncta festinat. Opprimatur ne omnes opprimat!*"

The reply of Charles was as fierce and sudden as the attack of Eliot. He hurried to the House of Peers to avow as his own the deeds with which Buckingham was charged. Eliot and Digges were called from their seats, and committed prisoners to the Tower. The Commons, however, refused to proceed with public business till their members were restored; and after a ten-days' struggle Eliot was released. But his release was only a prelude to the close of the Parliament. "Not one moment," the King replied to the prayer of his Council for delay; and a final remonstrance in which the Commons begged him to dismiss Buckingham from his service for ever was met by their instant dissolution. The remonstrance was burnt by royal order; Eliot was deprived of his Vice-Admiralty; and an appeal was made to the nation to pay as a free gift the subsidies which the Parliament had refused to grant till their grievances were redressed. But the tide of public resistance was slowly rising. Refusals to give anything, "save by way of Parliament," came in from county after county. When the subsidy-men of Middlesex and Westminster were urged to comply, they answered with a tumultuous shout of "a Parliament! a Parliament! else no subsidies!" Kent stood out to a man. In Bucks the very justices neglected to ask for the "free gift." The freeholders of Cornwall only answered that, "if they had but two kine, they would sell one of them for supply to his Majesty—in a Parliamentary

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way." The failure of the voluntary gift forced Charles to an open defiance of the law. He met it by the levy of a forced loan. Commissioners were named to assess the amount which every landowner was bound to lend, and to examine on oath all who refused. Every means of persuasion, as of force, was resorted to. The pulpits of the Laudian clergy resounded with the cry of "passive obedience." Dr. Mainwaring preached before Charles himself, that the King needed no Parliamentary warrant for taxation, and that to resist his will was to incur eternal damnation. Poor men who refused to lend were pressed into the army or navy. Stubborn tradesmen were flung into prison. Buckingham himself undertook the task of overawing the nobles and the gentry. Charles met the opposition of the judges by instantly dismissing from his office the Chief Justice, Crew. But in the country at large resistance was universal. The northern counties in a mass set the Crown at defiance. The Lincolnshire farmers drove the Commissioners from the town. Shropshire, Devon, and Warwickshire "refused utterly." Eight peers, with Lord Essex and Lord Warwick at their head, declined to comply with the exaction as illegal. Two hundred country gentlemen, whose obstinacy had not been subdued by their transfer from prison to prison, were summoned before the Council; and John Hampden, as yet only a young Buckinghamshire squire, appeared at the board to begin that career of patriotism which has made his name dear to Englishmen. "I could be content to lend," he said, "but fear to draw on myself that curse in Magna Charta, which should be read twice a year against those who infringe it." So close an imprisonment in the Gate House rewarded his protest, "that he never afterwards did look like the same man he was before." With gathering discontent as well as bankruptcy before him, nothing could save the Duke but a great military success; and he equipped a force of six thousand men for the maddest and most profligate of all his enterprises. In the great struggle with Catholicism the hopes of every Protestant rested on the union of England with France against the House of Austria. But the blustering and blundering of the favourite had at last succeeded in plunging him into strife with his own allies, and England now suddenly found herself at war with France and Spain together. The French minister, Cardinal Richelieu, anxious as he was to maintain the English alliance, was convinced that the first step to any effective interference of France in a European war must be the restoration of order at home by the complete reduction of the Protestant town of Rochelle which had risen in revolt. In 1625 English aid had been given to the French forces, however reluctantly. But now Buckingham saw his way to win an easy popularity at home by supporting the Huguenots in their resistance. The enthusiasm for their cause was intense; and he resolved to take advantage of this enthusiasm to secure such a triumph for the royal arms as

should silence all opposition at home. A fleet of a hundred vessels sailed under his command for the relief of Rochelle. But imposing as was his force, the expedition was as disastrous as it was impolitic. After an unsuccessful siege of the castle of St. Martin, the English troops were forced to fall back along a narrow causeway to their ships ; and in the retreat two thousand fell, without the loss of a single man to their enemies.

The first result of Buckingham's folly was to force on Charles, overwhelmed as he was with debt and shame, the summoning of a new Parliament ; a Parliament which met in a mood even more resolute than the last. The Court candidates were everywhere rejected. The patriot leaders were triumphantly returned. To have suffered in the recent resistance to arbitrary taxation was the sure road to a seat. In spite of Eliot's counsel, even the question of Buckingham's removal gave place to the craving for redress of wrongs done to personal liberty. "We must vindicate our ancient liberties," said Sir Thomas Wentworth, in words soon to be remembered against himself : "we must reinforce the laws made by our ancestors. We must set such a stamp upon them, as no licentious spirit shall dare hereafter to invade them." Heedless of sharp and menacing messages from the King, of demands that they should take his "royal word" for their liberties, the House bent itself to one great work, the drawing up a Petition of Right. The statutes that protected the subject against arbitrary taxation, against loans and benevolences, against punishment, outlawry, or deprivation of goods, otherwise than by lawful judgment of his peers, against arbitrary imprisonment without stated charge, against billeting of soldiery on the people or enactment of martial law in time of peace, were formally recited. The breaches of them under the last two sovereigns, and above all since the dissolution of the last Parliament, were recited as formally. At the close of this significant list, the Commons prayed "that no man hereafter be compelled to make or yield any gift, loan, benevolence, tax, or such like charge, without common consent by Act of Parliament. And that none be called to make answer, or to take such oaths, or to be confined or otherwise molested or disputed concerning the same, or for refusal thereof. And that no freeman may in such manner as is before mentioned be imprisoned or detained. And that your Majesty would be pleased to remove the said soldiers and mariners, and that your people may not be so burthened in time to come. And that the commissions for proceeding by martial law may be revoked and annulled, and that hereafter no commissions of like nature may issue forth to any person or persons whatsoever to be executed as aforesaid, lest by colour of them any of your Majesty's subjects be destroyed and put to death, contrary to the laws and franchises of the land. All which they humbly pray of your most excellent Majesty, as their rights and liberties, according to the laws

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and statutes of the realm. And that your Majesty would also vouchsafe to declare that the awards, doings, and proceedings to the prejudice of your people in any of the premisses shall not be drawn hereafter into consequence or example. And that your Majesty would be pleased graciously for the further comfort and safety of your people to declare your royal will and pleasure, that in the things aforesaid all your officers and ministers shall serve you according to the laws and statutes of this realm, as they tender the honour of your Majesty and the prosperity of the kingdom." It was in vain that the Lords desired to conciliate Charles by a reservation of his "sovereign power." "Our petition," Pym quietly replied, "is for the laws of England, and this power seems to be another power distinct from the power of the law." The Lords yielded, but Charles gave an evasive reply; and the failure of the more moderate counsels for which his own had been set aside, called Eliot again to the front. In a speech of unprecedented boldness he moved the presentation to the King of a Remonstrance on the state of the realm. But at the moment when he again touched on Buckingham's removal as the preliminary of any real improvement the Speaker of the House interposed. "There was a command laid on him," he said, "to interrupt any that should go about to lay an aspersion on the King's ministers." The breach of their privilege of free speech produced a scene in the Commons such as St. Stephen's had never witnessed before. Eliot sat abruptly down amidst the solemn silence of the House. "Then appeared such a spectacle of passions," says a letter of the time, "as the like had seldom been seen in such an assembly; some weeping, some expostulating, some prophesying of the fatal ruin of our kingdom, some playing the divines in confessing their sins and country's sins which drew these judgements upon us, some finding, as it were, fault with those that wept. There were above an hundred weeping eyes, many who offered to speak being interrupted and silenced by their own passions." Pym himself rose only to sit down choked with tears. At last Sir Edward Coke found words to blame himself for the timid counsels which had checked Eliot at the beginning of the Session, and to protest "that the author and source of all those miseries was the Duke of Buckingham."

Shouts of assent greeted the resolution to insert the Duke's name in their Remonstrance. But at this moment Charles gave way. To win supplies for a new expedition to Rochelle, Buckingham bent the King to consent to the Petition of Right. As Charles understood it, indeed the consent meant little. The point for which he really cared was the power of keeping men in prison without bringing them to trial or assigning causes for their imprisonment. On this he had consulted his judges; and they had answered that his consent to the Petition left his rights untouched; like other laws, they said, the Petition would

have to be interpreted when it came before them, and the prerogative remained unaffected. As to the rest, while waiving all claim to levy taxes not granted by Parliament, Charles still reserved his right to levy impositions paid customarily to the Crown, and amongst these he counted tonnage and poundage. Of these reserves however the Commons knew nothing. The King's consent won a grant of subsidy from the Parliament, and such a ringing of bells and lighting of bonfires from the people "as were never seen but upon his majesty's return from Spain." But, like all Charles's concessions, it came too late to effect the end at which he aimed. The Commons persisted in presenting their Remonstrance. Charles received it coldly and ungraciously; while Buckingham, who had stood defiantly at his master's side as he was denounced, fell on his knees to speak. "No, George!" said the King as he raised him; and his demeanour gave emphatic proof that the Duke's favour remained undiminished. "We will perish together, George," he added at a later time, "if thou dost." No shadow of his doom, in fact, had fallen over the brilliant favourite, when, after the prorogation of the Parliament, he set out to take command of a new expedition for the relief of Rochelle. But a lieutenant in the army, John Felton, soured by neglect and wrongs, had found in the Remonstrance some fancied sanction for the revenge he plotted; and, mixing with the throng which crowded the hall at Portsmouth, he stabbed Buckingham to the heart. Charles flung himself on his bed in a passion of tears when the news reached him; but outside the Court it was welcomed with a burst of joy. Young Oxford bachelors, grave London aldermen, vied with each other in drinking healths to Felton. "God bless thee, little David," cried an old woman, as the murderer passed manacled by; "the Lord comfort thee," shouted the crowd, as the Tower gates closed on him. The very crews of the Duke's armament at Portsmouth shouted to the King, as he witnessed their departure, a prayer that he would "spare John Felton, their sometime fellow soldier." But whatever national hopes the fall of Buckingham had aroused were quickly dispelled. Weston, a creature of the Duke, became Lord Treasurer, and his system remained unchanged. "Though our Achan is cut off," said Eliot, "the accursed thing remains."

It seemed as if no act of Charles could widen the breach which his reckless lawlessness had made between himself and his subjects. But there was one thing dearer to England than free speech in Parliament, than security for property, or even personal liberty; and that one thing was, in the phrase of the day, "the Gospel." The gloom which at the outset of this reign we saw settling down on every Puritan heart had deepened with each succeeding year. The great struggle abroad had gone more and more against Protestantism, and at this moment the end of the cause seemed to have come. In Germany Lutheran and Calvinist alike lay at last beneath the heel of the Catholic

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House of Austria. The fall of Rochelle after Buckingham's death seemed to leave the Huguenots of France at the feet of a Roman Cardinal. While England was thrilling with excitement at the thought that her own hour of deadly peril might come again, as it had come in the year of the Armada, Charles raised Laud to the Bishopric of London, and entrusted him with the direction of ecclesiastical affairs. To the excited Protestantism of the country, Laud and the Churchmen whom he headed seemed a danger really more formidable than the Popery which was making such mighty strides abroad. To the Puritans they were traitors to God and their country at once. Their aim was to draw the Church of England farther away from the Protestant Churches and nearer to the Church which Protestants regarded as Babylon. They aped Roman ceremonies. Cautiously and tentatively they were introducing Roman doctrine. But they had none of the sacerdotal independence which Rome had at any rate preserved. They were abject in their dependence on the Crown. Their gratitude for the royal protection which enabled them to defy the religious instincts of the realm showed itself in their erection of the most dangerous pretensions of the monarchy into religious dogmas. Archbishop Whitgift declared James to have been inspired by God. They preached passive obedience to the worst tyranny. They declared the person and goods of the subject to be at the King's absolute disposal. They were turning religion into a systematic attack on English liberty. Up to this time they had been little more than a knot of courtly ecclesiastics, for the mass of the clergy, like their flocks, were steady Puritans; but the energy of Laud, and the patronage of the Court, promised a speedy increase of their numbers and their power. Sober men looked forward to a day when every pulpit would be ringing with exhortations to passive obedience, with denunciations of Calvinism and apologies for Rome. Of all the members of the House of Commons Eliot was least fanatical in his natural bent, but the religious crisis swept away for the moment all other thoughts from his mind. "Danger enlarges itself in so great a measure," he wrote from the country, "that nothing but Heaven shrouds us from despair." The House met in the same temper. The first business called up was that of religion. "The Gospel," Eliot burst forth, "is that Truth in which this kingdom has been happy through a long and rare prosperity. This ground, therefore, let us lay for a foundation of our building, that that Truth, not with words, but with actions we will maintain!" "There is a ceremony," he went on, "used in the Eastern Churches, of standing at the repetition of the Creed, to testify their purpose to maintain it, not only with their bodies upright, but with their swords drawn. Give me leave to call that a custom very commendable!" The Commons answered their leader's challenge by a solemn avowal. They avowed that they held for truth that sense of the Articles as

established by Parliament, which by the public act of the Church, and the general and current exposition of the writers of their Church, had been delivered unto them. But the debates over religion were suddenly interrupted. The Commons, who had deferred all grant of customs till the wrong done in the illegal levy of them was redressed, had summoned the farmers of those dues to the bar; but though they appeared, they pleaded the King's command as a ground for their refusal to answer. The House was proceeding to a protest, when the Speaker signified that he had received an order to adjourn. Dissolution was clearly at hand, and the long-suppressed indignation broke out in a scene of strange disorder. The Speaker was held down in the chair, while Eliot, still clinging to his great principle of ministerial responsibility, denounced the new Treasurer as the adviser of the measure. "None have gone about to break Parliaments," he added in words to which after events gave a terrible significance, "but in the end Parliaments have broken them." The doors were locked, and in spite of the Speaker's protests, of the repeated knocking of the usher at the door, and of the gathering tumult within the House itself, the loud "Aye, Aye" of the bulk of the members supported Eliot in his last vindication of English liberty. By successive resolutions the Commons declared whomsoever should bring in innovations in religion, or whatever minister endorsed the levy of subsidies not granted in Parliament, "a capital enemy to the kingdom and commonwealth," and every subject voluntarily complying with illegal acts and demands "a betrayer of the liberty of England and an enemy of the same."

Section IV.—New England.

[*Authorities.*—The admirable account of American colonization given by Mr. Bancroft ("History of the United States") may be corrected in some points of detail by Mr. Gardiner's History. For Laud himself, see his remarkable "Diary" and his Correspondence. His work at Lambeth is described in Prynne's scurrilous "Canterbury's Doom."] (Mr. Doyle's book "The English in America" has appeared since this list was drawn up.—ED.)

The dissolution of the Parliament of 1629 marked the darkest hour of Protestantism, whether in England or in the world at large. But it was in this hour of despair that the Puritans won their noblest triumph. They "turned," to use Canning's words in a far truer and grander sense than that which he gave to them, they "turned to the New World to redress the balance of the Old." It was during the years of tyranny which followed the close of the third Parliament of Charles that a great Puritan emigration founded the States of New England.

The Puritans were far from being the earliest among the English colonists of North America. There was little in the circumstances

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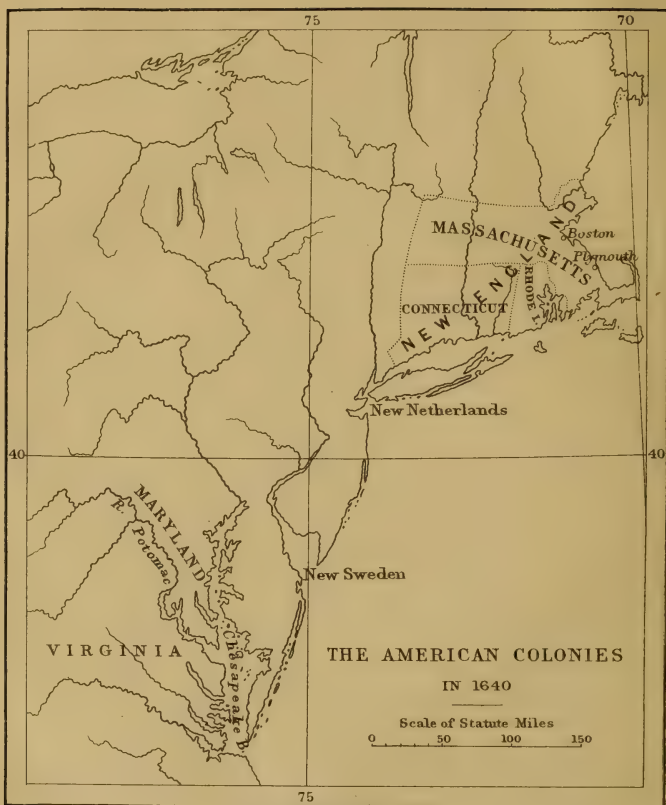
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which attended the first discovery of the Western world which promised well for freedom ; its earliest result, indeed, was to give an enormous impulse to the most bigoted and tyrannical among the powers of Europe, and to pour the wealth of Mexico and Peru into the treasury of Spain. But while the Spanish galleons traversed the Southern seas, and Spanish settlers claimed the southern part of the great continent for the Catholic crown, a happy instinct drew Englishmen to the ruder and more barren districts along the shore of Northern America. England had reached the mainland even earlier than Spain, for before Columbus touched its shores Sebastian Cabot, a seaman of Genoese blood born and bred in England, sailed with an English crew from Bristol in 1497, and pushed along the coast of America to the south as far as Florida, and northward as high as Hudson's Bay. But no Englishman followed on the track of this bold adventurer ; and while Spain built up her empire in the New World, the English seamen reaped a humbler harvest in the fisheries of Newfoundland. It was not till the reign of Elizabeth that the thoughts of Englishmen turned again to the New World. The dream of finding a passage to Asia by a voyage round the northern coast of the American continent drew a west-country seaman, Martin Frobisher, to the coast of Labrador, and the news which he brought back of the existence of gold mines there set adventurers cruising among the icebergs of Baffin's Bay. Luckily the quest of gold proved a vain one ; and the nobler spirits among those who had engaged in it turned to plans of colonization. But the country, vexed by long winters and thinly peopled by warlike tribes of Indians, gave a rough welcome to the earlier colonists. After a fruitless attempt to form a settlement, Sir Humphry Gilbert, one of the noblest spirits of his time, turned homewards again, to find his fate in the stormy seas. "We are as near to Heaven by sea as by land," were the famous words he was heard to utter, ere the light of his little bark was lost for ever in the darkness of the night. An expedition sent by his half-brother, Sir Walter Raleigh, explored Pamlico Sound ; and the country they discovered, a country where, in their poetic fancy, "men lived after the manner of the Golden Age," received from Elizabeth, the Virgin Queen, the name of Virginia. The introduction of tobacco and of the potato into Europe dates from Raleigh's discovery ; but the energy of his settlers was distracted by the delusive dream of gold, the hostility of the native tribes drove them from the coast, and it is through the gratitude of later times for what he strove to do, rather than for what he did, that Raleigh, the capital of North Carolina, preserves his name. The first permanent settlement on the Chesapeake was effected in the beginning of the reign of James the First, and its success was due to the conviction of the settlers that the secret of the New World's conquest lay simply in labour. Among the hundred and five colonists who originally

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landed, forty-eight were gentlemen, and only twelve were tillers of the soil. Their leader, John Smith, however, not only explored the vast bay of Chesapeake and discovered the Potomac and the Susquehannah, but held the little company together in the face of famine and desertion till the colonists had learnt the lesson of toil. In his letters to the colonizers at home he set resolutely aside the dream of gold. "Nothing is to be expected thence," he wrote of the new country, "but by labour;" and supplies of labourers, aided by a wise allotment of lands to each colonist, secured after five years of struggle the fortunes of Virginia. "Men fell to building houses and planting corn;" the very streets of Jamestown, as their capital was called from the reigning sovereign, were sown with tobacco; and in fifteen years the colony numbered five thousand souls.

The laws and representative institutions of England were first introduced into the New World in the settlement of Virginia: some years later a principle as unknown to England as it was to the greater part of Europe found its home in another colony, which received its name of Maryland from Henrietta Maria, the Queen of Charles the First. Calvert, Lord Baltimore, one of the best of the Stuart counsellors, was forced by his conversion to Catholicism to seek a shelter for himself and colonists of his new faith in the district across the Potomac, and round the head of the Chesapeake. As a purely Catholic settlement was impossible, he resolved to open the new colony to men of every faith. "No person within this province," ran the earliest law of Maryland, "professing to believe in Jesus Christ, shall be in any ways troubled, molested, or discountenanced for his or her religion, or in the free exercise thereof." Long however before Lord Baltimore's settlement in Maryland, only a few years indeed after the settlement of Smith in Virginia, the church of Brownist or Independent refugees, whom we saw driven in the reign of James to Amsterdam, had resolved to quit Holland and find a home in the wilds of the New World. They were little disheartened by the tidings of suffering which came from the Virginian settlement. "We are well weaned," wrote their minister, John Robinson, "from the delicate milk of the mother-country, and inured to the difficulties of a strange land: the people are industrious and frugal. We are knit together as a body in a most sacred covenant of the Lord, of the violation whereof we make great conscience, and by virtue whereof we hold ourselves strictly tied to all care of each other's good and of the whole. It is not with us as with men whom small things can discourage." Returning from Holland to Southampton, they started in two small vessels for the new land: but one of these soon put back, and only its companion, the *Mayflower*, a bark of a hundred and eighty tons, with forty-one emigrants and their families on board, persisted in prosecuting its voyage. The little company of the "Pilgrim Fathers," as

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after-times loved to call them, landed on the barren coast of Massachusetts at a spot to which they gave the name of Plymouth, in memory of the last English port at which they touched. They had soon to face the long hard winter of the north, to bear sickness and famine : even when these years of toil and suffering had passed there was a time when "they knew not at night where to have a bit in the morning." Resolute and industrious as they were, their progress was very slow ; and at the end of ten years they numbered only three hundred souls. But small as it was, the colony was now firmly established and the struggle for mere existence was over. "Let it not be grievous unto you," some of their brethren had written from England to the poor emigrants in the midst of their sufferings, "that you have been instrumental to break the ice for others. The honour shall be yours to the world's end."

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From the moment of their establishment the eyes of the English Puritans were fixed on the little Puritan settlement in North America. Through the early years of Charles projects were canvassed for a new settlement beside the little Plymouth ; and the aid which the merchants of Boston in Lincolnshire gave to the realization of this project was acknowledged in the name of its capital. At the moment when he was dissolving his third Parliament, Charles granted the charter which established the colony of Massachusetts ; and by the Puritans at large the grant was at once regarded as a Providential call. Out of the failure of their great constitutional struggle, and the pressing danger to "godliness" in England, rose the dream of a land in the West where religion and liberty could find a safe and lasting home. The Parliament was hardly dissolved, when "conclusions" for the establishment of a great colony on the other side the Atlantic were circulating among gentry and traders, and descriptions of the new country of Massachusetts were talked over in every Puritan household. The proposal was welcomed with the quiet, stern enthusiasm which marked the temper of the time ; but the words of a well-known emigrant show how hard it was even for the sternest enthusiasts to tear themselves from their native land. "I shall call that my country," said the younger Winthrop, in answer to feelings of this sort, "where I may most glorify God and enjoy the presence of my dearest friends." The answer was accepted, and the Puritan emigration began on a scale such as England had never before seen. The two hundred who first sailed for Salem were soon followed by John Winthrop with eight hundred men ; and seven hundred more followed ere the first year of the king's personal rule had run its course. Nor were the emigrants, like the earlier colonists of the South, "broken men," adventurers, bankrupts, criminals ; or simply poor men and artisans, like the Pilgrim Fathers of the *Mayflower*. They were in great part men of the professional and middle classes ; some of them men of large landed estate,

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some zealous clergymen like Cotton, Hooker, and Roger Williams, some shrewd London lawyers, or young scholars from Oxford. The bulk were God-fearing farmers from Lincolnshire and the Eastern counties. They desired in fact "only the best" as sharers in their enterprise; men driven forth from their fatherland not by earthly want, or by the greed of gold, or by the lust of adventure, but by the fear of God, and the zeal for a godly worship. But strong as was their zeal, it was not without a wrench that they tore themselves from their English homes. "Farewell, dear England!" was the cry which burst from the first little company of emigrants as its shores faded from their sight. "Our hearts," wrote Winthrop's followers to the brethren whom they had left behind, "shall be fountains of tears for your everlasting welfare, when we shall be in our poor cottages in the wilderness."

During the next two years, as the sudden terror which had found so violent an outlet in Eliot's warnings died for the moment away, there was a lull in the emigration. But the measures of Laud soon revived the panic of the Puritans. The shrewdness of James had read the very heart of the man when Buckingham pressed for his first advancement to the see of St. David's. "He hath a restless spirit," said the old King, "which cannot see when things are well, but loves to toss and change, and to bring matters to a pitch of reformation floating in his own brain. Take him with you, but by my soul you will repent it." Cold, pedantic, superstitious as he was (he notes in his diary the entry of a robin-redbreast into his study as a matter of grave moment), William Laud rose out of the mass of court-prelates by his industry, his personal unselfishness, his remarkable capacity for administration. At a later period, when immersed in State-business, he found time to acquire so complete a knowledge of commercial affairs that the London merchants themselves owned him a master in matters of trade. Of statesmanship indeed he had none. But Laud's influence was really derived from the unity of his purpose. He directed all the power of a clear, narrow mind and a dogged will to the realization of a single aim. His resolve was to raise the Church of England to what he conceived to be its real position as a branch, though a reformed branch, of the great Catholic Church throughout the world; protesting alike against the innovations of Rome and the innovations of Calvin, and basing its doctrines and usages on those of the Christian communion in the centuries which preceded the Council of Nicæa. The first step in the realization of such a theory was the severance of whatever ties had hitherto united the English Church to the Reformed Churches of the Continent. In Laud's view episcopal succession was of the essence of a Church, and by their rejection of bishops, the Lutheran and Calvinistic Churches of Germany and Switzerland had ceased to be Churches at all. The freedom of worship therefore which had been allowed to

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the Huguenot refugees from France, or the Walloons from Flanders, was suddenly withdrawn ; and the requirement of conformity with the Anglican ritual drove them in crowds from the southern ports to seek toleration in Holland. The same conformity was required from the English soldiers and merchants abroad, who had hitherto attended without scruple the services of the Calvinistic churches. The English ambassador in Paris was forbidden to visit the Huguenot conventicle at Charenton. As Laud drew further from the Protestants of the Continent, he drew, consciously or unconsciously, nearer to Rome. His theory owned Rome as a true branch of the Church, though severed from that of England by errors and innovations against which Laud vigorously protested. But with the removal of these obstacles reunion would naturally follow, and his dream was that of bridging over the gulf which ever since the Reformation had parted the two Churches. The secret offer of a cardinal's hat proved Rome's sense that Laud was doing his work for her ; while his rejection of it, and his own reiterated protestations, prove equally that he was doing it unconsciously. Union with the great body of Catholicism, indeed, he regarded as a work which only time could bring about, but for which he could prepare the Church of England by raising it to a higher standard of Catholic feeling and Catholic practice. The great obstacle in his way was the Puritanism of nine-tenths of the English people, and on Puritanism he made war without mercy. No sooner had his elevation to the see of Canterbury placed him at the head of the English Church, than he turned the High Commission into a standing attack on the Puritan ministers. Rectors and vicars were scolded, suspended, deprived for "Gospel preaching." The use of the surplice, and the ceremonies most offensive to Puritan feeling, were enforced in every parish. The lectures founded in towns, which were the favourite posts of Puritan preachers, were rigorously suppressed. They found a refuge among the country gentlemen, and the Archbishop withdrew from the country gentlemen the privilege of keeping chaplains, which they had till then enjoyed. As parishes became vacant the High Church bishops had long been filling them with men who denounced Calvinism, and declared passive obedience to the sovereign to be part of the law of God. The Puritans soon felt the stress of this process, and endeavoured to meet it by buying up the appropriations of livings, and securing through feoffees a succession of Protestant ministers in the parishes of which they were patrons : but Laud cited the feoffees before the Court of Exchequer, and roughly put an end to them. Nor was the persecution confined to the clergy. Under the two last reigns the small pocket-Bibles called the Geneva Bibles had become universally popular amongst English laymen ; but their marginal notes were found to savour of Calvinism, and their importation was prohibited. The habit of receiving the communion in a sitting posture

had become common, but kneeling was now enforced, and hundreds were excommunicated for refusing to comply with the injunction. A more galling means of annoyance was found in the different views of the two religious parties on the subject of Sunday. The Puritans identified the Lord's day with the Jewish Sabbath, and transferred to the one the strict observances which were required for the other. The Laudian clergy, on the other hand, regarded it simply as one among the holidays of the Church, and encouraged their flocks in the pastimes and recreations after service which had been common before the Reformation. The Crown under James had taken part with the High Churchmen, and had issued a "Book of Sports" which recommended certain games as lawful and desirable on the Lord's day. The Parliament, as might be expected, was stoutly on the other side, and had forbidden Sunday pastimes by statute. The general religious sense of the country was undoubtedly tending to a stricter observance of the day, when Laud brought the contest to a sudden issue. He summoned the Chief-Justice, Richardson, who had enforced the statute in the western shires, to the Council-table, and rated him so violently that the old man came out complaining he had been all but choked by a pair of lawn sleeves. He then ordered every minister to read the declaration in favour of Sunday pastimes from the pulpit. One Puritan minister had the wit to obey, and to close the reading with the significant hint, "You have heard read, good people, both the commandment of God and the commandment of man. Obey which you please." But the bulk refused to comply with the Archbishop's will. The result followed at which Laud no doubt had aimed. Puritan ministers were cited before the High Commission, and silenced or deprived. In the diocese of Norwich alone thirty parochial ministers were expelled from their cures.

The suppression of Puritanism in the ranks of the clergy was only a preliminary to the real work on which the Archbishop's mind was set, the preparation for Catholic reunion by the elevation of the clergy to a Catholic standard in doctrine and ritual. Laud publicly avowed his preference of an unmarried to a married priesthood. Some of the bishops, and a large part of the new clergy who occupied the posts from which the Puritan ministers had been driven, advocated doctrines and customs which the Reformers had denounced as sheer Papistry; the practice, for instance, of auricular confession, a Real Presence in the Sacrament, or prayers for the dead. One prelate, Montague, was earnest for reconciliation with Rome. Another, Goodman, died acknowledging himself a Papist. Meanwhile Laud was indefatigable in his efforts to raise the civil and political status of the clergy to the point which it had reached ere the fatal blow of the Reformation fell on the priesthood. Among the archives of his see lies a large and costly volume in vellum, containing a copy of such records in the Tower as concerned

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the privileges of the clergy. Its compilation was entered in the Archbishop's diary as one among the "twenty-one things which I have projected to do if God bless me in them," and as among the fifteen to which before his fall he had been enabled to add his emphatic "done." The power of the Bishops' Courts, which had long fallen into decay, revived under his patronage. In 1636 he was able to induce the King to raise a prelate, Juxon, Bishop of London, to the highest civil post in the realm, that of Lord High Treasurer. "No Churchman had it since Henry the Seventh's time," Laud comments proudly. "I pray God bless him to carry it so that the Church may have honour, and the State service and content by it. And now, if the Church will not hold up themselves, under God I can do no more." As he aimed at a more Catholic standard of doctrine in the clergy, so he aimed at a nearer approach to the pomp of Catholicism in public worship. His conduct in his own house at Lambeth brings out with singular vividness the reckless courage with which he threw himself across the religious instincts of a time when the spiritual aspect of worship was overpowering in most men's minds its æsthetic and devotional sides. Men noted as a fatal omen the accident which marked his first entry into Lambeth; for the overladen ferry-boat upset in the passage of the river, and though the horses and servants were saved, the Archbishop's coach remained at the bottom of the Thames. But no omen, carefully as he might note it, brought a moment's hesitation to the bold, narrow mind of the new Primate. His first act, he boasted, was the setting about a restoration of his chapel; and, as Laud managed it, his restoration was the simple undoing of all that had been done there by his predecessors since the Reformation. The chapel of Lambeth House was one of the most conspicuous among the ecclesiastical buildings of the time; it had seen the daily worship of every Primate since Cranmer, and was a place "whither many of the nobility, judges, clergy, and persons of all sorts, as well strangers as natives, resorted." But all pomp of worship had gradually passed away from it. Under Cranmer the stained glass was dashed from its windows. In Elizabeth's time the communion table was moved into the middle of the chapel, and the credence table destroyed. Under James Archbishop Abbot put the finishing stroke on all attempts at a high ceremonial. The cope was no longer used as a special vestment in the communion. The Primate and his chaplains forbore to bow at the name of Christ. The organ and choir were alike abolished, and the service reduced to a simplicity which would have satisfied Calvin. To Laud the state of the chapel seemed intolerable. With characteristic energy he aided with his own hands in the replacement of the painted glass in its windows, and racked his wits in piecing the fragments together. The glazier was scandalized by the Primate's express command to repair and set up again the "broken crucifix" in the east

window. The holy table was removed from the centre, and set altar-wise against the eastern wall, with a cloth of arras behind it, on which was embroidered the history of the Last Supper. The elaborate woodwork of the screen, the rich copes of the chaplain, the silver candlesticks, the credence table, the organ and the choir, the stately ritual, the bowings at the sacred name, the genuflexions to the altar, made the chapel at last such a model of worship as Laud desired. If he could not exact an equal pomp of devotion in other quarters, he exacted as much as he could. Bowing to the altar was introduced into all cathedral churches. A royal injunction ordered the removal of the communion table, which for the last half-century or more had in almost every parish church stood in the middle of the nave, back to its pre-Reformation position in the chancel, and secured it from profanation by a rail. The removal implied, and was understood to imply, a recognition of the Real Presence, and a denial of the doctrine which Englishmen generally held about the Lord's Supper. But, strenuous as was the resistance Laud encountered, his pertinacity and severity warred it down. Parsons who denounced the change from their pulpits were fined, imprisoned, and deprived of their benefices. Churchwardens who refused or delayed to obey the injunction were rated at the Commission-table, and frightened into compliance.

In their last Remonstrance to the King the Commons had denounced Laud as the chief assailant of the Protestant character of the Church of England; and every year of his Primacy showed him bent upon justifying the accusation. His policy was no longer the purely conservative policy of Parker or Whitgift; it was aggressive and revolutionary. His "new counsels" threw whatever force there was in the feeling of conservatism into the hands of the Puritan, for it was the Puritan who now seemed to be defending the old character of the Church of England against its Primate's attacks. But backed as Laud was by the power of the Crown, the struggle became more hopeless every day. While the Catholics owned that they had never enjoyed a like tranquillity, while the fines for recusancy were reduced, and their worship suffered to go on in private houses, the Puritan saw his ministers silenced or deprived, his Sabbath profaned, the most sacred act of his worship brought near, as he fancied, to the Roman mass. Roman doctrine met him from the pulpit, Roman practices met him in the Church. We can hardly wonder that with such a world around them "godly people in England began to apprehend a special hand of Providence in raising this plantation" in Massachusetts; "and their hearts were generally stirred to come over." It was in vain that weaker men returned to bring news of hardships and dangers, and told how two hundred of the new comers had perished with their first winter. A letter from Winthrop told how the rest toiled manfully on. "We now enjoy God and Jesus Christ," he wrote to those at home, "and is not

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that enough? I thank God I like so well to be here as I do not repent my coming. I would not have altered my course though I had foreseen all these afflictions. I never had more content of mind." With the strength and manliness of Puritanism, its bigotry and narrowness had crossed the Atlantic too. Roger Williams, a young minister who held the doctrine of freedom of conscience, was driven from the new settlement, to become a preacher among the settlers of Rhode Island. The bitter resentment stirred in the emigrants by persecution at home was seen in their rejection of Episcopacy and their prohibition of the use of the Book of Common Prayer. The intensity of its religious sentiments turned the colony into a theocracy. "To the end that the body of the Commons may be preserved of honest and good men, it was ordered and agreed that for the time to come no man shall be admitted to the freedom of the body politic but such as are members of some of the churches within the bounds of the same." As the contest grew hotter at home the number of Puritan emigrants rose fast. Three thousand new colonists arrived from England in a single year. The growing stream of emigrants marks the terrible pressure of the time. Between the sailing of Winthrop's expedition and the assembly of the Long Parliament, in the space, that is, of ten or eleven years, two hundred emigrant ships had crossed the Atlantic, and twenty thousand Englishmen had found a refuge in the West.

Section V.—The Personal Government. 1629—1640.

[*Authorities.*—For the general events of the time, see previous sections. The "Strafford Letters," and the Calendars of Domestic State Papers for this period give its real history. "Baillie's Letters" tell the story of the Scotch rising. Generally, Scotch affairs may be studied in Mr. Burton's "History of Scotland." Portraits of Weston, and most of the statesmen of this period, may be found in the earlier part of Clarendon's "History of the Rebellion."]

At the opening of his third Parliament Charles had hinted in ominous words that the continuance of Parliament at all depended on its compliance with his will. "If you do not your duty," said the King, "mine would then order me to use those other means which God has put into my hand." The threat, however, failed to break the resistance of the Commons, and the ominous words passed into a settled policy. "We have showed," said a proclamation which followed on the dissolution of the Houses, "by our frequent meeting our people, our love to the use of Parliament; yet, the late abuse having for the present driven us unwillingly out of that course, we shall account it presumption for any to prescribe any time unto us for Parliament."

No Parliament in fact met for eleven years. But it would be unfair to charge the King at the outset of this period with any definite scheme of establishing a tyranny, or of changing what he conceived to be the older constitution of the realm. He "hated the very

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of Par-
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Charles

name of Parliaments," but in spite of his hate he had as yet no settled purpose of abolishing them. His belief was that England would in time recover its senses, and that then Parliament might re-assemble without inconvenience to the Crown. In the interval, however long it might be, he proposed to govern single-handed by the use of "those means which God had put into his hands." Resistance, indeed, he was resolved to put down. The leaders of the popular party in the last Parliament were thrown into prison; and Eliot died, the first martyr of English liberty, in the Tower. Men were forbidden to speak of the reassembling of a Parliament. But here the King stopped. The opportunity which might have suggested dreams of organized despotism to a Richelieu, suggested only means of filling his Exchequer to Charles. He had in truth neither the grander nor the meaner instincts of a born tyrant. He did not seek to gain an absolute power over his people, because he believed that his absolute power was already a part of the constitution of the country. He set up no standing army to secure it, partly because he was poor, but yet more because his faith in his position was such that he never dreamed of any effectual resistance. His expedients for freeing the Crown from that dependence on Parliaments against which his pride as a sovereign revolted were simply peace and economy. To secure the first he sacrificed an opportunity greater than ever his father had trodden under foot. The fortunes of the great struggle in Germany were suddenly reversed at this juncture by the appearance of Gustavus Adolphus, with a Swedish army, in the heart of Germany. Tilly was defeated and slain; the Catholic League humbled in the dust; Munich, the capital of its Bavarian leader, occupied by the Swedish army, and the Lutheran princes of North Germany freed from the pressure of the Imperial soldiery; while the Emperor himself, trembling within the walls of Vienna, was driven to call for aid from Wallenstein, an adventurer whose ambition he dreaded, but whose army could alone arrest the progress of the Protestant conqueror. The ruin that James had wrought was suddenly averted; but the victories of Protestantism had no more power to draw Charles out of the petty circle of his politics at home than its defeats had had power to draw James out of the circle of his imbecile diplomacy. When Gustavus, on the point of invading Germany, appealed for aid to England and France, Charles, left penniless by the dissolution of Parliament, resolved on a policy of peace, withdrew his ships from the Baltic, and opened negotiations with Spain, which brought about a treaty on the virtual basis of an abandonment of the Palatinate. Ill luck clung to him in peace as in war. The treaty was hardly concluded when Gustavus began his wonderful career of victory. Charles strove at once to profit by his success, and a few Scotch and English regiments followed Gustavus in his reconquest of the Palatinate. But the conqueror demanded, as the price of its restoration to Frederick, that

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Charles should again declare war upon Spain ; and this was a price that the King would not pay, determined as he was not to plunge into a combat which would again force him to summon Parliament. His whole attention was absorbed by the pressing question of revenue. The debt was a large one ; and the ordinary income of the Crown, unaided by parliamentary supplies, was inadequate to meet its ordinary expenditure. Charles himself was frugal and laborious ; and the economy of Weston, the new Lord Treasurer, whom he made Earl of Portland, contrasted advantageously with the waste and extravagance of the government under Buckingham. But economy failed to close the yawning gulf of the treasury, and the course into which Charles was driven by the financial pressure showed with how wise a prescience the Commons had fixed on the point of arbitrary taxation as the chief danger to constitutional freedom.

It is curious to see to what shifts the royal pride was driven in its effort at once to fill the Exchequer, and yet to avoid, as far as it could, any direct breach of constitutional law in the imposition of taxes by the sole authority of the Crown. The dormant powers of the prerogative were strained to their utmost. The right of the Crown to force knighthood on the landed gentry was revived, in order to squeeze them into composition for the refusal of it. Fines were levied on them for the redress of defects in their title-deeds. A Commission of the Forests exacted large sums from the neighbouring landowners for their encroachments on Crown lands. London, the special object of courtly dislike, on account of its stubborn Puritanism, was brought within the sweep of royal extortion by the enforcement of an illegal proclamation which James had issued, prohibiting its extension. Every house throughout the large suburban districts in which the prohibition had been disregarded was only saved from demolition by the payment of three years' rental to the Crown. Though the Catholics were no longer troubled by any active persecution, and the Lord Treasurer was in heart a Papist, the penury of the Exchequer forced the Crown to maintain the old system of fines for "recusancy." Vexatious measures of extortion such as these were far less hurtful to the State than the conversion of justice into a means of supplying the royal necessities by means of the Star Chamber. The jurisdiction of the King's Council had been revived by Wolsey as a check on the nobles ; and it had received great development, especially on the side of criminal law, during the Tudor reigns. Forgery, perjury, riot, maintenance, fraud, libel, and conspiracy, were the chief offences cognizable in this court, but its scope extended to every misdemeanor, and especially to charges where, from the imperfection of the common law, or the power of offenders, justice was baffled in the lower courts. Its process resembled that of Chancery : in State trials it acted on an information laid before it by the King's Attorney. Both witnesses and accused

were examined on oath by special interrogatories, and the Court was at liberty to adjudge any punishment short of death. However distinguished the Star Chamber was in ordinary cases for the learning and fairness of its judgements, in political trials it was impossible to hope for exact and impartial justice from a tribunal almost entirely composed of privy councillors. The possession of such a weapon would have been fatal to liberty under a great tyrant; under Charles it was turned freely to the profit of the Exchequer and the support of arbitrary rule. Enormous penalties were exacted for opposition to the royal will, and though the fines imposed were often remitted, they served as terrible engines of oppression. Fines such as these however affected a smaller range of sufferers than the financial expedient to which Weston had recourse in the renewal of monopolies. Monopolies, abandoned by Elizabeth, and extinguished by Act of Parliament under James, were again set on foot, and on a scale far more gigantic than had been seen before; the companies who undertook them paying a fixed duty on their profits as well as a large sum for the original concession of the monopoly. Wine, soap, salt, and almost every article of domestic consumption fell into the hands of monopolists, and rose in price out of all proportion to the profit gained by the Crown. "They sup in our cup," Colepepper said afterwards in the Long Parliament, "they dip in our dish, they sit by our fire; we find them in the dye-fat, the wash bowls, and the powdering tub. They share with the cutler in his box. They have marked and sealed us from head to foot." But in spite of these expedients the Treasury would have remained unfilled had not the King persisted in those financial measures which had called forth the protest of the Parliament. The exaction of customs duties went on as of old at the ports. The resistance of the London merchants to their payment was roughly put down; and one of them, Chambers, who complained bitterly that merchants were worse off in England than in Turkey, was brought before the Star Chamber and ruined by a fine of two thousand pounds. It was by measures such as these that Charles gained the bitter enmity of the great city whose strength and resources were fatal to him in the coming war. The freeholders of the counties were equally difficult to deal with. On one occasion, when those of Cornwall were called together at Bodmin to contribute to a voluntary loan, half the hundreds refused, and the yield of the rest came to little more than two thousand pounds. One of the Cornishmen has left an amusing record of the scene which took place before the Commissioners appointed for assessment of the loan. "Some with great words and threatenings, some with persuasions," he says, "were drawn to it. I was like to have been complimented out of my money; but knowing with whom I had to deal, I held, when I talked with them, my hands fast in my pockets."

By such means as these the debt was reduced, and the annual

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revenue of the Crown increased. Nor was there much sign of active discontent. Vexatious indeed and illegal as were the proceedings of the Crown, there seems in these earlier years of personal rule to have been little apprehension of any permanent danger to freedom in the country at large. To those who read the letters of the time there is something inexpressibly touching in the general faith of their writers in the ultimate victory of the Law. Charles was obstinate, but obstinacy was too common a foible amongst Englishmen to rouse any vehement resentment. The people were as stubborn as their King, and their political sense told them that the slightest disturbance of affairs must shake down the financial fabric which Charles was slowly building up, and force him back on subsidies and a Parliament. Meanwhile they would wait for better days, and their patience was aided by the general prosperity of the country. The great Continental wars threw wealth into English hands. The intercourse between Spain and Flanders was carried on solely in English ships, and the English flag covered the intercourse between Portuguese ports and the colonies in Africa, India, and the Pacific. The long peace was producing its inevitable results in an extension of commerce and a rise of manufactures in the towns of the West Riding of Yorkshire. Fresh land was being brought into cultivation, and a great scheme was set on foot for reclaiming the Fens. The new wealth of the country gentry, through the increase of rent, was seen in the splendour of the houses which they were raising. The contrast of this peace and prosperity with the ruin and bloodshed of the Continent afforded a ready argument to the friends of the King's system. So tranquil was the outer appearance of the country that in Court circles all sense of danger had disappeared. "Some of the greatest statesmen and privy councillors," says May, "would ordinarily laugh when the word, 'liberty of the subject,' was named." There were courtiers bold enough to express their hope that "the King would never need any more Parliaments." But beneath this outer calm "the country," Clarendon honestly tells us while eulogizing the peace, "was full of pride and mutiny and discontent." Thousands were quitting England for America. The gentry held aloof from the Court. "The common people in the generality and the country freeholders would rationally argue of their own rights and the oppressions which were laid upon them." If Charles was content to deceive himself, there was one man among his ministers who saw that the people were right in their policy of patience, and that unless other measures were taken the fabric of despotism would fall at the first breath of adverse fortune.

Went-
worth

Sir Thomas Wentworth, a great Yorkshire landowner and one of the representatives of his county, had stood during the Parliament of 1628 among the more prominent members of the popular party in the Commons. But from the first moment of his appearance in public his passionate desire had been to find employment in the service of the

Crown. At the close of the preceding reign he was already connected with the Court, he had secured a seat in Yorkshire for one of the royal ministers, and was believed to be on the high road to a peerage. But the consciousness of political ability which spurred his ambition roused the jealousy of Buckingham; and the haughty pride of Wentworth was flung by repeated slights into an attitude of opposition, which his eloquence—grander in its sudden outbursts, though less earnest and sustained, than that of Eliot—soon rendered formidable. His intrigues at Court roused Buckingham to crush by a signal insult the rival whose genius he instinctively dreaded. While sitting in his court as sheriff of Yorkshire, Wentworth received the announcement of his dismissal from office, and of the gift of his post to Sir John Savile, his rival in the county. "Since they will thus weakly breathe on me a seeming disgrace in the public face of my country," he said with a characteristic outburst of contemptuous pride, "I shall crave leave to wipe it away as openly, as easily!" His whole conception of a strong and able rule revolted against the miserable government of the favourite. Wentworth's aim was to force on the King, not such a freedom as Eliot longed for, but such a system as the Tudors had clung to, where a large and noble policy placed the sovereign naturally at the head of the people, and where Parliaments sank into mere aids to the Crown. But before this could be, Buckingham must be cleared away. It was with this end that Wentworth sprang to the front of the Commons in urging the Petition of Right. Whether in that crisis of Wentworth's life some nobler impulse, some true passion for the freedom he was to trample under foot mingled with his thirst for revenge, it is hard to tell. But his words were words of fire. "If he did not faithfully insist for the common liberty of the subject to be preserved whole and entire," it was thus he closed one of his speeches on the Petition, "it was his desire that he might be set as a beacon on a hill for all men else to wonder at."

It is as such a beacon that his name has stood from that time to this. The death of Buckingham had no sooner removed the obstacle that stood between his ambition and the end at which it had aimed throughout, than the cloak of patriotism was flung by. Wentworth was admitted to the royal Council, and he took his seat at the board determined, to use his own phrase, to "vindicate the Monarchy for ever from the conditions and restraints of subjects." So great was the faith in his zeal and power which he knew how to breathe into his royal master that he was at once raised to the peerage, and placed with Laud in the first rank of the King's councillors. Charles had good ground for this rapid confidence in his new minister. In Wentworth, or as he is known from the title he assumed at the close of his life, in the Earl of Strafford, the very genius of tyranny was embodied. If he shared his master's belief that the arbitrary power

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which Charles was wielding formed part of the old constitution of the country, and that the Commons had gone out of their "ancient bounds" in limiting the royal prerogative, he was clear-sighted enough to see that the only way of permanently establishing absolute rule in England was not by reasoning, or by the force of custom, but by the force of fear. His system was the expression of his own inner temper; and the dark gloomy countenance, the full heavy eye, which meet us in Strafford's portrait are the best commentary on his policy of "Thorough." It was by the sheer strength of his genius, by the terror his violence inspired amid the meaner men whom Buckingham had left, by the general sense of his power, that he had forced himself upon the Court. He had none of the small arts of a courtier. His air was that of a silent, proud, passionate man; when he first appeared at Whitehall his rough uncourtly manners provoked a smile in the royal circle. But the smile soon died into a general hate. The Queen, frivolous and meddlesome as she was, detested him; his fellow-ministers intrigued against him, and seized on his hot speeches against the great lords, his quarrels with the royal household, his transports of passion at the very Council-table, to ruin him in his master's favour. The King himself, while steadily supporting him against his rivals, was utterly unable to understand his drift. Charles valued him as an administrator, disdainful of private ends, crushing great and small with the same haughty indifference to men's love or hate, and devoted to the one aim of building up the power of the Crown. But in his purpose of preparing for the great struggle with freedom which he saw before him, of building up by force such a despotism in England as Richelieu was building up in France, and of thus making England as great in Europe as France had been made by Richelieu, he could look for little sympathy and less help from the King.

Wentworth's genius turned impatiently to a sphere where it could act alone, untrammelled by the hindrances it encountered at home. His purpose was to prepare for the coming contest by the provision of a fixed revenue, arsenals, fortresses, and a standing army, and it was in Ireland that he resolved to find them. He saw in the country over which the English Government had now assumed full and undivided command the lever he needed for the overthrow of English freedom. The balance of Catholic against Protestant in Ireland might be used to make both parties dependent on the royal authority; the rights of conquest which by the Stuart theory vested the whole land in the absolute possession of the Crown, gave him a large field for his administrative ability; and for the rest he trusted, and trusted justly, to the force of his genius and of his will. In 1633 he was made Lord Deputy, and five years later his aim seemed all but realized. "The King," he wrote to Laud, "is as absolute here as any prince in the

world can be." Wentworth's government was a rule of terror. Officials of Church and State such as Archbishop Usher and Lord Chancellor Loftus, or adventurers like Boyle Earl of Cork, were the objects of his insult and defiance. His tyranny strode over all legal bounds. A few insolent words, construed as mutiny, were enough to bring Lord Mountnorris before a council of war, and to inflict on him a sentence of death. But his tyranny aimed at public ends, and in Ireland the heavy hand of a single despot delivered the mass of the people at any rate from the local despotism of a hundred masters. The Irish land-owners were for the first time made to feel themselves amenable to the law. Justice was enforced, outrage was repressed, the condition of the clergy was to some extent raised, the sea was cleared of the pirates who infested it. The encouragement of the linen manufacture which was to bring wealth to Ulster, and some revival of the ruined Irish commerce, date from the Lieutenancy of Wentworth. The noblest work for Ireland would have been a reconciliation between Catholic and Protestant, and an obliteration of the anger and thirst for vengeance raised by the Ulster Plantation. Wentworth, on the other hand, angered the Protestants by a toleration of Catholic worship; while his perfidious scheme for the plantation of Connacht by Protestants taught the Irish that the suppression of their religion and the extermination of their race from the soil was the settled policy of the Government, and that no submission could avert their doom. Meanwhile he encouraged a disunion which left both parties dependent for support and protection on the Crown. It was a policy which was to end in bringing about the anguish of the Irish revolt, the vengeance of Cromwell, and the long series of atrocities which make the story of the country he ruined so terrible to tell. But for the hour it left Ireland helpless in his hands. He doubled the revenue. He reorganized the army. To provide for its support he ventured, in spite of the panic with which Charles heard his project, to summon an Irish Parliament. His aim was to read a lesson to England and the King, by showing how completely that dreaded thing, a Parliament, could be made the organ of the royal will; and his success was complete. Two-thirds, indeed, of an Irish House of Commons consisted of the representatives of wretched villages, the pocket-boroughs of the Crown; while absent peers were forced to entrust their proxies to the Council to be used at its pleasure. But precautions were hardly needed. The two Houses trembled at the stern master who bade their members not let the King "find them muttering, or, to speak it more truly, mutinying in corners," and voted with a perfect docility the means of maintaining an army of five thousand foot and five hundred horse. Had the subsidy been refused, the result would have been the same. "I would undertake," wrote Wentworth, "upon the peril of my head, to make the King's army able to subsist and provide for itself among them without their help."

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While Wentworth was thus working out his system of "Thorough" on one side of St. George's Channel, it was being carried out on the other by a mind inferior, indeed, to his own in genius, but almost equal to it in courage and tenacity. On Weston's death in 1635, Laud became virtually first minister at the English Council-board. We have already seen with what a reckless and unscrupulous activity he was crushing Puritanism in the English Church, and driving Puritan ministers from English pulpits; and in this work his new position enabled him to back the authority of the High Commission by the terrors of the Star Chamber. It was a work, indeed, which to Laud's mind was at once civil and religious: he had allied the cause of ecclesiastical organization with that of absolutism in the State; and, while borrowing the power of the Crown to crush ecclesiastical liberty, he brought the influence of the Church to bear on the ruin of civil freedom. But his power stopped at the Scotch frontier. Across the Border stood a Church with bishops indeed, but without a ritual, modelled on the doctrine and system of Geneva, Calvinist in teaching and to a great extent in government. The mere existence of such a Church gave countenance to English Puritanism, and threatened in any hour of ecclesiastical weakness to bring a dangerous influence to bear on the Church of England. With Scotland, indeed, Laud could only deal indirectly through Charles, for the King was jealous of any interference of his English ministers or Parliament with his Northern Kingdom. But Charles was himself earnest to deal with it. He had imbibed his father's hatred of all that tended to Presbyterianism, and from the outset of his reign he had been making advance after advance towards the more complete establishment of Episcopacy. To understand, however, what had been done, and the relations which had by this time grown up between Scotland and its King, we must take up again the thread of its history which we broke at the moment when Mary fled for refuge over the English border.

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After a few years of wise and able rule, the triumph of Protestantism under the Earl of Murray had been interrupted by his assassination, by the revival of the Queen's faction, and by the renewal of civil war. The next regent, the child-king's grandfather, was slain in a fray; but under the strong hand of Morton the land won a short breathing-space. Edinburgh, the last fortress held in Mary's name, surrendered to an English force sent by Elizabeth; and its captain, Kirkcaldy of Grange, was hanged for treason in the market-place; while the stern justice of Morton forced peace upon the warring lords. The people of the Lowlands, indeed, were now stanch for the new faith; and the Protestant Church rose rapidly after the death of Knox into a power which appealed at every critical juncture to the deeper feelings of the nation at large. In the battle with Catholicism the bishops had clung to the old religion; and the new faith, left without episcopal interfer-

ence, and influenced by the Genevan training of Knox, borrowed from Calvin its model of Church government, as it borrowed its theology. The system of Presbyterianism, as it grew up at the outset without direct recognition from the law, not only bound Scotland together as it had never been bound before by its administrative organization, its church synods and general assemblies, but by the power it gave the lay elders in each congregation, and by the summons of laymen in an overpowering majority to the earlier Assemblies, it called the people at large to a voice, and as it proved, a decisive voice, in the administration of affairs. If its government by ministers gave it the outer look of an ecclesiastical despotism, no Church constitution has proved in practice so democratic as that of Scotland. Its influence in raising the nation at large to a consciousness of its own power is shown by the change which passes, from the moment of its final establishment, over the face of Scotch history. The sphere of action to which it called the people was in fact not a mere ecclesiastical but a national sphere; and the power of the Church was felt more and more over nobles and King. When after five years the union of his rivals put an end to Morton's regency, the possession of the young sovereign, James the Sixth, and the exercise of the royal authority in his name, became the constant aim of the factions who were tearing Scotland to pieces. As James grew to manhood, however, he was strong enough to break the yoke of the lords, and to become master of the great houses that had so long overawed the Crown. But he was farther than ever from being absolute master of his realm. Amidst the turmoil of the Reformation a new force had come to the front. This was the Scotch people which had risen into being under the guise of the Scotch Kirk. Melville, the greatest of the successors of Knox, claimed for the ecclesiastical body an independence of the State which James hardly dared to resent, while he struggled helplessly beneath the sway which public opinion, expressed through the General Assembly of the Church, exercised over the civil government. In the great crisis of the Armada his hands were fettered by the league with England which it forced upon him. The democratic boldness of Calvinism allied itself with the spiritual pride of the Presbyterian ministers in their dealings with the Crown. Melville in open council took James by the sleeve, and called him "God's silly vassal." "There are two Kings," he told him, "and two kingdoms in Scotland. There is Christ Jesus the King, and His Kingdom the Kirk, whose subject James the Sixth is, and of whose kingdom not a king, nor a lord, nor a head, but a member." The words and tone of the great preacher were bitterly remembered when James mounted the English throne. "A Scottish Presbytery," he exclaimed years afterwards at the Hampton Court Conference, "as well fitteth with Monarchy as God and the Devil! No Bishop, no King!" But Scotland was resolved

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on "no bishop." Episcopacy had become identified among the more zealous Scotchmen with the old Catholicism they had shaken off. When he appeared at a later time before the English Council-table, Melville took the Archbishop of Canterbury by the sleeves of his rochet, and, shaking them in his manner, called them Romish rags, and marks of the Beast. Four years therefore after the ruin of the Armada, Episcopacy was formally abolished, and the Presbyterian system established by law as the mode of government of the Church of Scotland. The rule of the Church was placed in a General Assembly, with subordinate Provincial Synods, Presbyteries, and Kirk Sessions, by which its discipline was carried down to every member of a congregation. All that James could save was the right of being present at the General Assembly, and of fixing a time and place for its annual meeting. But James had no sooner succeeded to the English throne than he used his new power in a struggle to undo the work which had been done. In spite of his assent to an act legalizing its annual convention, he hindered any meeting of the General Assembly for five successive years by repeated prorogations. The protests of the clergy were roughly met. When nineteen ministers constituted themselves an Assembly they were banished as traitors from the realm. Of the leaders who remained the boldest were summoned with Andrew Melville to confer with the King in England on his projects of change. On their refusal to betray the freedom of the Church they were committed to prison; and an epigram which Melville wrote on the usages of the English communion was seized on as a ground for bringing him before the English Privy Council. He was sent to the Tower, and released after some years of imprisonment only to go into exile. Deprived of their leaders, threatened with bonds and exile, deserted by the nobles, ill supported as yet by the mass of the people, the Scottish ministers bent before the pressure of the Crown. Bishops were allowed to act as presidents in their synods; and episcopacy was at last formally recognized in the Scottish Church. The pulpits were bridled. The General Assembly was brought to submission. The ministers and elders were deprived of their right of excommunicating offenders, save with a bishop's sanction. A Court of High Commission enforced the supremacy of the Crown. But with this assertion of his royal authority James was content. His aim was political rather than religious, and in seizing on the control of the Church through his organized prelacy, he held himself to have won back that mastery of his realm which the Reformation had reft from the Scottish Kings. The earlier policy of Charles followed his father's line of action. It effected little save a partial restoration of Church-lands, which the lords were forced to surrender. But Laud's vigorous action soon made itself felt. His first acts were directed rather to

points of outer observance than to any attack on the actual fabric of Presbyterian organization. The Estates were induced to withdraw the control of ecclesiastical apparel from the Assembly, and to commit it to the Crown ; a step soon followed by a resumption of their episcopal costume on the part of the Scotch bishops. When the Bishop of Moray preached before Charles in his rochet, on the King's visit to Edinburgh, it was the first instance of its use since the Reformation. The innovation was followed by the issue of a royal warrant which directed all ministers to use the surplice in divine worship. From costume, however, the busy minister soon passed to weightier matters. Many years had gone by since he had vainly invited James to draw his Scotch subjects "to a nearer conjunction with the liturgy and canons of this nation." "I sent him back again," said the shrewd old King, "with the frivolous draft he had drawn. For all that, he feared not my anger, but assaulted me again with another ill-fangled platform to make that stubborn Kirk stoop more to the English platform ; but I durst not play fast and loose with my word. He knows not the stomach of that people." But Laud knew how to wait, and his time had come at last. He was resolved to put an end to the Presbyterian character of the Scotch Church altogether, and to bring it to a uniformity with the Church of England. A book of canons issued by the sole authority of the King placed the government of the Church absolutely in the hands of its bishops ; no Church Assembly might be summoned but by the King, no alteration in worship or discipline introduced but by his permission. As daring a stretch of the prerogative superseded what was known as Knox's Liturgy—the book of Common Order drawn up on the Genevan model by that Reformer, and generally used throughout Scotland—by a new Liturgy based on the English Book of Common Prayer. The liturgy and canons drawn up by four Scottish bishops were laid before Laud ; in their composition the General Assembly had neither been consulted nor recognized ; and taken together they formed the code of a political and ecclesiastical system which aimed at reducing Scotland to an utter subjection to the Crown. To enforce them on the land was to effect a revolution of the most serious kind. The books however were backed by a royal injunction, and Laud flattered himself that the revolution had been wrought.

Triumphant in Scotland, with the Scotch Church—as he fancied—at his feet, Laud's hand still fell heavily on the English Puritans. There were signs of a change of temper which might have made even a bolder man pause. Thousands of "the best," scholars, merchants, lawyers, farmers, were flying over the Atlantic to seek freedom and purity of religion in the wilderness. Great landowners and nobles were preparing to follow. Ministers were quitting their parsonages rather than abet the royal insult to the sanctity of the Sabbath. The Puritans who remained among the clergy were giving

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up their homes rather than consent to the change of the sacred table into an altar, or to silence in their protests against the new Popery. The noblest of living Englishmen refused to become the priest of a Church whose ministry could only be "bought with servitude and forswearing." We have seen John Milton leave Cambridge, self-dedicated "to that same lot, however mean or high, to which time leads me and the will of Heaven." But the lot to which these called him was not the ministerial office to which he had been destined from his childhood. In later life he told bitterly the story, how he had been "Church-outed by the prelates." "Coming to some maturity of years, and perceiving what tyranny had invaded in the Church, that he who would take orders must subscribe slave, and take an oath withal, which unless he took with a conscience that would retch he must either straight perjure or split his faith, I thought it better to prefer a blameless silence before the sacred office of speaking, bought and begun with servitude and forswearing." In spite therefore of his father's regrets, he retired to a new home which the scrivener had found at Horton, a village in the neighbourhood of Windsor, and quietly busied himself with study and verse. The poetic impulse of the Renaissance had been slowly dying away under the Stuarts. The stage was falling into mere coarseness and horror; Shakspeare had died quietly at Stratford in Milton's childhood; the last and worst play of Ben Jonson appeared in the year of his settlement at Horton; and though Ford and Massinger still lingered on there were no successors for them but Shirley and Davenant. The philosophic and meditative taste of the age had produced indeed poetic schools of its own: poetic satire had become fashionable in Hall, better known afterwards as a bishop, and had been carried on vigorously by George Wither; the so-called "metaphysical" poetry, the vigorous and pithy expression of a cold and prosaic good sense, began with Sir John Davies, and buried itself in fantastic affectations in Donne; religious verse had become popular in the gloomy allegories of Quarles and the tender refinement which struggles through a jungle of puns and extravagances in George Herbert. But what poetic life really remained was to be found only in the caressing fancy and lively badinage of lyric singers like Herrick, whose grace is untouched by passion and often disfigured by coarseness and pedantry; or in the school of Spenser's more direct successors, where Browne in his pastorals, and the two Fletchers, Phineas and Giles, in their unreadable allegories, still preserved something of their master's sweetness, if they preserved nothing of his power. Milton was himself a Spenserian; he owned to Dryden in later years "that Spenser was his original," and in some of his earliest lines at Horton he dwells lovingly on "the sage and solemn tones" of the "Faerie Queen," its "forests and enchantments drear, where more is meant than meets the ear." But of the weakness and

affectation which characterized Spenser's successors he had not a trace. In the "Allegro" and "Penseroso," the first results of his retirement at Horton, we catch again the fancy and melody of the Elizabethan verse, the wealth of its imagery, its wide sympathy with nature and man. There is a loss, perhaps, of the older freedom and spontaneity of the Renaissance, a rhetorical rather than passionate turn in the young poet, a striking absence of dramatic power, and a want of subtle precision even in his picturesque touches. Milton's imagination is not strong enough to identify him with the world which he imagines; he stands apart from it, and looks at it as from a distance, ordering it and arranging it at his will. But if in this respect he falls, both in his earlier and later poems, far below Shakspeare or Spenser, the deficiency is all but compensated by his nobleness of feeling and expression, the severity of his taste, his sustained dignity, and the perfectness and completeness of his work. The moral grandeur of the Puritan breathes, even in these lighter pieces of his youth, through every line. The "Comus," planned as a masque for the festivities which the Earl of Bridgewater was holding at Ludlow Castle, rises into an almost impassioned pleading for the love of virtue.

The historic interest of Milton's "Comus" lies in its forming part of a protest made by the more cultured Puritans at this time against the gloomier bigotry which persecution was fostering in the party at large. The patience of Englishmen, in fact, was slowly wearing out. There was a sudden upgrowth of virulent pamphlets of the old Martin Marprelate type. Men, whose names no one asked, hawked libels, whose authorship no one knew, from the door of the tradesman to the door of the squire. As the hopes of a Parliament grew fainter, and men despaired of any legal remedy, violent and weak-headed fanatics came, as at such times they always come, to the front. Leighton, the father of the saintly Archbishop of that name, had given a specimen of their tone at the outset of this period, by denouncing the prelates as men of blood, Episcopacy as Antichrist, and the Popish queen as a daughter of Heth. The "Histrio-mastix" of Prynne, a lawyer distinguished for his constitutional knowledge, but the most obstinate and narrow-minded of men, marked the deepening of Puritan bigotry under the fostering warmth of Laud's persecution. The book was an attack on players as the ministers of Satan, on theatres as the devil's chapels, on hunting, maypoles, the decking of houses at Christmas with evergreens, on cards, music, and false hair. The attack on the stage was as offensive to the more cultured minds among the Puritan party as to the Court itself; Selden and Whitelock took a prominent part in preparing a grand masque by which the Inns of Court resolved to answer its challenge, and in the following year Milton wrote his masque of "Comus" for Ludlow Castle. To leave Prynne, however, simply to the censure of wiser men than himself was too sensible a course for the angry Primate. No man was ever

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sent to prison before or since for such a sheer mass of nonsense ; but a passage in the book was taken as a reflection on the Queen, and his sentence showed the hard cruelty of the Primate. Prynne was dismissed from the bar, deprived of his university degree, and set in the pillory. His ears were clipped from his head, and he was taken back to prison. But the storm of popular passion which was gathering was not so pressing a difficulty to the royal ministers at this time as the old difficulty of the exchequer. The ingenious devices of the Court lawyers, the revived prerogatives, the illegal customs, the fines and confiscations which were alienating one class after another and sowing in home after home the seeds of a bitter hatred to the Crown, were insufficient to meet the needs of the Treasury ; and new exactions were necessary, at a time when the rising discontent made every new exaction a challenge to revolt. A fresh danger had suddenly appeared in an alliance of France and Holland which threatened English dominion over the Channel ; and there were rumours of a proposed partition of the Spanish Netherlands between the two powers. It was necessary to put a strong fleet on the seas ; and the money which had to be found at home was procured by a stretch of the prerogative which led afterwards to the great contest over ship-money. The legal research of Noy, one of the law officers of the Crown, found precedents among the records in the Tower for the provision of ships for the King's use by the port-towns of the kingdom, and for the furnishing of their equipment by the maritime counties. The precedents dated from times when no permanent fleet existed, and when sea warfare was waged by vessels lent for the moment by the various ports. But they were seized as a means of equipping a permanent navy without cost to the exchequer ; the first demand for ships was soon commuted into a demand of money for the payment of ships ; and the writs which were issued to London and the chief English ports were enforced by fine and imprisonment. When Laud took the direction of affairs a more vigorous and unscrupulous impulse made itself felt. To Laud as to Wentworth, indeed, the King seemed over-cautious, the Star Chamber feeble, the judges over-scrupulous. "I am for Thorough," the one writes to the other in alternate fits of impatience at the slow progress they are making. Wentworth was anxious that his good work might not "be spoiled on that side." Laud echoed the wish, while he envied the free course of the Lord Lieutenant. "You have a good deal of honour here," he writes, "for your proceeding. Go on a' God's name. I have done with expecting of Thorough on this side." The financial pressure was seized by both to force the King on to a bolder course. "The debt of the Crown being taken off," Wentworth urged, "you may govern at your will." All pretence of precedents was thrown aside, and Laud resolved to find a permanent revenue in the conversion of the "ship-money," till now levied on

ports and the maritime counties, into a general tax imposed by the royal will upon the whole country. "I know no reason," Wentworth had written significantly, "but you may as well rule the common lawyers in England as I, poor beagle, do here;" and the judges no sooner declared the new impost to be legal than he drew the logical deduction from their decision. "Since it is lawful for the King to impose a tax for the equipment of the navy, it must be equally so for the levy of an army: and the same reason which authorizes him to levy an army to resist, will authorize him to carry that army abroad that he may prevent invasion. Moreover what is law in England is law also in Scotland and Ireland. The decision of the judges will therefore make the King absolute at home and formidable abroad. Let him only abstain from war for a few years that he may habituate his subjects to the payment of that tax, and in the end he will find himself more powerful and respected than any of his predecessors." But there were men who saw the danger to freedom in this levy of ship-money as clearly as Wentworth himself. The bulk of the country party abandoned all hope of English freedom. There was a sudden revival of the emigration to New England; and men of blood and fortune now prepared to seek a new home in the West. Lord Warwick secured the proprietorship of the Connecticut valley. Lord Saye and Sele and Lord Brooke began negotiations for transporting themselves to the New World. Oliver Cromwell is said, by a doubtful tradition, to have only been prevented from crossing the seas by a royal embargo. It is more certain that Hampden purchased a tract of land on the Narragansett. John Hampden, a friend of Eliot's, a man of consummate ability, of unequalled power of persuasion, of a keen intelligence, ripe learning, and a character singularly pure and loveable, had already shown the firmness of his temper in his refusal to contribute to the forced loan of 1627. He now repeated his refusal, declared ship-money an illegal impost, and resolved to rouse the spirit of the country by an appeal for protection to the law.

The news of Hampden's resistance thrilled through England at a moment when men were roused by the news of resistance in the north. The patience of Scotland had found an end at last. While England was waiting for the opening of the great cause of ship-money, peremptory orders from the King forced the clergy of Edinburgh to introduce the new service into their churches. But the Prayer Book was no sooner opened at the church of St. Giles's than a murmur ran through the congregation, and the murmur soon grew into a formidable riot. The church was cleared, and the service read; but the rising discontent frightened the judges into a decision that the royal writ enjoined the purchase, and not the use, of the Prayer Book. Its use was at once discontinued, and the angry orders which came from England for its restoration were met by a shower of protests from every part of

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Scotland. The Duke of Lennox alone took sixty-eight petitions with him to the court; while ministers, nobles, and gentry poured into Edinburgh to organize the national resistance. The effect of these events in Scotland was at once seen in the open demonstration of discontent south of the border. The prison with which Laud had rewarded Prynne's bulky quarto had tamed his spirit so little that a new tract written within its walls attacked the bishops as devouring wolves and lords of Lucifer. A fellow-prisoner, John Bastwick, declared in his "Litany" that "Hell was broke loose, and the Devils in surplices, hoods, copes, and rochets, were come among us." Burton, a London clergyman silenced by the High Commission, called on all Christians to resist the bishops as "robbers of souls, limbs of the Beast, and factors of Antichrist." Raving of this sort might have been passed by had not the general sympathy shown how fast the storm of popular passion was rising. Prynne and his fellow pamphleteers, when Laud dragged them before the Star Chamber as "trumpets of sedition," listened with defiance to their sentence of exposure in the pillory and imprisonment for life; and the crowd who filled Palace Yard to witness their punishment groaned at the cutting off of their ears, and "gave a great shout" when Prynne urged that the sentence on him was contrary to the law. A hundred thousand Londoners lined the road as they passed on the way to prison; and the journey of these "Martyrs," as the spectators called them, was like a triumphal progress. Startled as he was at the sudden burst of popular feeling, Laud remained dauntless as ever. Prynne's entertainers as he passed through the country were summoned before the Star Chamber, while the censorship struck fiercer blows at the Puritan press. But the real danger lay not in the libels of silly zealots but in the attitude of Scotland, and in the effect which was being produced in England at large by the trial of Hampden. For twelve days the cause of ship-money was solemnly argued before the full bench of judges. It was proved that the tax in past times had been levied only in cases of sudden emergency, and confined to the coast and port towns alone, and that even the show of legality had been taken from it by formal statute: it was declared a breach of the "fundamental laws" of England. The case was adjourned, but the discussion told not merely on England but on the temper of the Scots. Charles had replied to their petitions by a simple order to all strangers to leave the capital. But the Council at Edinburgh was unable to enforce his order; and the nobles and gentry before dispersing to their homes named a body of delegates, under the odd title of "the Tables," who carried on through the winter a series of negotiations with the Crown. The negotiations were interrupted in the following spring by a renewed order for their dispersion, and for the acceptance of a Prayer Book; while the judges in England delivered at last their long-delayed decision on Hampden's

case. Two judges only pronounced in his favour; though three followed them on technical grounds. The majority, seven in number, gave judgement against him. The broad principle was laid down that no statute prohibiting arbitrary taxation could be pleaded against the King's will. "I never read or heard," said Judge Berkley, "that *lex was rex*, but it is common and most true that *rex is lex*." Finch, the Chief-Justice, summed up the opinions of his fellow judges. "Acts of Parliament to take away the King's royal power in the defence of his kingdom are void," he said: . . . "they are void Acts of Parliament to bind the King not to command the subjects, their persons, and goods, and I say their money too, for no Acts of Parliament make any difference."

"I wish Mr. Hampden and others to his likeness," the Lord Deputy wrote bitterly from Ireland, "were well whipt into their right senses." Amidst the exultation of the Court over the decision of the judges, Wentworth saw clearly that Hampden's work had been done. His resistance had roused England to a sense of the danger to her freedom, and forced into light the real character of the royal claims. How stern and bitter the temper even of the noblest Puritans had become at last we see in the poem which Milton produced at this time, his elegy of "Lycidas." Its grave and tender lament is broken by a sudden flash of indignation at the dangers around the Church, at the "blind mouths that scarce themselves know how to hold a sheep-hook," and to whom "the hungry sheep look up, and are not fed," while "the grim wolf" of Rome "with privy paw daily devours apace, and nothing said!" The stern resolve of the people to demand justice on their tyrants spoke in his threat of the axe. Wentworth and Laud, and Charles himself, had yet to reckon with "that two-handed engine at the door" which stood "ready to smite once, and smite no more." But stern as was the general resolve, there was no need for immediate action, for the difficulties which were gathering in the north were certain to bring a strain on the Government which would force it to seek support from the people. The King's demand for immediate submission, which reached Edinburgh while England was waiting for the Hampden judgment, at once gathered the whole body of remonstrants together round "the Tables" at Edinburgh; and a protestation, read at Edinburgh and Stirling, was followed, on Johnston of Warriston's suggestion, by a renewal of the Covenant with God which had been drawn up and sworn to in a previous hour of peril, when Mary was still plotting against Protestantism, and Spain was preparing its Armada. "We promise and swear," ran the solemn engagement at its close, "by the great name of the Lord our God, to continue in the profession and obedience of the said religion, and that we shall defend the same, and resist all their contrary errors and corruptions, according to our vocation and the utmost of that power which God has put

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into our hands all the days of our life." The Covenant was signed in the churchyard of the Grey Friars at Edinburgh, in a tumult of enthusiasm, "with such content and joy as those who, having long before been outlaws and rebels, are admitted again into covenant with God." Gentlemen and nobles rode with the documents in their pockets over the country, gathering subscriptions to it, while the ministers pressed for a general consent to it from the pulpit. But pressure was needless. "Such was the zeal of subscribers that for a while many subscribed with tears on their cheeks;" some were indeed reputed to have "drawn their own blood and used it in place of ink to underwrite their names." The force given to Scottish freedom by this revival of religious fervour was seen in the new tone adopted by the Covenanters. The Marquis of Hamilton, who came as Royal Commissioner to put an end to the quarrel, was at once met by demands for an abolition of the Court of High Commission, the withdrawal of the Books of Canons and Common Prayer, a free Parliament, and a free General Assembly. It was in vain that he threatened war; even the Scotch Council pressed Charles to give fuller satisfaction to the people. "I will rather die," the King wrote to Hamilton, "than yield to these impertinent and damnable demands;" but it was needful to gain time. "The discontents at home," wrote Lord Northumberland to Wentworth, "do rather increase than lessen:" and Charles was without money or men. It was in vain that he begged for a loan from Spain on promise of declaring war against Holland, or that he tried to procure two thousand troops from Flanders with which to occupy Edinburgh. The loan and troops were both refused, and some contributions offered by the English Catholics did little to recruit the Exchequer. Charles had directed the Marquis to delay any decisive breach till the royal fleet appeared in the Forth; but it was hard to equip a fleet at all. Scotland indeed was sooner ready for war than the King. The Scotch volunteers who had been serving in the Thirty Years' War streamed home at the call of their brethren. General Leslie, a veteran trained under Gustavus, came from Sweden to take the command of the new forces. A voluntary war tax was levied in every shire. The danger at last forced the King to yield to the Scotch demands; but he had no sooner yielded than the concession was withdrawn, and the Assembly hardly met before it was called upon to disperse. By an almost unanimous vote, however, it resolved to continue its session. The innovations in worship and discipline were abolished, episcopacy was abjured, the bishops deposed, and the system of Presbyterianism re-established in its fullest extent. The news that Charles was gathering an army at York, and reckoning for support on the scattered loyalists in Scotland itself, was answered by the seizure of Edinburgh, Dumbarton, and Stirling; while 10,000 well-equipped troops under Leslie and the Earl of Montrose entered Aber-

deen, and brought the Catholic Earl of Huntly a prisoner to the south. Instead of overawing the country, the appearance of the royal fleet in the Forth was the signal for Leslie's march with 20,000 men to the Border. Charles had hardly pushed across the Tweed, when the "old little crooked soldier," encamping on the hill of Dunse Law, fairly offered him battle.

Charles however, without money to carry on war, was forced to consent to the gathering of a free Assembly and of a Scotch Parliament. But in his eyes the pacification at Berwick was a mere suspension of arms; his summons of Wentworth from Ireland was a proof that violent measures were in preparation, and the Scots met the challenge by seeking for aid from France. The discovery of a correspondence between the Scotch leaders and the French court raised hopes in the King that an appeal to the country for aid against Scotch treason would still find an answer in English loyalty. Wentworth, who was now made Earl of Strafford, had never ceased to urge that the Scots should be whipped back to their border; he now agreed with Charles that a Parliament should be called, the correspondence laid before it, and advantage taken of the burst of indignation on which the King counted to procure a heavy subsidy. While Charles summoned what from its brief duration is known as the Short Parliament, Strafford hurried to Ireland to levy forces. In fourteen days he had obtained money and men from his servile Parliament, and he came back flushed with his success, in time for the meeting of the Houses at Westminster. But the lesson failed in its effect. Every member of the Commons knew that Scotland was fighting the battle of English liberty. All hope of bringing them to any attack upon the Scots proved fruitless. The intercepted letters were quietly set aside, and the Commons declared as of old that redress of grievances must precede the grant of supplies. No subsidy could be granted till security was had for religion, for property, and for the liberties of Parliament. An offer to relinquish ship-money failed to draw Parliament from its resolve, and after three weeks' sitting it was dissolved. "Things must go worse before they go better" was the cool comment of St. John, one of the patriot leaders. But the country was strangely moved. "So great a defection in the kingdom," wrote Lord Northumberland, "hath not been known in the memory of man." Strafford alone stood undaunted. He urged that, by the refusal of the Parliament to supply the King's wants, Charles was "freed from all rule of government," and entitled to supply himself at his will. The Earl was bent upon war, and took command of the royal army, which again advanced to the north. But the Scots were ready to cross the border; forcing the passage of the Tyne in the face of an English detachment, they occupied Newcastle, and despatched from that town their proposals of peace. They prayed the King to consider their grievances, and, "with the advice

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and consent of the Estates of England convened in Parliament, to settle a firm and desirable peace." The prayer was backed by preparations for a march upon York, where Charles had abandoned himself to despair. Strafford's troops were a mere mob; neither by threats nor prayers could he recall them to their duty, and he was forced to own that two months were required before they could be fit for action. It was in vain that Charles won a truce. Behind him in fact England was all but in revolt. The London apprentices mobbed Laud at Lambeth, and broke up the sittings of the High Commission at St. Paul's. The war was denounced everywhere as "the Bishops' War," and the new levies murdered officers whom they suspected of Papistry, broke down altar-rails in every church they passed, and deserted to their homes. Two peers, Lord Wharton and Lord Howard, ventured to lay before the King himself a petition for peace with the Scots; and though Strafford arrested and proposed to shoot them as mutineers, the English Council shrank from desperate courses. The King still strove to escape from the humiliation of calling a Parliament. He summoned a Great Council of the Peers at York. But his project broke down before its general repudiation by the nobles; and with wrath and shame at his heart Charles was driven to summon again the Houses to Westminster.

Section VI.—The Long Parliament. 1640–1644.

[*Authorities.*—Clarendon's "History of the Rebellion," as Hallam justly says, "belongs rather to the class of memoirs" than of histories, and the rigorous analysis of it by Ranke shows the very different value of its various parts. Though the work will always retain a literary interest from its nobleness of style and the grand series of character-portraits which it embodies, the worth of its account of all that preceded the war is almost destroyed by the contrast between its author's conduct at the time and his later description of the Parliament's proceedings, as well as by the deliberate and malignant falsehood with which he has perverted the whole action of his parliamentary opponents. May's "History of the Long Parliament" is fairly accurate and impartial; but the basis of any real account of it must be found in its own proceedings as they have been preserved in the notes of Sir Ralph Verney and Sir Simonds D'Ewes. The last remain unpublished; but Mr. Forster has drawn much from them in his two works, "The Grand Remonstrance" and "The Arrest of the Five Members." The collections of state-papers by Rushworth and Nalson are indispensable for this period. It is illustrated by a series of memoirs, of very different degrees of value, such as those of Whitelock, Ludlow, and Sir Philip Warwick, as well as by works like Mrs. Hutchinson's memoir of her husband, or Baxter's "Autobiography." For Irish affairs we have a vast store of materials in the Ormond papers and letters collected by Carte; for Scotland, "Baillie's Letters" and Mr. Burton's History. Lingard is useful for information as to intrigues with the Catholics in England and Ireland; and Guizot directs special attention to the relations with foreign powers. Pym has been fairly sketched with other statesmen of the time by Mr. Forster in his "Statesmen of the Commonwealth," and in an Essay on

him by Mr. Goldwin Smith. A good deal of valuable research for the period in general is to be found in Mr. Sandford's "Illustrations of the Great Rebellion." (Mr. Gardiner has now carried on his History to 1644.—*Ed.*)

If Strafford embodied the spirit of tyranny, John Pym, the leader of the Commons from the first meeting of the new houses at Westminster, stands out for all after time as the embodiment of law. A Somersetshire gentleman of good birth and competent fortune, he entered on public life in the Parliament of 1614, and was imprisoned for his patriotism at its close. He had been a leading member in that of 1620, and one of the "twelve ambassadors" for whom James ordered chairs to be set at Whitehall. Of the band of patriots with whom he had stood side by side in the constitutional struggle against the earlier despotism of Charles he was almost the sole survivor. Coke had died of old age; Cotton's heart was broken by oppression; Eliot had perished in the Tower; Wentworth had apostatized. Pym alone remained, resolute, patient as of old; and as the sense of his greatness grew silently during the eleven years of deepening misrule, the hope and faith of better things clung almost passionately to the man who never doubted of the final triumph of freedom and the law. At their close, Clarendon tells us, in words all the more notable for their bitter tone of hate, "he was the most popular man, and the most able to do hurt, that has lived at any time." He had shown he knew how to wait, and when waiting was over he showed he knew how to act. On the eve of the Long Parliament he rode through England to quicken the electors to a sense of the crisis which had come at last; and on the assembling of the Commons he took his place, not merely as member for Tavistock, but as their acknowledged head. Few of the country gentlemen, indeed, who formed the bulk of the members, had sat in any previous House; and of the few, none represented in so eminent a way the Parliamentary tradition on which the coming struggle was to turn. Pym's eloquence, inferior in boldness and originality to that of Eliot or Wentworth, was better suited by its massive and logical force to convince and guide a great party; and it was backed by a calmness of temper, a dexterity and order in the management of public business, and a practical power of shaping the course of debate, which gave a form and method to Parliamentary proceedings such as they had never had before. Valuable, however, as these qualities were, it was a yet higher quality which raised Pym into the greatest, as he was the first, of Parliamentary leaders. Of the five hundred members who sate round him at St. Stephen's, he was the one man who had clearly foreseen, and as clearly resolved how to meet, the difficulties which lay before them. It was certain that Parliament would be drawn into a struggle with the Crown. It was probable that in such a struggle the House of Commons would be hampered, as it had been hampered before, by the House of Lords.

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The legal antiquaries of the older constitutional school stood helpless before such a conflict of co-ordinate powers, a conflict for which no provision had been made by the law, and on which precedents threw only a doubtful and conflicting light. But with a knowledge of precedent as great as their own, Pym rose high above them in his grasp of constitutional principles. He was the first English statesman who discovered, and applied to the political circumstances around him, what may be called the doctrine of constitutional proportion. He saw that as an element of constitutional life Parliament was of higher value than the Crown ; he saw, too, that in Parliament itself the one essential part was the House of Commons. On these two facts he based his whole policy in the contest which followed. When Charles refused to act with the Parliament, Pym treated the refusal as a temporary abdication on the part of the sovereign, which vested the executive power in the two Houses until new arrangements were made. When the Lords obstructed public business, he warned them that obstruction would only force the Commons "to save the kingdom alone." Revolutionary as these principles seemed at the time, they have both been recognized as bases of our constitution since the days of Pym. The first principle was established by the Convention and Parliament which followed on the departure of James the Second ; the second by the acknowledgement on all sides since the Reform Bill of 1832 that the government of the country is really in the hands of the House of Commons, and can only be carried on by ministers who represent the majority of that House. Pym's temper, indeed, was the very opposite of the temper of a revolutionist. Few natures have ever been wider in their range of sympathy or action. Serious as his purpose was, his manners were genial, and even courtly : he turned easily from an invective against Strafford to a chat with Lady Carlisle ; and the grace and gaiety of his social tone, even when the care and weight of public affairs were bringing him to his grave, gave rise to a hundred silly scandals among the prurient royalists. It was this striking combination of genial versatility with a massive force in his nature which marked him out from the first moment of power as a born ruler of men. He proved himself at once the subtlest of diplomatists and the grandest of demagogues. He was equally at home in tracking the subtle intricacies of royalist intrigues, or in kindling popular passion with words of fire. Though past middle life when his work really began, for he was born in 1584, four years before the coming of the Armada, he displayed from the first meeting of the Long Parliament the qualities of a great administrator, an immense faculty for labour, a genius for organization, patience, tact, a power of inspiring confidence in all whom he touched, calmness and moderation under good fortune or ill, an immovable courage, an iron will. No English ruler has ever shown greater nobleness of natural temper or a

wider capacity for government than the Somersetshire squire whom his enemies, made clear-sighted by their hate, greeted truly enough as "King Pym."

His ride over England with Hampden on the eve of the elections had been hardly needed, for the summons of a Parliament at once woke the kingdom to a fresh life. The Puritan emigration to New England was suddenly and utterly suspended; "the change," said Winthrop, "made all men to stay in England in expectation of a new world." The public discontent spoke from every Puritan pulpit, and expressed itself in a sudden burst of pamphlets, the first-fruits of the thirty thousand which were issued in the next twenty years, and which turned England at large into a school of political discussion. The resolute looks of the members as they gathered at Westminster contrasted with the hesitating words of the King, and each brought from borough or county a petition of grievances. Fresh petitions were brought every day by bands of citizens or farmers. Forty committees were appointed to examine and report on them, and their reports formed the grounds on which the Commons acted. Prynne and his fellow "martyrs," recalled from their prisons, entered London in triumph amidst the shouts of a great multitude who strewed laurel in their path. The Commons dealt roughly with the agents of the royal system. In every county a list of "delinquents," or officers who had carried out the plans of the government, was ordered to be prepared and laid before the House. But their first blow was struck at the leading ministers of the King. Even Laud was not the centre of so great and universal a hatred as the Earl of Strafford. Strafford's guilt was more than the guilt of a servile instrument of tyranny, it was the guilt of "that grand apostate to the Commonwealth who," in the terrible words which closed Lord Digby's invective, "must not expect to be pardoned in this world till he be despatched to the other." He was conscious of his danger, but Charles forced him to attend the Court; and with characteristic boldness he resolved to anticipate attack by accusing the Parliamentary leaders of a treasonable correspondence with the Scots. He was just laying his scheme before Charles when the news reached him that Pym was at the bar of the Lords with his impeachment for high treason. "With speed," writes an eye-witness, "he comes to the House: he calls rudely at the door," and, "with a proud glooming look, makes towards his place at the board-head. But at once many bid him void the House, so he is forced in confusion to go to the door till he was called." He was only recalled to hear his committal to the Tower. He was still resolute to retort the charge of treason on his foes, and "offered to speak, but was commanded to be gone without a word." The keeper of the Black Rod demanded his sword as he took him in charge. "This done, he makes through a number of people towards his coach, no man capping to him, before

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whom that morning the greatest of all England would have stood uncovered." The blow was quickly followed up. Windebank, the Secretary of State, was charged with corrupt favouring of recusants, and escaped to France; Finch, the Lord Keeper, was impeached, and fled in terror over-sea. Laud himself was thrown into prison. The shadow of what was to come falls across the pages of his diary, and softens the hard temper of the man into a strange tenderness. "I stayed at Lambeth till the evening," writes the Archbishop, "to avoid the gaze of the people. I went to evening prayer in my chapel. The Psalms of the day and chapter fifty of Isaiah gave me great comfort. God make me worthy of it, and fit to receive it. As I went to my barge, hundreds of my poor neighbours stood there and prayed for my safety and return to my house. For which I bless God and them." Charles was forced to look helplessly on at the wreck of the royal system, for the Scotch army was still encamped in the north; and the Parliament, which saw in the presence of the Scots a security against its own dissolution, was in no hurry to vote the money necessary for their withdrawal. "We cannot do without them," Strode honestly confessed, "the Philistines are still too strong for us." One by one the lawless acts of Charles's government were undone. Ship-money was declared illegal, the judgement in Hampden's case annulled, and one of the judges committed to prison. A statute declaring "the ancient right of the subjects of this kingdom that no subsidy, custom, impost, or any charge whatsoever, ought or may be laid or imposed upon any merchandize exported or imported by subjects, denizens, or aliens, without common consent in Parliament," put an end for ever to all pretensions to a right of arbitrary taxation on the part of the Crown. A Triennial Bill enforced the assembly of the Houses every three years, and bound the returning officers to proceed to election if the Royal writ failed to summon them. A Committee of Religion had been appointed to consider the question of Church Reform, and on its report the Commons passed a bill for the removal of bishops from the House of Lords.

The King made no sign of opposition. He was known to be resolute against the abolition of Episcopacy; but he announced no purpose of resisting the expulsion of the bishops from the Peers. Strafford's life he was determined to save; but he threw no obstacle in the way of his impeachment. The trial of the Earl began in Westminster Hall, and the whole of the House of Commons appeared to support it. The passion which the cause excited was seen in the loud cries of sympathy or hatred which burst from the crowded benches on either side. For fifteen days Strafford struggled with a remarkable courage and ingenuity against the list of charges, and melted his audience to tears by the pathos of his defence. But the trial was suddenly interrupted. Though tyranny and misgovernment

had been conclusively proved against him, the technical proof of treason was weak. "The law of England," to use Hallam's words, "is silent as to conspiracies against itself," and treason by the Statute of Edward the Third was restricted to a levying of war against the King or a compassing of his death. The Commons endeavoured to strengthen their case by bringing forward the notes of a meeting of a Committee of the Commons in which Strafford had urged the use of his Irish troops "to reduce this kingdom ;" but the Lords would only admit the evidence on condition of wholly reopening the case. Pym and Hampden remained convinced of the sufficiency of the impeachment ; but the Commons broke loose from their control, and, guided by St. John and Henry Marten, resolved to abandon these judicial proceedings, and fall back on the resource of a Bill of Attainder. Their course has been bitterly censured by some whose opinion in such a matter is entitled to respect. But the crime of Strafford was none the less a crime that it did not fall within the scope of the Statute of Treasons. It is impossible indeed to provide for some of the greatest dangers which can happen to national freedom by any formal statute. Even now a minister might avail himself of the temper of a Parliament elected in some moment of popular panic, and, though the nation returned to its senses, might simply by refusing to appeal to the country govern in defiance of its will. Such a course would be technically legal, but such a minister would be none the less a criminal. Strafford's course, whether it fell within the Statute of Treasons or no, was from beginning to end an attack on the freedom of the whole nation. In the last resort a nation retains the right of self-defence, and the Bill of Attainder is the assertion of such a right for the punishment of a public enemy who falls within the scope of no written law. To save Strafford and Episcopacy Charles seemed to assent to a proposal for entrusting the offices of State to the leaders of the Parliament, with the Earl of Bedford as Lord Treasurer ; the only conditions he made were that Episcopacy should not be abolished nor Strafford executed. But the negotiations were interrupted by Bedford's death, and by the discovery that Charles had been listening all the while to counsellors who proposed to bring about his end by stirring the army to march on London, seize the Tower, free Strafford, and deliver the King from his thralldom to Parliament. The discovery of the Army Plot sealed Strafford's fate. The Londoners were roused to frenzy, and as the Peers gathered at Westminster crowds surrounded the House with cries of "Justice." On May 8 the Lords passed the Bill of Attainder. The Earl's one hope was in the King, but two days later the royal assent was given, and he passed to his doom. Strafford died as he had lived. His friends warned him of the vast multitude gathered before the Tower to witness his fall. "I know how to look death in the face, and the people too," he

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answered proudly. "I thank God I am no more afraid of death, but as cheerfully put off my doublet at this time as ever I did when I went to bed." As the axe fell, the silence of the great multitude was broken by a universal shout of joy. The streets blazed with bonfires. The bells clashed out from every steeple. "Many," says an observer, "that came to town to see the execution rode in triumph back, waving their hats, and with all expressions of joy through every town they went, crying, 'His head is off! His head is off!'"

The failure of the attempt to establish a Parliamentary ministry, the discovery of the Army Plot, the execution of Strafford, were the turning points in the history of the Long Parliament. Till May there was still hope for an accommodation between the Commons and the Crown by which the freedom that had been won might have been taken as the base of a new system of government. But from that hour little hope of such an agreement remained. On the one hand, the air, since the army conspiracy, was full of rumours and panic; the creak of a few boards revived the memory of the Gunpowder Plot, and the members rushed out of the House of Commons in the full belief that it was undermined. On the other hand, Charles regarded his consent to the new measures as having been extorted by force, and to be retracted at the first opportunity. Both Houses, in their terror, swore to defend the Protestant religion and the public liberties, an oath which was subsequently exacted from every one engaged in civil employment, and voluntarily taken by the great mass of the people. The same terror of a counter-revolution induced Hyde and the "moderate men" in the Commons to agree to a bill providing that the present Parliament should not be dissolved but by its own consent. Of all the demands of the Parliament this was the first that could be called distinctly revolutionary. To consent to it was to establish a power permanently co-ordinate with the Crown. Charles signed the bill without protest, but he was already planning the means of breaking the Parliament. Hitherto, the Scotch army had held him down, but its payment and withdrawal could no longer be delayed, and a pacification was arranged between the two countries. The Houses hastened to complete their task of reform. The irregular jurisdictions of the Council of the North and the Court of the Marches of Wales had been swept away; and the civil and criminal jurisdiction of the Star Chamber and the Court of High Commission, the last of the extraordinary courts which had been the support of the Tudor monarchy, were now summarily abolished. The work was pushed hastily on, for haste was needed. The two armies had been disbanded; and the Scots were no sooner on their way homeward than the King resolved to bring them back. In spite of prayers from the Parliament he left London for Edinburgh, yielded to every demand of the Assembly and the Scotch Estates, attended the Presbyterian worship, lavished titles and favours

on the Earl of Argyle and the patriot leaders, and gained for a few months a popularity which spread dismay in the English Parliament. Their dread of his designs was increased when he was found to have been intriguing all the while with the Earl of Montrose—who had seceded from the patriot party before his coming, and been rewarded for his secession with imprisonment in the castle of Edinburgh—and when Hamilton and Argyle withdrew suddenly from the capital, and charged the King with a treacherous plot to seize and carry them out of the realm. The fright was fanned to frenzy by news from Ireland, where the fall of Strafford left the power in bigoted Puritan hands. Foiled in every effort to secure through Parliament constitutional government, maddened by long misery and by the gloomy prospect of banishment from the land that yet remained and the extirpation of their religion, stirred by the homeless wanderers evicted from their lands, and by the disbanded soldiers of Strafford's army, the people sought a last hope in arms. A national rising was organised with wonderful power and secrecy by Rory O'More (Ruadhri O'Mordha) and Owen Roe (Eoghan ruadh) O'Neill. The military plans were frustrated at the last moment, and the revolt which broke out in Ulster, where the plantation had never been forgiven, was the insurrection of an evicted people against the confiscators. The clansmen drove the English out of their holdings, stripped them of all they possessed, poured into the little towns, seized the churches and public buildings, and captured all the arms they could lay hands on. Outrages of undisciplined bands were met by ferocious cruelty on the part of the Government—a cruelty which roused new districts to revolt. Frenzied tales were spread, by panic and malignity, of Irish atrocities; they were alleged to have massacred more than three times the total number of English in Ireland, or ten times more than those living in the country parts. Parliament was bent on a war of extermination, and lands to be confiscated were openly sold in advance on the London market. A resolution of the English House of Commons that no toleration should be granted to the Catholic religion in Ireland drove the English Catholics of the Pale to join hands with the Irish. The revolt, unlike any earlier rising, was no longer wholly a struggle of Celt against Saxon, but of Catholic against Protestant. The "Confederate Catholics" resolved to defend "the public and free exercise of the true and Catholic Roman religion." English panic waxed greater when it was found they claimed to be acting by the King's commission, and in aid of his authority. The Commission they showed, purporting to have been issued by royal command at Edinburgh, was a forgery, but belief in it was quickened by the want of all sympathy with the national honour which Charles displayed. To him the revolt seemed a useful check on his opponents. "I hope," he wrote coolly, when the news reached him, "this ill news of Ireland may hinder some of these follies in

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England." Above all, it would necessitate the raising of an army, and with an army at his command he would again be the master of the Parliament. The Parliament, on the other hand, saw in the Irish revolt the disclosure of a vast scheme for a counter-revolution, of which the withdrawal of the Scotch army, the reconciliation of Scotland, the intrigues at Edinburgh, were all parts. Its terror was quickened into panic by the exultation of the royalists at the King's return, and by the appearance of a royalist party in the Parliament itself. The new party had been silently organized by Hyde, the future Lord Clarendon. With him stood Lord Falkland, a man learned and accomplished, the centre of a circle which embraced the most liberal thinkers of his day, a keen reasoner and able speaker, whose intense desire for liberty of religious thought, which he now saw threatened by the dogmatism of the time, estranged him from Parliament, while his dread of a conflict with the Crown, his passionate longing for peace, his sympathy for the fallen, led him to struggle for a King whom he distrusted, and to die in a cause that was not his own. Behind Falkland and Hyde soon gathered a strong force of supporters; chivalrous soldiers like Sir Edmund Verney ("I have eaten the King's bread and served him now thirty years, and I will not do so base a thing as to desert him"), as well as men frightened by the rapid march of change or by the dangers which threatened Episcopacy and the Church, the partizans of the Court, and the time-servers who looked forward to a new triumph of the Crown. With a broken Parliament, and perils gathering without, Pym resolved to appeal for aid to the nation itself. The Grand Remonstrance which he laid before the House was a detailed narrative of the work which the Parliament had done, the difficulties it had surmounted, and the new dangers which lay in its path. The Parliament had been charged with a design to abolish Episcopacy, it declared its purpose to be simply that of reducing the power of bishops. Politically it repudiated the taunt of revolutionary aims. It demanded only the observance of the existing laws against recusancy, securities for the due administration of justice, and the employment of ministers who possessed the confidence of Parliament. The new King's party fought fiercely, debate followed debate, the sittings were prolonged till lights had to be brought in; and it was only at midnight, and by a majority of eleven, that the Remonstrance was finally adopted. On an attempt of the minority to offer a formal protest against a subsequent vote for its publication the slumbering passion broke out into a flame. "Some waved their hats over their heads, and others took their swords in their scabbards out of their belts, and held them by the pommels in their hands, setting the lower part on the ground." Only Hampden's coolness and tact averted a conflict. The Remonstrance was felt on both sides to be a crisis in the struggle. "Had it been rejected," said

Cromwell, as he left the House, "I would have sold to-morrow all I possess, and left England for ever." Listened to sullenly by the King, it kindled afresh the spirit of the country. London swore to live and die with the Parliament; associations were formed in every county for the defence of the Houses; and when the guard which the Commons had asked for in the panic of the Army Plot was withdrawn by the King, the populace crowded down to Westminster to take its place.

The question which had above all broken the unity of the Parliament had been the question of the Church. All were agreed on the necessity of reform, and one of the first acts of the Parliament had been to appoint a Committee of Religion to consider the question. The bulk of the Commons as of the Lords were at first against any radical changes in the constitution or doctrines of the Church. But within as without the House the general opinion was in favour of a reduction of the power and wealth of the prelates, as well as of the jurisdiction of the Church Courts. Even among the bishops themselves, the more prominent saw the need for consenting to the abolition of Chapters and Bishops' Courts, as well as to the election of a council of ministers in each diocese, which had been suggested by Archbishop Usher as a check on episcopal autocracy. A scheme to this effect was drawn up by Bishop Williams of Lincoln; but it was far from meeting the wishes of the general body of the Commons. Pym and Lord Falkland demanded, in addition to these changes, a severance of the clergy from all secular or state offices, and an expulsion of the bishops from the House of Lords. Such a measure seemed needed to restore the independence of the Peers; for the number and servility of the bishops were commonly strong enough to prevent any opposition to the Crown. There was, however, a growing party which pressed for the abolition of Episcopacy altogether. The doctrines of Cartwright had risen into popularity under the persecution of Laud, and Presbyterianism was now a formidable force among the middle classes. Its chief strength lay in the eastern counties and in London, where a few ministers such as Calamy and Marshall had formed a committee for its diffusion; while in Parliament it was represented by Lord Mandeville and some others. In the Commons Sir Harry Vane represented a more extreme party of reformers, the Independents of the future, whose sentiments were little less hostile to Presbyterianism than to Episcopacy, but who acted with the Presbyterians for the present, and formed a part of what became known as the "root and branch party," from its demand for the extirpation of prelacy. The attitude of Scotland in the great struggle against tyranny, and the political advantages of a religious union between the two kingdoms, as well as the desire to knit the English Church more closely to the general body of Protestantism, gave force to the Presbyterian party. Milton, who after the composition of his "Lycidas" had spent a year

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in foreign travel, returned to throw himself on this ground into the theological strife. He held it "an unjust thing that the English should differ from all Churches as many as be reformed." In spite of this pressure, however, and of a Presbyterian petition from London with fifteen thousand signatures to the same purport, the Committee of Religion reported in favour of the moderate reforms proposed by Falkland and Pym; and a bill for the removal of bishops from the House of Peers passed the Commons almost unanimously. Rejected by the Lords on the eve of the King's journey to Scotland, it was again introduced on his return. Pym and his colleagues, anxious to close the disunion in their ranks, sought to end the pressure of the Presbyterian zealots, and the dread of the Church party, by taking their stand on the compromise suggested by the Committee of Religion in the spring. But in spite of violent remonstrances from the Commons the bill still hung fire among the Peers. The delay roused the excited crowd of Londoners who gathered round Whitehall; the bishops' carriages were stopped, and the prelates themselves rabbled on their way to the House. The angry pride of Williams induced ten of his fellow bishops to declare themselves prevented from attendance in Parliament, and to protest against all acts done in their absence as null and void. The protest was met at once on the part of the Peers by the committal of the prelates who had signed it to the Tower. But the contest gave a powerful aid to the projects of the King. The courtiers declared openly that the rabbling of the bishops proved that there was "no free Parliament," and strove to bring about fresh outrages by gathering troops of officers and soldiers of fortune, who were seeking for employment in the Irish war, and pitting them against the crowds at Whitehall. The brawls of the two parties, who gave each other the nicknames of "Roundheads" and "Cavaliers," created fresh alarm in the Parliament; but Charles persisted in refusing it a guard. "On the honour of a King," he engaged to defend them from violence as completely as his own children, but the answer had hardly been given when his Attorney appeared at the bar of the Lords, and accused Hampden, Pym, Hollis, Strode, and Haselrig of high treason in their correspondence with the Scots. A herald-at-arms appeared at the bar of the Commons, and demanded the surrender of the five members. If Charles believed himself to be within legal forms, the Commons saw a mere act of arbitrary violence in a charge which proceeded personally from the King, which set aside the most cherished privileges of Parliament, and summoned the accused before a tribunal which had no pretence to a jurisdiction over them. The Commons simply promised to take the demand into consideration, and again requested a guard. "I will reply to-morrow," said the King. On the morrow he summoned the gentlemen who clustered round Whitehall to follow him, and, embracing the Queen, promised her that in an hour

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he would return master of his kingdom. A mob of Cavaliers joined him as he left the palace, and remained in Westminster Hall as Charles, accompanied by his nephew, the Elector-Palatine, entered the House of Commons. "Mr. Speaker," he said, "I must for a time borrow your chair!" He paused with a sudden confusion as his eye fell on the vacant spot where Pym commonly sate: for at the news of his approach the House had ordered the five members to withdraw. "Gentlemen," he began in slow broken sentences, "I am sorry for this occasion of coming unto you. Yesterday I sent a Sergeant-at-arms upon a very important occasion, to apprehend some that by my command were accused of high treason, whereunto I did expect obedience, and not a message." Treason, he went on, had no privilege, "and therefore I am come to know if any of these persons that were accused are here." There was a dead silence, only broken by his reiterated "I must have them wheresoever I find them." He again paused, but the stillness was unbroken. Then he called out, "Is Mr. Pym here?" There was no answer; and Charles, turning to the Speaker, asked him whether the five members were there. Lenthall fell on his knees; "I have neither eyes to see," he replied, "nor tongue to speak in this place, but as this House is pleased to direct me." "Well, well," Charles angrily retorted, "'tis no matter. I think my eyes are as good as another's!" There was another long pause, while he looked carefully over the ranks of members. "I see," he said at last, "all the birds are flown. I do expect you will send them to me as soon as they return hither." If they did not, he added, he would seek them himself; and with a closing protest that he never intended any force, "he went out of the House," says an eye-witness, "in a more discontented and angry passion than he came in."

Nothing but the absence of the five members, and the calm dignity of the Commons, had prevented the King's outrage from ending in bloodshed. "It was believed," says Whitelock, who was present at the scene, "that if the King had found them there, and called in his guards to have seized them, the members of the House would have endeavoured the defence of them, which might have proved a very unhappy and sad business." Five hundred gentlemen of the best blood in England would hardly have stood tamely by while the bravoes of Whitehall laid hands on their leaders in the midst of the Parliament. But Charles was blind to the danger of his course. The five members had taken refuge in the city, and it was there that on the next day the King himself demanded their surrender from the aldermen at Guildhall. Cries of "Privilege" rang round him as he returned through the streets: the writs issued for the arrest of the five were disregarded by the Sheriffs, and a proclamation issued four days later, declaring them traitors, passed without notice. Terror drove the Cavaliers from Whitehall, and Charles stood absolutely alone; for the

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The Eve
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*Prepara-
tions for
War*

outrage had severed him for the moment from his new friends in the Parliament, and from the ministers, Falkland and Colepepper, whom he had chosen among them. But lonely as he was, Charles had resolved on war. The Earl of Newcastle was despatched to muster a royal force in the north ; and on the tenth of January news that the five members were about to return in triumph to Westminster drove Charles from Whitehall. He retired to Hampton Court and to Windsor, while the Trained Bands of London and Southwark on foot, and the London watermen on the river, all sworn "to guard the Parliament, the Kingdom, and the King," escorted Pym and his fellow-members along the Thames to the House of Commons. Both sides prepared for the coming struggle. The Queen sailed from Dover with the Crown jewels to buy munitions of war. The Cavaliers again gathered round the King, and the royalist press flooded the country with State papers drawn up by Hyde. On the other hand, the Commons resolved by vote to secure the great arsenals of the kingdom, Hull, Portsmouth and the Tower ; while mounted processions of freeholders from Buckinghamshire and Kent traversed London on their way to St. Stephen's, vowing to live and die with the Parliament. The Lords were scared out of their policy of obstruction by Pym's bold announcement of the new position taken by the House of Commons. "The Commons," said their leader, "will be glad to have your concurrence and help in saving the kingdom ; but if they fail of it, it should not discourage them in doing their duty. And whether the kingdom be lost or saved, they shall be sorry that the story of this present Parliament should tell posterity that in so great a danger and extremity the House of Commons should be enforced to save the kingdom alone." The effect of Pym's words was seen in the passing of the bill for excluding bishops from the House of Lords. The great point, however, was to secure armed support from the nation at large, and here both sides were in a difficulty. Previous to the innovations introduced by the Tudors, and which had been already questioned by the Commons in a debate on pressing soldiers, the King in himself had no power of calling on his subjects generally to bear arms, save for purposes of restoring order or meeting foreign invasion. On the other hand, no one contended that such a power had ever been exercised by the two Houses without the King ; and Charles steadily refused to consent to a Militia bill, in which the command of the national force was given in every county to men devoted to the Parliamentary cause. Both parties therefore broke through constitutional precedent, the Parliament in appointing the Lord Lieutenants who commanded the Militia by ordinance of the two Houses, Charles in levying forces by royal commissions of array. The King's great difficulty lay in procuring arms, and on the twenty-third of April he suddenly appeared before Hull, the magazine of the north,

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of War*

and demanded admission. The new governor, Sir John Hotham, fell on his knees, but refused to open the gates : and the avowal of his act by the Parliament was followed by the withdrawal of the royalist party among its members from their seats at Westminster. Falkland, Colepepper and Hyde, with thirty-two peers and sixty members of the House of Commons, joined Charles at York ; and Lyttelton, the Lord Keeper, followed with the Great Seal. They aimed at putting a check on the King's projects of war, and their efforts were backed by the general opposition of the country. A great meeting of the Yorkshire freeholders which he convened on Heyworth Moor ended in a petition praying him to be reconciled to the Parliament, and in spite of gifts of plate from the Universities and nobles of his party, arms and money were still wanting for his new levies. The two Houses, on the other hand, gained in unity and vigour by the withdrawal of the royalists. The militia was rapidly enrolled, Lord Warwick named to the command of the fleet, and a loan opened in the city to which the women brought even their wedding rings. The tone of the two Houses had risen with the threat of force : and their last proposals demanded the powers of appointing and dismissing the royal ministers, naming guardians for the royal children, and of virtually controlling military, civil, and religious affairs. "If I granted your demands," replied Charles, "I should be no more than the mere phantom of a king."

Section VII.—The Civil War. July 1642—Aug. 1646.

[*Authorities.*—To those before given we may add Warburton's biography of Prince Rupert, Mr. Clements Markham's life of Fairfax, the Fairfax Correspondence, and Ludlow's "Memoirs." Sprigg's "*Anglia Rediviva*" gives an account of the New Model and its doings. For Cromwell, the primary authority is Mr. Carlyle's "*Life and Letters*," an invaluable store of documents, edited with the care of an antiquary and the genius of a poet. Clarendon, who now becomes of greater value, gives a good account of the Cornish rising.]

The breaking off of negotiations was followed on both sides by preparations for immediate war. Hampden, Pym, and Hollis became the guiding spirits of a Committee of Public Safety which was created by Parliament as its administrative organ ; English and Scotch officers were drawn from the Low Countries, and Lord Essex named commander of an army, which soon rose to twenty thousand foot and four thousand horse. The confidence on the Parliamentary side was great ; "we all thought one battle would decide," Baxter confessed after the first encounter ; for the King was almost destitute of money and arms, and in spite of his strenuous efforts to raise recruits he was embarrassed by the reluctance of his own adherents to begin the struggle. Resolved, however, to force on a contest, he raised the Royal Standard

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*Charles at
Oxford**Feb. 1643*

at Nottingham "on the evening of a very stormy and tempestuous day," but the country made no answer to his appeal; while Essex, who had quitted London amidst the shouts of a great multitude, with orders from the Parliament to follow the King, "and by battle or other way rescue him from his perfidious counsellors and restore him to Parliament," mustered his army at Northampton. Charles had but a handful of men, and the dash of a few regiments of horse would have ended the war; but Essex shrank from a decisive stroke, and trusted to reduce the King to submission by a show of force. As Charles fell back on Shrewsbury, Essex too moved westward and occupied Worcester. But the whole face of affairs suddenly changed. Catholics and royalists rallied fast to the King's standard, and a bold march on London drew Essex from Worcester to protect the capital. The two armies fell in with one another on the field of Edgehill, near Banbury. The encounter was a surprise, and the battle which followed was little more than a confused combat of horse. At its outset the desertion of Sir Faithful Fortescue with a whole regiment threw the Parliamentary forces into disorder, while the royalist horse on either wing drove the cavalry of the enemy from the field; but the foot soldiers of Lord Essex broke the infantry which formed the centre of the King's line, and though his nephew, Prince Rupert, brought back his squadrons in time to save Charles from capture or flight, the night fell on a drawn battle. The moral advantage, however, rested with the King. Essex had learned that his troopers were no match for the Cavaliers, and his withdrawal to Warwick left open the road to the capital. Rupert pressed for an instant march on London, but the proposal found stubborn opponents among the moderate royalists, who dreaded the complete triumph of Charles as much as his defeat. The King therefore paused for the time at Oxford, where he was received with uproarious welcome; and when the cowardice of its garrison delivered Reading to Rupert's horse, and his daring capture of Brentford drew the royal army in his support almost to the walls of the capital, the panic of the Londoners was already over, and the junction of their trainbands with the army of Essex forced Charles to fall back again on his old quarters. But though the Parliament rallied quickly from the blow of Edgehill, the war, as its area widened through the winter, went steadily for the King. The fortification of Oxford gave him a firm hold on the midland counties; while the balance of the two parties in the north was overthrown by the march of the Earl of Newcastle, with the force he had raised in Northumberland, upon York. Lord Fairfax, the Parliamentary leader in that county, was thrown back on the manufacturing towns of the West Riding, where Puritanism found its stronghold; and the arrival of the Queen with arms from Holland encouraged the royal army to push its scouts across the Trent, and threaten the eastern

counties, which held firmly for the Parliament. The stress of the war was shown by the vigorous exertions of the two Houses. Some negotiations which had gone on into the spring were broken off by the old demand that the King should return to his Parliament ; London was fortified ; and a tax of two millions a year was laid on the districts which adhered to the Parliamentary cause. Essex, whose army had been freshly equipped, was ordered to advance upon Oxford ; but though the King held himself ready to fall back on the west, the Earl shrank from again risking his raw army in an encounter. He confined himself to the recapture of Reading, and to a month of idle encampment round Brill.

But while disease thinned his ranks and the royalists beat up his quarters the war went more and more for the King. The inaction of Essex enabled Charles to send a part of his small force at Oxford to strengthen a royalist rising in the west. Nowhere was the royal cause to take so brave or noble a form as among the Cornishmen. Cornwall stood apart from the general life of England : cut off from it not only by differences of blood and speech, but by the feudal tendencies of its people, who clung with a Celtic loyalty to their local chieftains, and suffered their fidelity to the Crown to determine their own. They had as yet done little more than keep the war out of their own county ; but the march of a small Parliamentary force under Lord Stamford upon Launceston forced them into action. A little band of Cornishmen gathered round the chivalrous Sir Bevil Greenvil, "so destitute of provisions that the best officers had but a biscuit a day," and with only a handful of powder for the whole force : but starving and outnumbered as they were, they scaled the steep rise of Stratton Hill, sword in hand, and drove Stamford back on Exeter, with a loss of two thousand men, his ordnance and baggage train. Sir Ralph Hopton, the best of the royalist generals, took the command of their army as it advanced into Somerset, and drew the stress of the war into the West. Essex despatched a picked force under Sir William Waller to check their advance ; but Somerset was already lost ere he reached Bath, and the Cornishmen stormed his strong position on Lansdowne Hill in the teeth of his guns. But the stubborn fight robbed the victors of their leaders ; Hopton was wounded, and Greenvil slain ; while soon after, at the siege of Bristol, fell two other heroes of the little army, Sir Nicholas Slanning and Sir John Trevanion, "both young, neither of them above eight and twenty, of entire friendship to one another, and to Sir Bevil Greenvil." Waller, beaten as he was, hung on their weakened force as it moved for aid upon Oxford, and succeeded in cooping up the foot in Devizes. But the horse broke through, and joining a force which Charles had sent to their relief, turned back, and dashed Waller's army to pieces in a fresh victory on Roundway Down. The Cornish rising seemed to decide the fortune of the war ; and the succours which his Queen was

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*Death of
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bringing him from the army of the North determined Charles to make a fresh advance upon London. He was preparing for this advance, when Rupert in a daring raid from Oxford on the Parliamentary army, met a party of horse with Hampden at its head, on Chalgrove field. The skirmish ended in the success of the royalists, and Hampden was seen riding off the field before the action was done, "which he never used to do," with his head bending down, and resting his hands upon the neck of his horse. He was mortally wounded, and his death seemed an omen of the ruin of the cause he loved. Disaster followed disaster. Essex, more and more anxious for a peace, fell back on Uxbridge; while a cowardly surrender of Bristol to Prince Rupert gave Charles the second city of the kingdom, and the mastery of the West. The news fell on the Parliament "like a sentence of death." The Lords debated nothing but proposals of peace. London itself was divided; "a great multitude of the wives of substantial citizens" clamoured at the door of the Commons for peace; and a flight of six of the few peers who remained at Westminster to the camp at Oxford proved the general despair of the Parliament's success.

From this moment, however, the firmness of the Parliamentary leaders began slowly to reverse the fortunes of the war. If Hampden was gone, Pym remained. The spirit of the Commons was worthy of their great leader: and Waller was received on his return from Roundway Hill "as if he had brought the King prisoner with him." A new army was placed under the command of Lord Manchester to check the progress of Newcastle in the North. But in the West the danger was greatest. Prince Maurice continued his brother Rupert's career of success, and his conquest of Barnstaple and Exeter secured Devon for the King. Gloucester alone interrupted the communications between his forces in Bristol and in the north; and Charles moved against the city, with hope of a speedy surrender. But the gallant resistance of the town called Essex to its relief. It was reduced to a single barrel of powder when the Earl's approach forced Charles to raise the siege; and the Puritan army fell steadily back again on London, after an indecisive engagement near Newbury, in which Lord Falkland fell, "ingeminating 'Peace, peace!'" and the London trainbands flung Rupert's horsemen roughly off their front of pikes. In this posture of his affairs nothing but a great victory could have saved the King, for the day which witnessed the triumphant return of Essex witnessed the solemn taking of the Covenant. Pym had resolved at last to fling the Scotch sword into the wavering balance; and in the darkest hour of the Parliament's cause Sir Harry Vane had been despatched to Edinburgh to arrange the terms on which the aid of Scotland would be given. First amongst them stood the demand of a "unity in Religion;" an adoption, in other words, of the Presbyterian system

by the Church of England. Events had moved so rapidly since the earlier debates on Church government in the Commons that some arrangement of this kind had become a necessity. The bishops to a man, and the bulk of the clergy whose bent was purely episcopal, had joined the royal cause, and were being expelled from their livings as "delinquents." Some new system of Church government was imperatively called for by the religious necessities of the country; and, though Pym and the leading statesmen were still in opinion moderate Episcopalians, the growing force of Presbyterianism, and still more the needs of the war, forced them to seek such a system in the adoption of the Scotch discipline. Scotland, for its part, saw that the triumph of the Parliament was necessary for its own security; and whatever difficulties stood in the way of Vane's wary and rapid negotiations were removed by the King's policy. While Parliament looked for aid to the north, Charles had been seeking assistance from the Irish. Fables of massacre, exaggerated beyond any tragedy on record, had left them the objects of a vengeful hate such as England had hardly known before, but with Charles they were simply counters in his game of king-craft. The conclusion of a truce with the Confederate Catholics left the army under Ormond, now made marquis and Lord Lieutenant, at the King's disposal

for service in England. With the promise of Catholic support Charles might even think himself strong enough to strike a blow at the Government in Edinburgh; and negotiations were soon opened with the Irish Catholics to support by their landing in Argyleshire a rising of the Highlanders under Montrose. None of the King's schemes proved so fatal to his cause as these. As the rumour of his intentions spread, officer after officer in his own army flung down their commissions, the peers who had fled to Oxford fled back again to London, and the royalist reaction in the Parliament itself came utterly to an end. Scotland, anxious for its own safety, hastened to sign the Covenant; and the Commons, "with uplifted hands," swore in St. Margaret's church to observe it. They pledged themselves to "bring the Churches of God in the three Kingdoms to the nearest conjunction and uniformity in religion, confession of faith, form of Church government, direction for worship and catechizing; that we, and our posterity after us, may as brethren live in faith and love, and the Lord may delight to live in the midst of us": to extirpate Popery, prelacy, superstition, schism, and profaneness; to "preserve the rights and privileges of the Parliament, and the liberties of the Kingdom;" to punish malignants and opponents of reformation in Church and State; to "unite the two Kingdoms in a firm peace and union to all posterity." The Covenant ended with a solemn acknowledgement of national sin, and a vow of reformation. "Our true, unfeigned purpose, desire, and endeavour for ourselves and all others under our power and charge, both in public and private, in all duties we owe to God and man, is to amend

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*England
swears to the
Covenant*

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our lives, and each one to go before another in the example of a real reformation."

The conclusion of the Covenant had been the last work of Pym. A "Committee of the Two Kingdoms" which was entrusted after his death in December with the conduct of the war and of foreign affairs did their best to carry out the plans he had formed for the coming year. The vast scope of these plans bears witness to his amazing ability. Three strong armies, comprising a force of fifty thousand men, had been raised for the coming campaign. Essex, with the army of the centre, was charged with the duty of watching the king at Oxford. Waller, with another army, was to hold Prince Maurice in check in the west. The force of fourteen thousand men which had been raised by the zeal of the eastern counties, and in which Cromwell's name was becoming famous as a leader, was raised into a third army under Lord Manchester, ready to co-operate in Yorkshire with Sir Thomas Fairfax. With Alexander Leslie, Lord Leven, at its head, the Scotch army crossed the border in January "in a great frost and snow," and Newcastle was forced to hurry northward to arrest its march. His departure freed the hands of Fairfax, who threw himself on the English troops from Ireland that had landed at Chester, and after cutting them to pieces marched as rapidly back to storm Selby. The danger in his rear called back Newcastle, who returned from confronting the Scots at Durham to throw himself into York, where he was besieged by Fairfax and by the Scotch army. The plans of Pym were now rapidly developed. While Manchester marched with the army of the Associated Counties to join the forces of Fairfax and Lord Leven under the walls of York, Waller and Essex gathered their troops round Oxford. Charles was thrown on the defensive. The troops from Ireland on which he counted had been cut to pieces by Fairfax or by Waller, and in North and South he seemed utterly overmatched. But he was far from despairing. He had already answered Newcastle's cry for aid by despatching Prince Rupert from Oxford to gather forces on the Welsh border; and the brilliant partizan, after breaking the sieges of Newark and Lathom House, burst over the Lancashire hills into Yorkshire, slipped by the Parliamentary army, and made his way untouched into York. But the success of this feat of arms tempted him to a fresh act of daring; he resolved on a decisive battle, and a discharge of musketry from the two armies as they faced each other on Marston Moor brought on, as evening gathered, a disorderly engagement. On the one flank a charge of the King's horse broke that of the enemy; on the other, Cromwell's brigade won as complete a success over Rupert's troopers. "God made them as stubble to our swords," wrote the general at the close of the day; but in the heat of victory he called back his men from the chase to back Manchester in his attack on the royalist foot, and to rout their other wing of horse as it returned

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breathless from pursuing the Scots. Nowhere had the fighting been so fierce. A young Puritan who lay dying on the field told Cromwell as he bent over him that one thing lay on his spirit. "I asked him what it was," Cromwell wrote afterwards. "He told me it was that God had not suffered him to be any more the executioner of His enemies." At night-fall all was over; and the royalist cause in the north had perished at a blow. Newcastle fled over sea: York surrendered, and Rupert, with about six thousand horse at his back, rode southward to Oxford. The blow was the more terrible that it fell on Charles at a moment when his danger in the south was being changed into triumph by a series of brilliant and unexpected successes. After a month's siege the King had escaped from Oxford followed by Essex and Waller; had waited till Essex marched to attack Prince Maurice at Lyme; and then, turning fiercely on Waller at Cropredy Bridge, had driven him back broken to London, two days before the battle of Marston Moor. Charles followed up his success by hurrying in the track of Essex, whom he hoped to crush between his own force and that under Maurice. By a fatal error, Essex plunged into Cornwall, where the country was hostile, and where the King hemmed him in among the hills, drew his lines tightly round his army, and forced the whole body of the foot to surrender at his mercy, while the horse cut their way through the besiegers, and Essex himself fled by sea to London. The day of the surrender was signalized by a royalist triumph in Scotland which promised to undo what Marston Moor had done. The Irish Catholics fulfilled their covenant with Charles by the landing of Irish soldiers in Argyle; and as had long since been arranged, Montrose, throwing himself into the Highlands, called the clans to arms. Flinging his new force on that of the Covenanters at Tippermuir, he gained a victory which enabled him to occupy Perth, to sack Aberdeen, and to spread terror to Edinburgh. The news fired Charles, as he came up from the west, to venture on a march upon London; but though the Scots were detained at Newcastle the rest of the victors at Marston Moor lay in his path at Newbury; and their force was strengthened by the soldiers who had surrendered in Cornwall, but who had been again brought into the field. The charges of the royalists failed to break the Parliamentary squadrons, and the soldiers of Essex wiped away the shame of their defeat by flinging themselves on the cannon they had lost, and bringing them back in triumph to their lines. Cromwell would have seized the moment of victory, but the darkness hindered his charging with his single brigade. Manchester, meanwhile, in spite of the prayers of his officers, refused to attack. Like Essex, he shrank from a crowning victory over the King. Charles was allowed to withdraw his army to Oxford, and even to reappear unchecked in the field of his defeat.

The quarrel of Cromwell with Lord Manchester at Newbury was

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*Cromwell's
brigade*

destined to give a new colour and direction to the war. Pym, in fact, had hardly been borne to his grave in Westminster Abbey before England instinctively recognized a successor of yet greater genius in the victor of Marston Moor. Born in the closing years of Elizabeth's reign, the child of a cadet of the great house of the Cromwells of Hinchinbrook, and of kin through their mothers with Hampden and St. John, Oliver had been recalled by his father's death from a short stay at Cambridge to the little family estate at Huntingdon, which he quitted for a farm at St. Ives. We have already seen his mood during the years of personal rule, as he dwelt in "prolonging" and "blackness" amidst fancies of coming death, the melancholy which formed the ground of his nature feeding itself on the inaction of the time. But his energy made itself felt the moment the tyranny was over. His father had sat, with three of his uncles, in the later Parliaments of Elizabeth. Oliver had himself been returned to that of 1628, and the town of Cambridge sent him as its representative to the Short Parliament as to the Long. It is in the latter that a courtier, Sir Philip Warwick, gives us our first glimpse of his actual appearance. "I came into the House one morning, well clad, and perceived a gentleman speaking whom I knew not, very ordinarily appparelled, for it was a plain cloth suit, which seemed to have been made by an ill country tailor. His linen was plain, and not very clean; and I remember a speck or two of blood upon his little band, which was not much larger than his collar. His hat was without a hat-band. His stature was of a good size; his sword stuck close to his side; his countenance swoln and reddish; his voice sharp and untuneable, and his eloquence full of fervour." He was already "much hearkened unto," but his power was to assert itself in deeds rather than in words. Men of his own time marked him out from all others by the epithet of Ironside. He appeared at the head of a troop of his own raising at Edgehill; but with the eye of a born soldier he at once saw the blot in the army of Essex. "A set of poor tapsters and town apprentices," he warned Hampden, "would never fight against men of honour;" and he pointed to religious enthusiasm as the one weapon which could meet the chivalry of the Cavalier. Even to Hampden the plan seemed impracticable; but the regiment of a thousand men which Cromwell raised for the Association of the Eastern Counties was formed strictly of "men of religion." He spent his fortune freely on the task he set himself. "The business . . . hath had of me in money between eleven and twelve hundred pounds, therefore my private estate can do little to help the public. . . . I have little money of my own (left) to help my soldiers." But they were "a lovely company," he tells his friends with soldierly pride. No blasphemy, drinking, disorder, or impiety were suffered in their ranks. "Not a man swears but he pays his twelve pence." Nor was his choice of "men of religion" the only innovation Cromwell introduced into his new regiment. The

social traditions which restricted command to men of birth were disregarded. "It may be," he wrote, in answer to complaints from the committee of the Association, "it provokes your spirit to see such plain men made captains of horse. It had been well that men of honour and birth had entered into their employments; but why do they not appear? But seeing it is necessary the work must go on, better plain men than none: but best to have men patient of wants, faithful and conscientious in their employment, and such, I hope, these will approve themselves." The words paint Cromwell's temper accurately enough: he is far more of the practical soldier than of the reformer; though his genius already breaks in upon his aristocratic and conservative sympathies, and catches glimpses of the social revolution to which the war was drifting. "I had rather," he once burst out impatiently, "have a plain russet-coated captain, that knows what he fights for and loves what he knows, than what you call a gentleman, and is nothing else. I honour a gentleman that is so indeed!" he ends with a characteristic return to his more common mood of feeling. The same practical temper broke out in a more startling innovation. Bitter as had been his hatred of the bishops, and strenuously as he had worked to bring about a change in Church government, Cromwell, like most of the Parliamentary leaders, seems to have been content with the new Presbyterianism, and the Presbyterians were more than content with him. Lord Manchester "suffered him to guide the army at his pleasure." "The man, Cromwell," writes the Scotchman Baillie, "is a very wise and active head, universally well beloved as religious and stout." But against dissidents from the legal worship of the Church the Presbyterians were as bitter as Laud himself; and, as we shall see, Nonconformity was rising into proportions which made its claim of toleration, of the freedom of religious worship, one of the problems of the time. Cromwell met the problem in his unspeculative fashion. He wanted good soldiers and good men; and, if they were these, the Independent, the Baptist, the Leveller, found entry among his troops. "You would respect them, did you see them," he answered the panic-stricken Presbyterians who charged them with "Anabaptistry" and revolutionary aims: "they are no Anabaptists: they are honest, sober Christians; they expect to be used as men." He was soon to be driven—as in the social change we noticed before—to a far larger and grander point of view. But as yet he was busier with his new regiment than with theories of Church and State; and his horsemen were no sooner in action than they proved themselves such soldiers as the war had never seen yet. "Truly they were never beaten at all," their leader said proudly at its close. At Winceby fight they charged "singing psalms," cleared Lincolnshire of the Cavaliers, and freed the eastern counties from all danger from Newcastle's partizans. At Marston Moor they faced and routed Rupert's chivalry. At

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denying
Ordinance*

Newbury it was only Manchester's reluctance that hindered them from completing the ruin of Charles.

Cromwell had shown his capacity for organization in the creation of his regiment ; his military genius had displayed itself at Marston Moor. Newbury first raised him into a political leader. "Without a more speedy, vigorous, and effective prosecution of the war," he said to the Commons after his quarrel with Manchester, "casting off all lingering proceedings, like those of soldiers of fortune beyond sea to spin out a war, we shall make the kingdom weary of us, and hate the name of a Parliament." But under the leaders who at present conducted it a vigorous conduct of the war was hopeless. They were, in Cromwell's plain words, "afraid to conquer." They desired not to crush Charles, but to force him back, with as much of his old strength remaining as might be, to the position of a constitutional King. The old loyalty, too, clogged their enterprise ; they shrank from the taint of treason. "If the King be beaten," Manchester urged at Newbury, "he will still be king ; if he beat us he will hang us all for traitors." To a mood like this Cromwell's attitude seemed horrible : "If I met the King in battle," he answered, according to a later story, "I would fire my pistol at the King as at another." The army, too, as he long ago urged at Edgehill, was not an army to conquer with. Now, as then, he urged that till the whole force was new modelled, and placed under a stricter discipline, "they must not expect any notable success in anything they went about." But the first step in such a re-organization must be a change of officers. The army was led and officered by members of the two Houses, and the Self-denying Ordinance, as it was introduced by Cromwell and Vane, declared the tenure of military or civil offices incompatible with a seat in either. The long and bitter resistance which this measure met before it was finally passed in a modified form was justified at a later time by the political results which followed the rupture of the tie which had hitherto bound the army to the Parliament. But the drift of public opinion was too strong to be withstood. The passage of the Ordinance brought about the retirement of Essex, Manchester, and Waller ; and the new organization of the army went rapidly on under a new commander-in-chief, Sir Thomas Fairfax, the hero of the long contest in Yorkshire, and who had been raised into fame by his victory at Nantwich, and his bravery at Marston Moor. But behind Fairfax stood Cromwell ; and the principles on which Cromwell had formed his brigade were carried out on a larger scale in the "New Model." The one aim was to get together twenty thousand "honest" men. "Be careful," Cromwell had written, "what captains of horse you choose, what men be mounted. A few honest men are better than numbers. If you choose godly honest men to be captains of horse, honest men will follow them." The result was a curious medley of men of different ranks among the officers of the New

Model. The bulk of those in high command remained men of noble or gentle blood, Montagues, Pickerings, Fortescues, Sheffields, Sidneys, and the like. But side by side with these, though in far smaller proportion, were seen officers like Ewer, who had been a serving-man, like Okey, who had been a drayman, or Rainsborough, who had been a "skipper at sea." A result hardly less notable was the youth of the officers. Among those in high command there were few who, like Cromwell, had passed middle age. Fairfax was but thirty-three, and most of his colonels were even younger. Equally strange was the mixture of religions in its ranks; though a large proportion of the infantry was composed of pressed recruits, the cavalry was for the most part strongly Puritan, and in that part of the army especially dissidence of every type had gained a firm foothold.

Of the political and religious aspect of the New Model we shall have to speak at a later time; as yet its energy was directed solely to "the speedy and vigorous prosecution of the war." Fairfax was no sooner ready for action than the policy of Cromwell was aided by the policy of the King. From the hour when Newbury marked the breach between the peace and war parties in the Parliament, the Scotch Commissioners and the bulk of the Commons had seen that their one chance of hindering what they looked on as revolution in Church and State lay in pressing for fresh negotiations with Charles. Commissioners met at Uxbridge to draw up a treaty; but the hopes of concession which Charles held out were suddenly withdrawn in the spring. He saw, as he thought, the Parliamentary army dissolved and ruined by its new modelling, at an instant when news came from Scotland of fresh successes on the part of Montrose, and of his overthrow of the Marquis of Argyle's troops in the victory of Inverlochy. "Before the end of the summer," wrote the conqueror, "I shall be in a position to come to your Majesty's aid with a brave army." The party of war gained the ascendant; and in May the King opened his campaign by a march to the north. Leicester was stormed, the blockade of Chester raised, and the eastern counties threatened, until Fairfax, who had been unwillingly engaged in a siege of Oxford, hurried at last on his track. Cromwell, who had been suffered by the House to retain his command for a few days in spite of the Ordinance, joined Fairfax as he drew near the King, and his arrival was greeted by loud shouts of welcome from the troops. The two armies met near Naseby, to the north-west of Northampton. The King was eager to fight. "Never have my affairs been in as good a state," he cried; and Prince Rupert was as impatient as his uncle. On the other side, even Cromwell doubted as a soldier the success of the newly-drilled troops, though religious enthusiasm swept away doubt in the assurance of victory. "I can say this of Naseby," he wrote soon after, "that when I saw the enemy draw up and march in gallant order towards us, and we a company of poor

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War*

Sept. 1645

ignorant men, to seek to order our battle, the general having commanded me to order all the horse, I could not, riding alone about my business, but smile out to God in praises, in assurance of victory, because God would by things that are not bring to nought things that are. Of which I had great assurance, and God did it." The battle began with a furious charge of Rupert uphill, which routed the wing opposed to him under Ireton; while the royalist foot, after a single discharge, clubbed their muskets and fell on the centre under Fairfax so hotly that it slowly and stubbornly gave way. But Cromwell's brigade were conquerors on the left. A single charge broke the northern horse under Langdale, who had already fled before them at Marston Moor; and holding his troops firmly in hand, Cromwell fell with them on the flank of the royalist foot in the very crisis of its success. A panic of the King's reserve, and its flight from the field, aided his efforts: it was in vain that Rupert returned with forces exhausted by pursuit, that Charles, in a passion of despair, called on his troopers for "one charge more." The battle was over: artillery, baggage, even the royal papers, fell into the conquerors' hands; five thousand men surrendered; only two thousand followed the King in his headlong flight from the field. The war was ended at a blow. While Charles wandered helplessly along the Welsh border in search of fresh forces, Fairfax marched rapidly into Somersetshire, and routed the royal forces at Langport. A victory at Kilsyth, which gave Scotland for the moment to Montrose, threw a transient gleam over the darkening fortunes of his master's cause; but the surrender of Bristol to the Parliamentary army, and the dispersion of the last force Charles could collect in an attempt to relieve Chester, was followed by news of the crushing and irretrievable defeat of the "Great Marquis" at Philiphaugh. In the wreck of the royal cause we may pause for a moment over an incident which brings out in relief the best temper of both sides. Cromwell "spent much time with God in prayer before the storm" of Basing House, where the Marquis of Winchester had held stoutly out through the war for the King. The storm ended its resistance, and the brave old royalist was brought in a prisoner with his house flaming around him. He "broke out," reports a Puritan bystander, "and said, 'that if the King had no more ground in England but Basing House he would adventure it as he did, and so maintain it to the uttermost,' comforting himself in this matter 'that Basing House was called Loyalty.'" Of loyalty such as this Charles was utterly unworthy. The seizure of his papers at Naseby had hardly disclosed his earlier intrigues with the Irish Catholics when the Parliament was able to reveal to England a fresh treaty with them, which purchased no longer their neutrality, but their aid, by the simple concession of every demand they had made. The shame was without profit, for whatever aid Ireland might have given came too late to be of service. The spring

of 1646 saw the few troops who still clung to Charles surrounded and routed at Stow. "You have done your work now," their leader, Sir Jacob Astley, said bitterly to his conquerors, "and may go to play, unless you fall out among yourselves."

Section VIII.—The Army and the Parliament. 1646—1649.

[*Authorities.*—Mainly as before, though Clarendon, invaluable during the war, is tedious and unimportant here, and Cromwell's letters become, unfortunately, few at the moment when we most need their aid. On the other hand Ludlow and Whitelock, as well as the passionate and unscrupulous "Memoirs" of Holles and Major Hutchinson, become of much importance. For Charles himself, we have Sir Thomas Herbert's "Memoirs" of the last two years of this reign. Burnet's "Lives of the Hamiltons" throw a good deal of light on Scotch affairs at this time, and Sir James Turner's "Memoir of the Scotch Invasion." The early history of the Independents, and of the principle of religious freedom, is told by Mr. Masson ("Life of Milton," vol. iii.).]

With the close of the Civil War we enter on a time of confused struggles, a time tedious and uninteresting in its outer details, but of higher interest than even the war itself in its bearing on our after history. Modern England, the England among whose thoughts and sentiments we actually live, began however dimly with the triumph of Naseby. Old things passed silently away. When Astley gave up his sword the "work" of the generations which had struggled for Protestantism against Catholicism, for public liberty against absolute rule, in his own emphatic phrase, was "done." So far as these contests were concerned, however the later Stuarts might strive to revive them, England could safely "go to play." But with the end of this older work a new work began. The constitutional and ecclesiastical problems which still in one shape or another beset us started to the front as subjects of national debate in the years between the close of the Civil War and the death of the King. The great parties which have ever since divided the social, the political, and the religious life of England, whether as Independents and Presbyterians, as Whigs and Tories, as Conservatives and Liberals, sprang into organized existence in the contest between the Army and the Parliament. Then for the first time began a struggle which is far from having ended yet, a struggle between political tradition and political progress, between the principle of religious conformity and the principle of religious freedom.

It was the religious struggle which drew the political in its train. We have already witnessed the rise under Elizabeth of sects who did not aim, like the Presbyterians, at a change in Church government, but rejected the notion of a national Church at all, and insisted on the right of each congregation to perfect independence of faith and worship. At the close of the Queen's reign, however, these "Brownists" had

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terian
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almost entirely disappeared. Some of the dissidents, as in the notable instance of the congregation that produced the Pilgrim Fathers, had found a refuge in Holland; but the bulk had been driven by persecution to a fresh conformity with the Established Church. "As for those which we call Brownists," says Bacon, "being when they were at the best a very small number of very silly and base people, here and there in corners dispersed, they are now, thanks to God, by the good remedies that have been used, suppressed and worn out so that there is scarce any news of them." As soon, however, as Abbot's primacy promised a milder rule, the Separatist refugees began to venture timidly back again to England. During their exile in Holland the main body had contented themselves with the free development of their system of independent congregations, each forming in itself a complete Church, and to them the name of Independents attached itself at a later time. A small part, however, had drifted into a more marked severance in doctrine from the Established Church, especially in their belief of the necessity of adult baptism, a belief from which their obscure congregation at Leyden became known as that of the Baptists. Both of these sects gathered a church in London in the middle of James's reign, but the persecuting zeal of Laud prevented any spread of their opinions under that of his successor; and it was not till their numbers were suddenly increased by the return of a host of emigrants from New England, with Hugh Peters at their head, on the opening of the Long Parliament, that the Congregational or Independent body began to attract attention. Lilburne and Burton soon declared themselves adherents of what was called "the New England way;" and a year later saw in London alone the rise of "four score congregations of several sectaries," as Bishop Hall scornfully tells us, "instructed by guides fit for them, cobblers, tailors, felt-makers, and such-like trash." But little religious weight however could be attributed as yet to the Congregational movement. Baxter at this time had not heard of the existence of any Independents. Milton in his earlier pamphlets shows no sign of their influence. Of the hundred and five ministers present in the Westminster Assembly only five were Congregational in sympathy, and these were all returned refugees from Holland. Among the one hundred and twenty London ministers in 1643, only three were suspected of leanings towards the Sectaries.

The struggle with Charles in fact at its outset only threw new difficulties in the way of religious freedom. It was with strictly conservative aims in ecclesiastical as in political matters that Pym and his colleagues began the strife. Their avowed purpose was simply to restore the Church of England to its state under Elizabeth, and to free it from "innovations," from the changes introduced by Laud and his fellow prelates. The great majority of the Parliament were averse to

any alterations in the constitution or doctrine of the Church itself; and it was only the refusal of the bishops to accept any diminution of their power and revenues, the growth of a party hostile to Episcopalian government, the necessity for purchasing the aid of the Scots by a union in religion as in politics, and above all the urgent need of constructing some new ecclesiastical organization in the place of the older organization which had become impossible from the political attitude of the bishops, that forced on the two Houses the adoption of the Covenant. But the change to a Presbyterian system of Church government seemed at that time of little import to the bulk of Englishmen. The dogma of the necessity of bishops was held by few, and the change was generally regarded with approval as one which brought the Church of England nearer to that of Scotland and to the reformed Churches of the Continent. But whatever might be the change in its administration, no one imagined that it had ceased to be the Church of England, or that it had parted with its right to exact conformity to its worship from the nation at large. The Tudor theory of its relation to the State, of its right to embrace all Englishmen within its pale, and to dictate what should be their faith and form of worship, remained utterly unquestioned by any man of note. The sentiments on which such a theory rested indeed for its main support, the power of historical tradition, the association of "dissidence" with danger to the State, the strong English instinct of order, the as strong English dislike of "innovations," with the abhorrence of "indifferency," as a sign of lukewarmness in matters of religion, had only been intensified by the earlier incidents of the struggle with the King. The Parliament therefore had steadily pressed on the new system of ecclesiastical government in the midst of the troubles of the war. An Assembly of Divines which was called together at Westminster in 1643, and which sat in the Jerusalem Chamber during the five years which followed, was directed to revise the Articles, to draw up a Confession of Faith, and a Directory of Public Worship; and these with a scheme of Church government, a scheme only distinguished from that of Scotland by the significant addition of a lay court of superior appeal set by Parliament over the whole system of Church courts and assemblies, were accepted by the Houses and embodied in a series of Ordinances.

Had the change been made at the moment when "with uplifted hands" the Commons swore to the Covenant in St. Margaret's it would probably have been accepted by the country at large. But it met with a very different welcome when it came at the end of the war. In spite of repeated votes of Parliament for its establishment, the pure Presbyterian system took root only in London and Lancashire. While the Divines, indeed, were drawing up their platform of uniform belief and worship in the Jerusalem Chamber, dissidence had grown into a religious power. In the terrible agony of the struggle

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against Charles, individual conviction became a stronger force than religious tradition. Theological speculation took an unprecedented boldness from the temper of the times. Four years after the war had begun a horror-stricken pamphleteer numbered sixteen religious sects as existing in defiance of the law ; and, widely as these bodies differed among themselves, all were at one in repudiating any right of control in faith or worship by the Church or its clergy. Milton himself had left his Presbyterian stand-point, and saw that "new Presbyter is but old Priest writ large." The question of sectarianism soon grew into a practical one from its bearing on the war : for the class specially infected with the new spirit of religious freedom was just the class to whose zeal and vigour the Parliament was forced to look for success in its struggle. We have seen the prevalence of this spirit among the farmers from whom Cromwell drew his horsemen, and his enlistment of these "sectaries" was the first direct breach in the old system of conformity. The sentiments of the farmers indeed were not his own. Cromwell had signed the Covenant, and there is no reason for crediting him with any aversion to Presbyterianism as a system of doctrine or of Church organization. His first step was a purely practical one, a step dictated by military necessities, and excused in his mind by a sympathy with "honest" men, as well as by the growing but still vague notion of a communion among Christians wider than that of outer conformity in worship or belief. But the alarm and remonstrances of the Presbyterians forced his mind rapidly forward on the path of toleration. "The State in choosing men to serve it," Cromwell wrote before Marston Moor, "takes no notice of these opinions. If they be willing faithfully to serve it, that satisfies." Marston Moor spurred him to press on the Parliament the need of at least "tolerating" dissidents ; and he succeeded in procuring the appointment of a Committee of the Commons to find some means of effecting this. But the conservative temper of the bulk of the Puritans was at last roused by his efforts. "We detest and abhor," wrote the London clergy in 1645, "the much endeavoured Toleration ;" and the Corporation of London petitioned Parliament to suppress all sects "without toleration." The Parliament itself too remained steady on the conservative side. But the fortunes of the war told for religious freedom. Essex and his Presbyterians only marched from defeat to defeat. In remodelling the army the Commons had rejected a demand made by the Lords that officers and men, besides taking the Covenant, should submit "to the form of Church government that was already voted by both Houses." The victory of Naseby raised a wider question than that of mere toleration. "Honest men served you faithfully in this action," Cromwell wrote to the Speaker of the House of Commons from the field. "Sir, they are trusty : I beseech you in the name of God not to discourage them. He that ventures his life for the liberty of his

country, I wish he trust God for the liberty of his conscience." The storm of Bristol encouraged him to proclaim the new principles yet more distinctly. "Presbyterians, Independents, all here have the same spirit of faith and prayer, the same presence and answer. They agree here, have no names of difference; pity it is it should be otherwise anywhere. All that believe have the real unity, which is the most glorious, being the inward and spiritual, in the body and in the head. For being united in forms (commonly called uniformity), every Christian will for peace' sake study and do as far as conscience will permit. And from brethren in things of the mind we look for no compulsion but that of light and reason."

The increasing firmness of Cromwell's language was due to the growing irritation of his opponents. The two parties became every day more clearly defined. The Presbyterian ministers complained bitterly of the increase of the sectaries, and denounced the toleration which had come into practical existence without sanction from the law. Scotland, whose army was still before Newark, pressed for the execution of the Covenant and the universal enforcement of a religious uniformity. Sir Harry Vane, on the other hand, was striving to bring the Parliament round to less rigid courses by the introduction of two hundred and thirty new members, who filled the seats left vacant by royalist secessions, and the more eminent of whom, such as Ireton and Algernon Sidney, were inclined to support the Independents. But it was only the pressure of the New Model, and the remonstrances of Cromwell as its mouthpiece, which hindered any effective movement towards persecution. Amidst the wreck of his fortunes Charles intrigued busily with both parties, and promised liberty of worship to Vane and the Independents, at the moment when he was negotiating with the Parliament and the Scots. His negotiations were quickened by the march of Fairfax upon Oxford. Driven from his last refuge, the King after some aimless wanderings made his appearance in the camp of the Scots. Lord Leven at once fell back with his royal prize to Newcastle. The new aspect of affairs threatened the party of religious freedom with ruin. Hated as they were by the Scots, by the Lords, by the city of London, the apparent junction of Charles with their enemies destroyed their growing hopes in the Commons, where the prospects of a speedy peace on Presbyterian terms at once swelled the majority of their opponents. The two Houses laid their conditions of peace before the King without a dream of resistance from one who seemed to have placed himself at their mercy. They required for the Parliament the command of the army and fleet for twenty years; the exclusion of all "Malignants," or royalists who had taken part in the war, from civil and military office; the abolition of Episcopacy; and the establishment of a Presbyterian Church. Of toleration or liberty of conscience they said not a word. The Scots pressed these terms

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**Charles
and the
Presbyterians***Charles in
the Scotch
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on the King "with tears;" his friends, and even the Queen, urged their acceptance. But the aim of Charles was simply delay. Time and the dissensions of his enemies, as he believed, were fighting for him. "I am not without hope," he wrote coolly, "that I shall be able to draw either the Presbyterians or the Independents to side with me for extirpating one another, so that I shall be really King again." His refusal of the terms offered by the Houses was a crushing defeat for the Presbyterians. "What will become of us," asked one of them, "now that the King has rejected our proposals?" "What would have become of us," retorted an Independent, "had he accepted them?" The vigour of Holles and the Conservative leaders in the Parliament rallied however to a bolder effort. The King's game lay in balancing the army against the Parliament; and while the Scotch army lay at Newcastle the Houses could not insist on dismissing their own. It was only a withdrawal of the Scots from England and their transfer of the King's person into the hands of the Houses that would enable them to free themselves from the pressure of their own soldiers by disbanding the New Model. Hopeless of success with the King, and unable to bring him into Scotland in face of the refusal of the General Assembly to receive a sovereign who would not swear to the Covenant, the Scottish army accepted £400,000 in discharge of its claims, handed Charles over to a committee of the Houses, and marched back over the Border. Masters of the King, the Presbyterian leaders at once moved boldly to their attack on the New Model and the Sectaries. They voted that the army should be disbanded, and that a new army should be raised for the suppression of the Irish rebellion with Presbyterian officers at its head. It was in vain that the men protested against being severed from "officers that we love," and that the Council of Officers strove to gain time by pressing on the Parliament the danger of mutiny. Holles and his fellow-leaders were resolute, and their ecclesiastical legislation showed the end at which their resolution aimed. Direct enforcement of conformity was impossible till the New Model was disbanded; but the Parliament pressed on in the work of providing the machinery for enforcing it as soon as the army was gone. Vote after vote ordered the setting up of Presbyteries throughout the country, and the first-fruits of these efforts were seen in the Presbyterian organization of London, and in the first meeting of its Synod at St. Paul's. Even the officers on Fairfax's staff were ordered to take the Covenant.

All hung however on the disbanding of the New Model, and the New Model showed no will to disband itself. Its attitude can only fairly be judged by remembering what many of the conquerors of Naseby really were. They were soldiers of a different class and of a different temper from the soldiers of any other army that the world has seen. They were for the most part young farmers and tradesmen of

the lower sort, maintaining themselves, for the pay was twelve months in arrear, mainly at their own cost. The horsemen in many regiments had been specially picked as "honest," or religious men; and whatever enthusiasm or fanaticism they may have shown, their very enemies acknowledged the order and piety of their camp. They looked on themselves not as swordsmen, to be caught up and flung away at the will of a paymaster, but as men who had left farm and merchandise at a direct call from God. A great work had been given them to do, and the call bound them till it was done. Kingcraft, as Charles was hoping, might yet restore tyranny to the throne. A more immediate danger threatened that liberty of conscience which was to them "the ground of the quarrel, and for which so many of their friends' lives had been lost, and so much of their own blood had been spilt." They would wait before disbanding till these liberties were secured, and if need came they would again act to secure them. But their resolve sprang from no pride in the brute force of the sword they wielded. On the contrary, as they pleaded passionately at the bar of the Commons, "on becoming soldiers we have not ceased to be citizens." Their aims and proposals throughout were purely those of citizens, and of citizens who were ready the moment their aim was won to return peacefully to their homes. Thought and discussion had turned the army into a vast Parliament, a Parliament which regarded itself as representative of "godly" men in as high a degree as the Parliament at Westminster, and which must have become every day more conscious of its superiority in political capacity to its rival. Ireton, the moving spirit of the New Model, had no equal as a statesman in St. Stephen's: nor is it possible to compare the large and far-sighted proposals of the army with the blind and narrow policy of the two Houses. Whatever we may think of the means by which the New Model sought its aims, we must in justice remember that, so far as those aims went, the New Model was in the right. For the last two hundred years England has been doing little more than carrying out in a slow and tentative way the scheme of political and religious reform which the army propounded at the close of the Civil War. It was not till the rejection of the officers' proposals had left little hope of conciliation that the army acted, but its action was quick and decisive. It set aside for all political purposes the Council of Officers, and elected a new Council of Agitators or Agents, two members being named by each regiment, which summoned a general meeting of the army at Triploe Heath, where the proposals of pay and disbanding made by the Parliament were rejected with cries of "Justice." While the army was gathering, in fact, the Agitators had taken a step which put submission out of the question. A rumour that the King was to be removed to London, a new army raised, a new civil war begun, roused the soldiers to madness. Five hundred troopers suddenly

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appeared before Holmby House, where the King was residing in charge of Parliamentary Commissioners, and displaced its guards. "Where is your commission for this act?" Charles asked the cornet who commanded them. "It is behind me," said Joyce, pointing to his soldiers. "It is written in very fine and legible characters," laughed the King. The seizure had in fact been previously concerted between Charles and the Agitators. "I will part willingly," he told Joyce, "if the soldiers confirm all that you have promised me. You will exact from me nothing that offends my conscience or my honour." "It is not our maxim," replied the cornet, "to constrain the conscience of any one, still less that of our King." After a fresh burst of terror at the news, the Parliament fell furiously on Cromwell, who had relinquished his command and quitted the army before the close of the war, and had ever since been employed as a mediator between the two parties. The charge of having incited the mutiny fell before his vehement protest, but he was driven to seek refuge with the army, and on the 25th of June it was in full march upon London. Its demands were expressed with perfect clearness in an "Humble Representation" which it addressed to the Houses. "We desire a settlement of the Peace of the kingdom and of the liberties of the subject according to the votes and declarations of Parliament. We desire no alteration in the civil government: as little do we desire to interrupt or in the least to intermeddle with the settling of the Presbyterial government." They demanded toleration; but "not to open a way to licentious living under pretence of obtaining ease for tender consciences, we profess, as ever, in these things when the state has made a settlement we have nothing to say, but to submit or suffer." It was with a view to such a settlement that they demanded the expulsion of eleven members from the Commons, with Holles at their head, whom the soldiers charged with stirring up strife between the army and the Parliament, and with a design of renewing the civil war. After fruitless negotiations the terror of the Londoners forced the eleven to withdraw; and the Houses named Commissioners to treat on the questions at issue.

**The
Army
and the
King**

Though Fairfax and Cromwell had been forced from their position as mediators into a hearty co-operation with the army, its political direction rested at this moment with Cromwell's son-in-law, Henry Ireton, and Ireton looked for a real settlement, not to the Parliament, but to the King. "There must be some difference," he urged bluntly, "between conquerors and conquered;" but the terms which he laid before Charles were terms of studied moderation. The vindictive spirit which the Parliament had shown against the royalists and the Church disappeared in the terms exacted by the New Model; and the army contented itself with the banishment of seven leading "delinquents," a general Act of Oblivion for the rest, the withdrawal of all

coercive power from the clergy, the control of Parliament over the military and naval forces for ten years, and its nomination of the great officers of State. Behind these demands however came a masterly and comprehensive plan of political reform which had already been sketched by the army in the "Humble Representation," with which it had begun its march on London. Belief and worship were to be free to all. Acts enforcing the use of the Prayer-book, or attendance at Church, or the enforcement of the Covenant were to be repealed. Even Catholics, whatever other restraints might be imposed, were to be freed from the bondage of compulsory worship. Parliaments were to be triennial, and the House of Commons to be reformed by a fairer distribution of seats and of electoral rights; taxation was to be readjusted; legal procedure simplified; a crowd of political, commercial, and judicial privileges abolished. Ireton believed that Charles could be "so managed" (says Mrs. Hutchinson) "as to comply with the public good of his people after he could no longer uphold his violent will." But Charles was equally dead to the moderation and to the wisdom of this great Act of Settlement. He saw in the crisis nothing but an opportunity of balancing one party against another; and believed that the army had more need of his aid than he of the army's. "You cannot do without me—you are lost if I do not support you," he said to Ireton as he pressed his proposals. "You have an intention to be the arbitrator between us and the Parliament," Ireton quietly replied, "and we mean to be so between the Parliament and your Majesty." But the King's tone was soon explained. A mob of Londoners broke into the House of Commons, and forced its members to recall the eleven. While some fourteen peers and a hundred commoners fled to the army, those who remained at Westminster prepared for an open struggle with it, and invited Charles to return to London. But the news no sooner reached the camp than the army was again on the march. "In two days," Cromwell said coolly, "the city will be in our hands." The soldiers entered London in triumph, and restored the fugitive members; the eleven were again expelled, and the army leaders resumed negotiations with the King. The indignation of the soldiers at his delays and intrigues made the task hourly more difficult; but Cromwell, who now threw his whole weight on Ireton's side, clung to the hope of accommodation with a passionate tenacity. His mind, conservative by tradition, and above all practical in temper, saw the political difficulties which would follow on the abolition of Monarchy, and in spite of the King's evasions he persisted in negotiating with him. But Cromwell stood almost alone; the Parliament refused to accept Ireton's proposals as a basis of peace, Charles still evaded, and the army grew restless and suspicious. There were cries for a wide reform, for the abolition of the House of Peers, for a new House of Commons; and the Agitators called on the Council of Officers to

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discuss the question of abolishing royalty itself. Cromwell was never braver than when he faced the gathering storm, forbade the discussion, adjourned the Council, and sent the officers to their regiments. But the strain was too great to last long, and Charles was still resolute to "play his game." He was in fact so far from being in earnest in his negotiation with Cromwell and Ireton, that at the moment they were risking their lives for him he was conducting another and equally delusive negotiation with the Parliament, fomenting the discontent in London, preparing for a fresh royalist rising, and for an intervention of the Scots in his favour. "The two nations," he wrote joyously, "will soon be at war." All that was needed for the success of his schemes was his own liberty; and in the midst of their hopes of an accommodation the army leaders found with astonishment that they had been duped throughout, and that the King had fled.

The flight fanned the excitement of the New Model into frenzy, and only the courage of Cromwell averted an open mutiny in its gathering at Ware. But even Cromwell was powerless to break the spirit which now pervaded the soldiers, and the King's perfidy left him without resource. "The King is a man of great parts and great understanding," he said, "but so great a dissembler and so false a man that he is not to be trusted." The danger from his escape indeed soon passed away. By a strange error Charles had ridden from Hampton Court to the Isle of Wight, perhaps with some hope from the sympathy of Colonel Hammond, the Governor of Carisbrook Castle, and again found himself a prisoner. Foiled in his effort to put himself at the head of the new civil war, he set himself to organize it from his prison; and while again opening delusive negotiations with the Parliament, he signed a secret treaty with the Scots for the invasion of the realm. The practical suspension of the Covenant and the triumph of the party of religious liberty in England had produced a violent reaction across the Tweed. The moderate party had gathered round the Duke of Hamilton, and carried the elections against Argyle and the more zealous religionists; and on the King's consenting to a stipulation for the re-establishment of Presbytery in England, they ordered an army to be levied for his support. In England the whole of the conservative party, with many of the most conspicuous members of the Long Parliament at its head, was drifting, in its horror of the religious and political changes which seemed impending, towards the King; and the news from Scotland gave the signal for fitful insurrections in almost every quarter. London was only held down by main force, old officers of the Parliament unfurled the royal flag in South Wales, and surprised Pembroke. The seizure of Berwick and Carlisle opened a way for the Scotch invasion. Kent, Essex, and Hertford broke out in revolt. The fleet in the Downs sent their captains on shore, hoisted the King's pennon, and blockaded the Thames. "The hour

is come for the Parliament to save the kingdom and to govern alone," cried Cromwell; but the Parliament only showed itself eager to take advantage of the crisis to profess its adherence to monarchy, to reopen the negotiations it had broken off with the King, and to deal the fiercest blow at religious freedom which it had ever received. The Presbyterians flocked back to their seats; and an "Ordinance for the suppression of Blasphemies and Heresies," which Vane and Cromwell had long held at bay, was passed by triumphant majorities. Any man—ran this terrible statute—denying the doctrine of the Trinity or of the Divinity of Christ, or that the books of Scripture are "the Word of God," or the resurrection of the body, or a future day of judgement, and refusing on trial to abjure his heresy, "shall suffer the pain of death." Any man declaring (amidst a long list of other errors) "that man by nature hath free will to turn to God," that there is a Purgatory, that images are lawful, that infant baptism is unlawful; any one denying the obligation of observing the Lord's day, or asserting "that the Church government by Presbytery is anti-Christian or unlawful," shall on a refusal to renounce his errors "be commanded to prison." It was plain that the Presbyterians counted on the King's success to resume their policy of conformity, and had Charles been free, or the New Model disbanded, their hopes would probably have been realized. But Charles was still safe at Carisbrook; and the New Model was facing fiercely the danger which surrounded it. The wanton renewal of the war at a moment when all tended to peace swept from the mind of Fairfax and Cromwell, as from that of the army at large, every thought of reconciliation with the King. Soldiers and generals were at last bound together again in a stern resolve. On the eve of their march against the revolt all gathered in a solemn prayer-meeting, and came "to a very clear and joint resolution, 'That it was our duty, if ever the Lord brought us back again in peace, to call Charles Stuart, that man of blood, to account for the blood he has shed and mischief he has done to his utmost against the Lord's cause and people in this poor nation.'" In a few days Fairfax had trampled down the Kentish insurgents, and had prisoned those of the eastern countries within the walls of Colchester, while Cromwell drove the Welsh insurgents within those of Pembroke. Both towns however held stubbornly out; and though a rising under Lord Holland in the neighbourhood of London was easily put down, there was no force left to stem the inroad of the Scots, who poured over the border some twenty thousand strong. Luckily the surrender of Pembroke at this critical moment set Cromwell free. Pushing rapidly northward with five thousand men, he called in the force under Lambert which had been gallantly hanging on the Scottish flank, and pushed over the Yorkshire hills into the valley of the Ribble, where the Duke of Hamilton, reinforced by three thousand royalists of the north, had advanced as far as Preston. With

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an army which now numbered ten thousand men, Cromwell poured down on the flank of the Duke's straggling line of march, attacked the Scots as they retired behind the Ribble, passed the river with them, cut their rearguard to pieces at Wigan, forced the defile at Warrington, where the flying enemy made a last and desperate stand, and drove their foot to surrender, while Lambert hunted down Hamilton and the horse. Fresh from its victory, the New Model pushed over the Border, while the peasants of Ayrshire and the west rose in the "Whiggamore raid" (notable as the first event in which we find the name "Whig," which is possibly the same as our "Whey," and conveys a taunt against the "sour-milk" faces of the fanatical Ayrshiremen), and, marching upon Edinburgh, dispersed the royalist party and again installed Argyle in power.

Argyle welcomed Cromwell as a deliverer, but the victorious general had hardly entered Edinburgh when he was recalled by pressing news from the south. The temper with which the Parliament had met the royalist revolt was, as we have seen, widely different from that of the army. It had recalled the eleven members, and had passed the Ordinance against heresy. At the moment of the victory at Preston the Lords were discussing charges of treason against Cromwell, while commissioners were again sent to the Isle of Wight, in spite of the resistance of the Independents, to conclude peace with the King. Royalists and Presbyterians alike pressed Charles to grasp the easy terms which were now offered him. But his hopes from Scotland had only broken down to give place to hopes of a new war with the aid of an army from Ireland; and the negotiators saw forty days wasted in useless chicanery. "Nothing," Charles wrote to his friends "is changed in my designs." But the surrender of Colchester to Fairfax in August, and Cromwell's convention with Argyle, had now set free the army, and petitions from its regiments at once demanded "justice on the King." A fresh "Remonstrance" from the Council of Officers called for the election of a new Parliament; for electoral reform; for the recognition of the supremacy of the Houses "in all things;" for the change of kingship, should it be retained, into a magistracy elected by the Parliament, and without veto on its proceedings. Above all, they demanded "that the capital and grand author of our troubles, by whose commissions, commands, and procurements, and in whose behalf and for whose interest only, of will and power, all our wars and troubles have been, with all the miseries attending them, may be specially brought to justice for the treason, blood, and mischief he is therein guilty of." The demand drove the Houses to despair. Their reply was to accept the King's concessions, unimportant as they were, as a basis of peace. The step was accepted by the soldiers as a defiance: Charles was again seized by a troop of horse, and carried off to Hurst Castle, while a letter from Fairfax announced the march

of his army upon London. "We shall know now," said Vane, as the troops took their post round the Houses of Parliament, "who is on the side of the King, and who on the side of the people." But the terror of the army proved weaker among the members than the agonized loyalty which strove to save the monarchy and the Church, and a large majority in both Houses still voted for the acceptance of the terms which Charles had offered. The next morning saw Colonel Pride at the door of the House of Commons with a list of forty members of the majority in his hands. The Council of Officers had resolved to exclude them, and as each member made his appearance he was arrested, and put in confinement. "By what right do you act?" a member asked. "By the right of the sword," Hugh Peters is said to have replied. The House was still resolute, but on the following morning forty more members were excluded, and the rest gave way. The sword had fallen; and the two great powers which had waged this bitter conflict, the Parliament and the Monarchy, suddenly disappeared. The expulsion of one hundred and forty members, in a word of the majority of the existing House, reduced the Commons to a name. The remnant who remained to co-operate with the army were no longer representative of the will of the country; in the coarse imagery of popular speech they were but the "rump" of a Parliament. While the House of Commons dwindled to a sham, the House of Lords passed away altogether. The effect of "Pride's Purge" was seen in a resolution of the Rump for the trial of Charles and the nomination of a Court of one hundred and fifty Commissioners to conduct it, with John Bradshaw, a lawyer of eminence, at their head. The rejection of this Ordinance by the few peers who remained brought about a fresh resolution from members who remained in the Lower House, "that the People are, under God, the original of all just power; that the Commons of England in Parliament assembled—being chosen by, and representing, the People—have the supreme power in this nation; and that whatsoever is enacted and declared for law by the Commons in Parliament assembled hath the force of a law, and all the people of this nation are concluded thereby, although the consent and concurrence of the King or House of Peers be not had thereunto."

Charles appeared before Bradshaw's Court only to deny its competence and to refuse to plead; but thirty-two witnesses were examined to satisfy the consciences of his judges, and it was not till the fifth day of the trial that he was condemned to death as a tyrant, murderer, and enemy of his country. The popular excitement vented itself in cries of "Justice," or "God save your Majesty," as the trial went on, but all save the loud outcries of the soldiers was hushed as Charles passed to receive his doom. The dignity which he had failed to preserve in his long jangling with Bradshaw and the judges returned at the call of death. Whatever had been the faults and follies of his

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life, "he nothing common did nor mean, upon that memorable scene." Two masked executioners awaited the King as he mounted the scaffold, which had been erected outside one of the windows of the Banqueting House at Whitehall; the streets and roofs were thronged with spectators, and a strong body of soldiers stood drawn up beneath. His head fell at the first blow, and as the executioner lifted it to the sight of all a groan of pity and horror burst from the silent crowd.

Section IX.—The Commonwealth. 1649—1653.

[*Authorities.*—Rushworth's collection ceases with the King's Trial; White-lock and Ludlow continue as before, and must be supplemented by the Parliamentary History and the State Trials. Special lives of Vane and Martyn will be found in Mr. Forster's "Statesmen of the Commonwealth," and a vigorous defence of the Council of State in the "History of the Commonwealth," by Mr. Bisset. For Irish affairs see the Ormond Papers collected by Carte, and Cromwell's despatches in Carlyle's "Letters." The account given by Mr. Carlyle of the Scotch war is perhaps the most valuable portion of his work. The foreign politics and wars of this period are admirably illustrated with a copious appendix of documents by M. Guizot ("Republic and Cromwell," vol. i.), whose account of the whole period is the fairest and best for the general reader. Mr. Hepworth Dixon has published a biography of Blake.] [Mr. Masson's "Life of Milton," vols. iv. and v., which illustrate this period, have been published since this list was drawn up.—ED.]

The news of the King's death was received throughout Europe with a thrill of horror. The Czar of Russia chased the English envoy from his court. The ambassador of France was withdrawn on the proclamation of the Republic. The Protestant powers of the Continent seemed more anxious than any to disavow all connexion with the Protestant people who had brought their King to the block. Holland took the lead in acts of open hostility to the new power as soon as the news of the execution reached the Hague; the States-General waited solemnly on the Prince of Wales, who took the title of Charles the Second, and recognized him as "Majesty," while they refused an audience to the English envoys. Their Stadtholder, his brother-in-law, the Prince of Orange, was supported by popular sympathy in the aid and encouragement he afforded to Charles; and eleven ships of the English fleet, which had found a refuge at the Hague ever since their revolt from the Parliament, were suffered to sail under Rupert's command, and to render the seas unsafe for English traders. The danger was far greater nearer home. In Scotland Argyle and his party proclaimed Charles the Second King, and despatched an Embassy to the Hague to invite him to ascend the throne. In Ireland Ormond, who had remained firm in his allegiance to the King, and acted as his viceroy, took the lead of the Confederate Catholics, drew into some kind of union royalists of both races and creeds, and entered into negotiations with

Owen Roe O'Neill. Ormond called on Charles to land in a country where he would find three-fourths of its people devoted to his cause. Nor was the danger from without met by resolution and energy on the part of the diminished Parliament which remained the sole depository of legal powers. The Commons entered on their new task with hesitation and delay. Six weeks passed after the King's execution before the monarchy was formally abolished, and the government of the nation provided for by the creation of a Council of State consisting of forty-one members selected from the Commons, who were entrusted with full executive power at home or abroad. Two months more elapsed before the passing of the memorable Act which declared "that the People of England and of all the dominions and territories thereunto belonging are, and shall be, and are hereby constituted, made, established, and confirmed to be a Commonwealth and Free State, and shall henceforward be governed as a Commonwealth and Free State by the supreme authority of this nation, the representatives of the People in Parliament, and by such as they shall appoint and constitute officers and ministers for the good of the people, and that without any King or House of Lords."

Of the dangers which threatened the new Commonwealth some were more apparent than real. The rivalry of France and Spain, both anxious for its friendship, secured it from the hostility of the greater powers of the Continent; and the ill-will of Holland could be delayed, if not averted, by negotiations. The acceptance of the Covenant was insisted on by Scotland before it would formally receive Charles as its ruler, and nothing but necessity would induce him to comply with such a demand. On the side of Ireland danger seemed pressing, and an army of twelve thousand men was set apart for the war; but the Confederates had little cohesive force under Ormond, who was a Protestant, and who could not speak the Irish language. The real difficulties were the difficulties at home. The death of Charles gave fresh vigour to the royalist cause, and the new loyalty was stirred to enthusiasm by the publication of the "Eikon Basilike," a work really due to the ingenuity of Dr. Gauden, a Presbyterian minister, but which was believed to have been composed by the King himself in his later hours of captivity, and which reflected with admirable skill the hopes, the suffering, and the piety of the royal "martyr." The dreams of a rising were roughly checked by the execution of the Duke of Hamilton and Lords Holland and Capell, who had till now been confined in the Tower. But the popular disaffection told even on the Council of State. A majority of its members declined the oath offered to them at their earliest meeting, pledging them to an approval of the King's death and the establishment of the Commonwealth. Half the judges retired from the bench. Thousands of refusals met the demand of an engagement to be faithful to the Republic which was made to all beneficed clergymen and

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public functionaries. It was not till May, and even then in spite of the ill-will of the citizens, that the Council ventured to proclaim the Commonwealth in London. The army indeed had no thought of settling up a mere military rule. Still less did it contemplate leaving the conduct of affairs to the small body of members, which still called itself the House of Commons, a body which numbered hardly a hundred, and whose average attendance was little more than fifty. In reducing it by "Pride's Purge" to the mere shadow of a House the army had never dreamed of its continuance as a permanent assembly: it had, in fact, insisted as a condition of even its temporary continuance that it should prepare a bill for the summoning of a fresh Parliament. The plan put forward by the Council of Officers is still interesting as the basis of many later efforts towards parliamentary reform. It advised a dissolution in the spring, the assembling every two years of a new Parliament consisting of four hundred members elected by all householders rateable to the poor, and a redistribution of seats which would have given the privilege of representation to every place of importance. Paid military officers and civil officials were excluded from election. The plan was apparently accepted by the Commons, and a bill based on it was again and again discussed, but there was a suspicion that no serious purpose of its own dissolution was entertained by the House. The popular discontent found a mouthpiece in John Lilburne, a brave, hot-headed soldier, and the excitement of the army appeared suddenly in a formidable mutiny in May. "You must cut these people in pieces," Cromwell broke out in the Council of State, "or they will cut you in pieces;" and a forced march of fifty miles to Burford enabled him to burst on the mutinous regiments at midnight, and to stamp out the revolt. But resolute as he was against disorder, Cromwell went honestly with the army in its demand of a new Parliament; he believed, and in his harangue to the mutineers he pledged himself to the assertion, that the House proposed to dissolve itself. Within the House, however, a vigorous knot of politicians was resolved to prolong its existence; in a witty paraphrase of the story of Moses, Henry Martyn was soon to picture the Commonwealth as a new-born and delicate babe, and hint that "no one is so proper to bring it up as the mother who has brought it into the world." As yet, however, their intentions were kept secret, and in spite of the delays thrown in the way of the bill for a new Representative body Cromwell entertained no serious suspicion of the Parliament's design, when he was summoned to Ireland by a series of royalist successes which left only Dublin in the hands of the Parliamentary forces.

With Scotland threatening war, and a naval struggle impending with Holland, it was necessary that the work of the army in Ireland should be done quickly. The temper, too, of Cromwell and his soldiers was

one of vengeance, for legends of an Irish massacre remained living in every English breast, and the revolt was looked upon as a continuance of the massacre. "We are come," he said on his landing, "to ask an account of the innocent blood that hath been shed, and to endeavour to bring to an account all who by appearing in arms shall justify the same." A sortie from Dublin had already broken up Ormond's siege of the capital; and feeling himself powerless to keep the field before the new army, the Marquis had thrown his best troops, three thousand Englishmen under Sir Arthur Aston, as a garrison into Drogheda. The storm of Drogheda by Cromwell was the first of a series of awful massacres. The garrison fought bravely, and repulsed the first attack; but a second drove Aston and his force back to the Mill-Mount. "Our men getting up to them," ran Cromwell's terrible despatch, "were ordered by me to put them all to the sword. And indeed, being in the heat of action, I forbade them to spare any that were in arms in the town, and I think that night they put to death about two thousand men." A few fled to St. Peter's church, "whereupon I ordered the steeple to be fired, where one of them was heard to say in the midst of the flames: 'God damn me, I burn, I burn.'" "In the church itself nearly one thousand were put to the sword. I believe all their friars were knocked on the head promiscuously but two," but these were the sole exceptions to the rule of killing the soldiers only. At a later time Cromwell challenged his enemies to give "an instance of one man since my coming into Ireland, not in arms, massacred, destroyed, or banished." But for soldiers who refused to surrender on summons there was no mercy. Of the remnant who were driven to yield at last through hunger, "when they submitted, their officers were knocked on the head, every tenth man of the soldiers killed, and the rest shipped for the Barbadoes." "I am persuaded," the despatch ends, "that this is a righteous judgement of God upon these barbarous wretches who have imbrued their hands in so much innocent blood, and that it will tend to prevent the effusion of blood for the future." A detachment sufficed to relieve Derry, and to quiet Ulster; and Cromwell turned to the south, where as stout a defence was followed by as terrible a massacre at Wexford. A fresh success at Ross brought him to Waterford; but the city held stubbornly out, disease thinned his army, where there was scarce an officer who had not been sick, and the general himself was arrested by illness. At last the tempestuous weather drove him into winter quarters at Cork with his work half done. The winter was one of terrible anxiety. The Parliament was showing less and less inclination to dissolve itself, and was meeting the growing discontent by a stricter censorship of the press, and a fruitless prosecution of John Lilburne. English commerce was being ruined by the piracies of Rupert's fleet, which now anchored at Kinsale to support the royalist cause in Ireland.

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The energy of Vane indeed had already re-created a navy, squadrons of which were being despatched into the British seas, the Mediterranean, and the Levant, and Colonel Blake, who had distinguished himself by his heroic defence of Taunton during the war, was placed at the head of a fleet which drove Rupert from the Irish coast, and finally blockaded him in the Tagus. But even the energy of Vane quailed before the danger from the Scots. "One must go and die there," the young King cried at the news of Ormond's defeat before Dublin, "for it is shameful for me to live elsewhere." But his ardour for an Irish campaign cooled as Cromwell marched from victory to victory; and from the isle of Jersey, which alone remained faithful to him of all his southern dominions, Charles renewed the negotiations with Scotland which his hopes from Ireland had broken. They were again delayed by a proposal on the part of Montrose to attack the very Government with whom his master was negotiating; but the failure and death of the Marquis in the spring forced Charles to accept the Presbyterian conditions. The news of the negotiations filled the English leaders with dismay, for Scotland was raising an army, and Fairfax, while willing to defend England against a Scotch invasion, scrupled to take the lead in an invasion of Scotland. The Council recalled Cromwell from Ireland, but his cooler head saw that there was yet time to finish his work in the west. During the winter he had been busily preparing for a new campaign, and it was only after the storm of Clonmell, and the overthrow of the Irish under Hugh O'Neil, that he embarked again for England.

Cromwell entered London amidst the shouts of a great multitude; and a month after Charles had landed on the shores of Scotland the English army started for the north. It crossed the Tweed, fifteen thousand men strong; but the terror of his massacres in Ireland hung round its leader, the country was deserted as he advanced, and he was forced to cling for provisions to a fleet which sailed along the coast. David Leslie, with a larger force, refused battle and lay obstinately in his lines between Edinburgh and Leith. A march of the English army round his position to the slopes of the Pentlands only brought about a change of the Scottish front; and as Cromwell fell back baffled upon Dunbar, Leslie encamped upon the heights above the town, and cut off the English retreat along the coast by the seizure of Cockburnspath. His post was almost unassailable, while the soldiers of Cromwell were sick and starving; and their general had resolved on an embarkation of his forces, when he saw in the dusk of evening signs of movement in the Scottish camp. Leslie's caution had at last been overpowered by the zeal of the preachers, and his army moved down to the lower ground between the hillside on which it was encamped and a little brook which covered the English front. His horse was far in advance of the main body, and it had hardly reached the level ground when

Cromwell in the dim dawn flung his whole force upon it. "They run ; I profess they run !" he cried as the Scotch horse broke after a desperate resistance, and threw into confusion the foot who were hurrying to its aid. Then, as the sun rose over the mist of the morning, he added in nobler words : "Let God arise, and let His enemies be scattered ! Like as the mist vanisheth, so shalt Thou drive them away !" In less than an hour the victory was complete. The defeat at once became a rout ; ten thousand prisoners were taken, with all the baggage and guns ; three thousand were slain, with scarce any loss on the part of the conquerors. Leslie reached Edinburgh, a general without an army. The effect of Dunbar was at once seen in the attitude of the Continental powers. Spain hastened to recognize the Republic, and Holland offered its alliance. But Cromwell was watching with anxiety the growing discontent at home. The general amnesty claimed by Ireton, and the bill for the Parliament's dissolution, still hung on hand ; the reform of the courts of justice, which had been pressed by the army, failed before the obstacles thrown in its way by the lawyers in the Commons. "Relieve the oppressed," Cromwell wrote from Dunbar, "hear the groans of poor prisoners. Be pleased to reform the abuses of all professions. If there be any one that makes many poor to make a few rich, that suits not a Commonwealth." But the House was seeking to turn the current of public opinion in favour of its own continuance by a great diplomatic triumph. It resolved secretly on the wild project of bringing about a union between England and Holland, and it took advantage of Cromwell's victory to despatch Oliver St. John with a stately embassy to the Hague. His rejection of an alliance and Treaty of Commerce which the Dutch offered was followed by the disclosure of the English proposal of union, but the proposal was at once refused. The envoys, who returned angrily to the Parliament, attributed their failure to the posture of affairs in Scotland, where Charles was preparing for a new campaign. Humiliation after humiliation had been heaped on Charles since he landed in his northern realm. He had subscribed to the Covenant ; he had listened to sermons and scoldings from the ministers ; he had been called on to sign a declaration that acknowledged the tyranny of his father and the idolatry of his mother. Hardened and shameless as he was, the young King for a moment recoiled. "I could never look my mother in the face again," he cried, "after signing such a paper ;" but he signed. He was still, however, a King only in name, shut out from the Council and the army, with his friends excluded from all part in government or the war. But he was at once freed by the victory of Dunbar. "I believe the King will set up on his own score now," Cromwell wrote after his victory. With the overthrow of Leslie fell the power of Argyle and the narrow Presbyterians whom he led. Hamilton, the brother and successor of

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the Duke who had been captured at Preston, brought back the royalists to the camp, and Charles insisted on taking part in the Council and on being crowned at Scone. Master of Edinburgh, but foiled in an attack on Stirling, Cromwell waited through the winter and the long spring, while intestine feuds broke up the nation opposed to him, and while the stricter Covenanters retired sulkily from the royal army on the return of the "Malignants," the royalists of the earlier war, to its ranks. With summer the campaign recommenced, but Leslie again fell back on his system of positions, and Cromwell, finding the Scotch camp at Stirling unassailable, crossed into Fife and left the road open to the south. The bait was taken. In spite of Leslie's counsels Charles resolved to invade England, and was soon in full march through Lancashire upon the Severn, with the English horse under Lambert hanging on his rear, and the English foot hastening by York and Coventry to close the road to London. "We have done to the best of our judgement," Cromwell replied to the angry alarm of the Parliament, "knowing that if some issue were not put to this business it would occasion another winter's war." At Coventry he learnt Charles's position, and swept round by Evesham upon Worcester, where the Scotch King was encamped. Throwing half his force across the river, Cromwell attacked the town on both sides on the anniversary of his victory at Dunbar. He led the van in person, and was "the first to set foot on the enemy's ground." When Charles descended from the cathedral tower to fling himself on the eastern division, Cromwell hurried back across the Severn, and was soon "riding in the midst of the fire." For four or five hours, he told the Parliament, "it was as stiff a contest as ever I have seen;" the Scots, outnumbered and beaten into the city, gave no answer but shot to offers of quarter, and it was not till nightfall that all was over. The loss of the victors was as usual inconsiderable. The conquered lost six thousand men, and all their baggage and artillery. Leslie was among the prisoners: Hamilton among the dead. Charles himself fled from the field; and after months of wanderings made his escape to France.

"Now that the King is dead and his son defeated," Cromwell said gravely to the Parliament, "I think it necessary to come to a settlement." But the settlement which had been promised after Naseby was still as distant as ever after Worcester. The bill for dissolving the present Parliament, though Cromwell pressed it in person, was only passed, after bitter opposition, by a majority of two; and even this success had been purchased by a compromise which permitted the House to sit for three years more. Internal affairs were almost at a dead lock. The Parliament appointed committees to prepare plans for legal reforms, or for ecclesiastical reforms, but it did nothing to carry them into effect. It was overpowered by the crowd of affairs which the confusion of the war had thrown into its hands, by confiscations,

sequestrations, appointments to civil and military offices, in fact, the whole administration of the state ; and there were times when it was driven to a resolve not to take any private affairs for weeks together in order that it might make some progress with public business. To add to this confusion and muddle there were the inevitable scandals which arose from it ; charges of malversation and corruption were hurled at the members of the house ; and some, like Haselrig, were accused with justice of using their power to further their own interests. The one remedy for all this was, as the army saw, the assembly of a new and complete Parliament in place of the mere "rump" of the old ; but this was the one measure which the House was resolute to avert. Vane spurred it to a new activity. The Amnesty Bill was forced through after fifteen divisions. A Grand Committee, with Sir Matthew Hale at its head, was appointed to consider the reform of the law. A union with Scotland was pushed resolutely forward ; eight English Commissioners convoked a Convention of delegates from its counties and boroughs at Edinburgh, and in spite of dogged opposition procured a vote in favour of the proposal. A bill was introduced which gave legal form to the union, and admitted representatives from Scotland into the next Parliament. A similar plan was proposed for a union with Ireland. But it was necessary for Vane's purposes not only to show the energy of the Parliament, but to free it from the control of the army. His aim was to raise in the navy a force devoted to the House, and to eclipse the glories of Dunbar and Worcester by yet greater triumphs at sea. With this view the quarrel with Holland had been carefully nursed ; a "Navigation Act" prohibiting the importation in foreign vessels of any but the products of the countries to which they belonged struck a fatal blow at the carrying trade from which the Dutch drew their wealth ; and fresh debates arose from the English claim to salutes from all vessels in the Channel. The two fleets met before Dover, and a summons from Blake to lower the Dutch flag was met by the Dutch admiral, Van Tromp, with a broadside. The States-General attributed the collision to accident, and offered to recall Van Tromp ; but the English demands rose at each step in the negotiations till war became inevitable. The army hardly needed the warning conveyed by the introduction of a bill for its disbanding to understand the new policy of the Parliament. It was significant that while accepting the bill for its own dissolution the House had as yet prepared no plan for the assembly which was to follow it ; and the Dutch war had hardly been declared when, abandoning the attitude of inaction which it had observed since the beginning of the Commonwealth, the army petitioned, not only for reform in Church and State, but for an explicit declaration that the House would bring its proceedings to a close. The Petition forced the House to discuss a bill for "a New Representative," but the discussion soon brought out the resolve of the sitting members to

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continue as a part of the coming Parliament without re-election. The officers, irritated by such a claim, demanded in conference after conference an immediate dissolution, and the House as resolutely refused. In ominous words Cromwell supported the demand of the army. "As for the members of this Parliament, the army begins to take them in disgust. I would it did so with less reason." There was just ground, he urged, for discontent in their selfish greed of houses and lands, the scandalous lives of many, their partiality as judges, their interference with the ordinary course of law in matters of private interest, their delay of law reform, above all in their manifest design of perpetuating their own power. "There is little to hope for from such men," he ended with a return to his predominant thought, "for a settlement of the nation."

For the moment the crisis was averted by the events of the war. A terrible storm had separated the two fleets when on the point of engaging in the Orkneys, but Ruyter and Blake met again in the Channel, and after a fierce struggle the Dutch were forced to retire under cover of night. Since the downfall of Spain Holland had been the first naval power in the world, and the spirit of the nation rose gallantly with its earliest defeat. Immense efforts were made to strengthen the fleet, and the veteran, Van Tromp, who was replaced at its head, appeared in the Channel with seventy-three ships of war. Blake had but half the number, but he at once accepted the challenge, and the unequal fight went on doggedly till nightfall, when the English fleet withdrew shattered into the Thames. Tromp swept the Channel in triumph, with a broom at his masthead; and the tone of the Commons lowered with the defeat of their favourite force. A compromise seems to have been arranged between the two parties, for the bill providing a new Representative was again pushed on, and the Parliament agreed to retire in the coming November, while Cromwell offered no opposition to a reduction of the army. But the courage of the House rose afresh with a turn of fortune. The strenuous efforts of Blake enabled him again to put to sea in a few months after his defeat, and a running fight through four days ended at last in an English victory, though Tromp's fine seamanship enabled him to save the convoy he was guarding. The House at once insisted on the retention of its power. Not only were the existing members to continue as members of the new Parliament, depriving the places they represented of their right of choosing representatives, but they were to constitute a Committee of Revision, to determine the validity of each election, and the fitness of the members returned. A conference took place between the leaders of the Commons and the Officers of the Army, who resolutely demanded not only the omission of these clauses, but that the Parliament should at once dissolve itself, and commit the new elections to the Council of State. "Our charge," retorted Haselrig, "cannot be

transferred to any one." The conference was adjourned till the next morning, on an understanding that no decisive step should be taken : but it had no sooner re-assembled than the absence of the leading members confirmed the news that Vane was fast pressing the bill for a new Representative through the House. "It is contrary to common honesty," Cromwell angrily broke out ; and, quitting Whitehall, he summoned a company of musketeers to follow him as far as the door of the Commons. He sate down quietly in his place, "clad in plain grey clothes and grey worsted stockings," and listened to Vane's passionate arguments. "I am come to do what grieves me to the heart," he said to his neighbour, St. John ; but he still remained quiet, till Vane pressed the House to waive its usual forms and pass the bill at once. "The time has come," he said to Harrison. "Think well," replied Harrison, "it is a dangerous work !" and Cromwell listened for another quarter of an hour. At the question "that this Bill do pass," he at length rose, and his tone grew higher as he repeated his former charges of injustice, self-interest, and delay. "Your hour is come," he ended, "the Lord hath done with you !" A crowd of members started to their feet in angry protest. "Come, come," replied Cromwell, "we have had enough of this ;" and striding into the midst of the chamber, he clapt his hat on his head, and exclaimed, "I will put an end to your prating !" In the din that followed his voice was heard in broken sentences—"It is not fit that you should sit here any longer ! You should give place to better men ! You are no Parliament." Thirty musketeers entered at a sign from their General, and the fifty members present crowded to the door. "Drunkard !" Cromwell broke out as Wentworth passed him ; and Martin was taunted with a yet coarser name. Vane, fearless to the last, told him his act was "against all right and all honour." "Ah, Sir Harry Vane, Sir Harry Vane," Cromwell retorted in bitter indignation at the trick he had been played, "you might have prevented all this, but you are a juggler, and have no common honesty ! The Lord deliver me from Sir Harry Vane !" The Speaker refused to quit his seat, till Harrison offered to "lend him a hand to come down." Cromwell lifted the mace from the table. "What shall we do with this bauble?" he said. "Take it away !" The door of the House was locked at last, and the dispersion of the Parliament was followed a few hours after by that of its executive committee, the Council of State. Cromwell himself summoned them to withdraw. "We have heard," replied the President, John Bradshaw, "what you have done this morning at the House, and in some hours all England will hear it. But you mistake, sir, if you think the Parliament dissolved. No power on earth can dissolve the Parliament but itself, be sure of that !"

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THE
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The
Puritan
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tion

Section X.—The Fall of Puritanism. 1653–1660.

[*Authorities.*—Many of the works mentioned before are still valuable, but the real key to the history of this period lies in Cromwell's remarkable series of Speeches (Carlyle, "Letters and Speeches," vol. iii.). Thurlow's State Papers furnish an immense mass of documents. For the Second Parliament of the Protector we have Burton's "Diary." For the Restoration, M. Guizot's "Richard Cromwell and the Restoration," Ludlow's "Memoirs," Baxter's "Autobiography," and the minute and accurate account given by Clarendon himself.]

The dispersion of the Parliament and of the Council of State left England without a government, for the authority of every official ended with that of the body from which his power was derived. Cromwell, in fact, as Captain-General of the forces, was forced to recognize his responsibility for the maintenance of public order. But no thought of military despotism can be fairly traced in the acts of the general or the army. They were in fact far from regarding their position as a revolutionary one. Though incapable of justification on any formal ground, their proceedings since the establishment of the Commonwealth had as yet been substantially in vindication of the rights of the country to representation and self-government; and public opinion had gone fairly with the army in its demand for a full and efficient body of representatives, as well as in its resistance to the project by which the Rump would have deprived half England of its right of election. It was only when no other means existed of preventing such a wrong that the soldiers had driven out the wrongdoers. "It is you that have forced me to this," Cromwell exclaimed, as he drove the members from the House; "I have sought the Lord night and day that He would rather slay me than put me upon the doing of this work." The act was one of violence to the members of the House, but the act which it aimed at preventing was one of violence on their part to the constitutional rights of the whole nation. The people had in fact been "dissatisfied in every corner of the realm" at the state of public affairs: and the expulsion of the members was ratified by a general assent. "We did not hear a dog bark at their going," the Protector said years afterwards. Whatever anxiety may have been felt at the use which was like to be made of "the power of the sword," was in great part dispelled by a proclamation of the officers. Their one anxiety was "not to grasp the power ourselves nor to keep it in military hands, no not for a day," and their promise to "call to the government men of approved fidelity and honesty" was to some extent redeemed by the nomination of a provisional Council of State, consisting of eight officers of high rank and four civilians, with Cromwell as their head, and a seat in which was offered, though fruitlessly, to Vane. The first business of such a body was clearly to summon a new Parliament and to resign its trust into its hands: but the bill for Parliamentary reform had dropped with the expulsion: and reluctant as the Council was to summon a new Parliament

on the old basis of election, it shrank from the responsibility of effecting so fundamental a change as the creation of a new basis by its own authority. It was this difficulty which led to the expedient of a Constituent Convention. Cromwell told the story of this unlucky assembly some years after with an amusing frankness. "I will come and tell you a story of my own weakness and folly. And yet it was done in my simplicity—I dare avow it was. . . . It was thought then that men of our own judgment, who had fought in the wars, and were all of a piece on that account—why, surely, these men will hit it, and these men will do it to the purpose, whatever can be desired! And surely we did think, and I did think so—the more blame to me!" Of the hundred and fifty-six men, "faithful, fearing God, and hating covetousness," whose names were selected for this purpose by the Council of State, from lists furnished by the congregational churches, the bulk were men, like Ashley Cooper, of good blood and "free estates;" and the proportion of burgesses, such as the leather-merchant, Praise-God Barebones, whose name was eagerly seized on as a nickname for the body to which he belonged, seems to have been much the same as in earlier Parliaments. But the circumstances of their choice told fatally on the temper of its members. Cromwell himself, in the burst of rugged eloquence with which he welcomed their assembling, was carried away by a strange enthusiasm. "Convince the nation," he said, "that as men fearing God have fought them out of their bondage under the regal power, so men fearing God do now rule them in the fear of God. . . . Own your call, for it is of God: indeed, it is marvellous, and it hath been unprojected. . . . Never was a supreme power under such a way of owning God, and being owned by Him." A spirit yet more enthusiastic appeared in the proceedings of the Convention itself. The resignation of their powers by Cromwell and the Council into its hands left it the one supreme authority; but by the instrument which convoked it provision had been made that this authority should be transferred in fifteen months to another assembly elected according to its directions. Its work was, in fact, to be that of a constituent assembly, paving the way for a Parliament on a really national basis. But the Convention put the largest construction on its commission, and boldly undertook the whole task of constitutional reform. Committees were appointed to consider the needs of the Church and the nation. The spirit of economy and honesty which pervaded the assembly appeared in its redress of the extravagance which prevailed in the civil service, and of the inequality of taxation. With a remarkable energy it undertook a host of reforms, for whose execution England has had to wait to our own day. The Long Parliament had shrunk from any reform of the Court of Chancery, where twenty-three thousand cases were waiting unheard. The Convention proposed its abolition. The work of compiling a single

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code of laws, begun under the Long Parliament by a committee with Sir Matthew Hale at its head, was again pushed forward. The frenzied alarm which these bold measures aroused among the lawyer class was soon backed by that of the clergy, who saw their wealth menaced by the establishment of civil marriage, and by proposals to substitute the free contributions of congregations for the payment of tithes. The landed proprietors too rose against the scheme for the abolition of lay-patronage, which was favoured by the Convention, and predicted an age of confiscation. The "Barebones Parliament," as the assembly was styled in derision, was charged with a design to ruin property, the Church, and the law, with enmity to knowledge, and a blind and ignorant fanaticism. Cromwell himself shared the general uneasiness at its proceedings. His mind was that of an administrator, rather than that of a statesman, unspeculative, deficient in foresight, conservative, and eminently practical. He saw the need of administrative reform in Church and State; but he had no sympathy whatever with the revolutionary theories which were filling the air around him. His desire was for "a settlement" which should be accompanied with as little disturbance of the old state of things as possible. If Monarchy had vanished in the turmoil of war, his experience of the Long Parliament only confirmed him in his belief of the need of establishing an executive power of a similar kind, apart from the power of the legislature, as a condition of civil liberty. His sword had won "liberty of conscience;" but passionately as he clung to it, he was still for an established Church, for a parochial system, and a ministry maintained by tithes. His social tendencies were simply those of the class to which he belonged. "I was by birth a gentleman," he told a later Parliament, and in the old social arrangement of "a nobleman, a gentleman, a yeoman," he saw "a good interest of the nation and a great one." He hated "that levelling principle" which tended to the reducing of all to one equality. "What was the purport of it," he asks with an amusing simplicity, "but to make the tenant as liberal a fortune as the landlord? Which, I think, if obtained, would not have lasted long. The men of that principle, after they had served their own turns, would then have cried up property and interest fast enough."

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To a practical temper such as this the speculative reforms of the Convention were as distasteful as to the lawyers and clergy whom they attacked. "Nothing," said Cromwell, "was in the hearts of these men but 'overturn, overturn.'" But he was delivered from his embarrassment by the internal dissensions of the Assembly itself. The day after the decision against tithes the more conservative members snatched a vote by surprise "that the sitting of this Parliament any longer, as now constituted, will not be for the good of the Commonwealth, and that it is requisite to deliver up unto the Lord-General the

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powers we received from him." The Speaker placed their abdication in Cromwell's hands, and the act was confirmed by the subsequent adhesion of a majority of the members. The dissolution of the Convention replaced matters in the state in which its assembly had found them; but there was still the same general anxiety to substitute some sort of legal rule for the power of the sword. The Convention had named during its session a fresh Council of State, and this body at once drew up, under the name of the Instrument of Government, a remarkable Constitution, which was adopted by the Council of Officers. They were driven by necessity to the step from which they had shrunk before, that of convening a Parliament on the reformed basis of representation, though such a basis had no legal sanction. The House was to consist of four hundred members from England, thirty from Scotland, and thirty from Ireland. The seats hitherto assigned to small and rotten boroughs were transferred to larger constituencies, and for the most part to counties. All special rights of voting in the election of members were abolished, and replaced by a general right of suffrage, based on the possession of real or personal property to the value of two hundred pounds. Catholics and "Malignants," as those who had fought for the King were called, were excluded for the while from the franchise. Constitutionally, all further organization of the form of government should have been left to this Assembly; but the dread of disorder during the interval of its election, as well as a longing for "settlement," drove the Council to complete their work by pressing the office of "Protector" upon Cromwell. "They told me that except I would undertake the government they thought things would hardly come to a composure or settlement, but blood and confusion would break in as before." If we follow however his own statement, it was when they urged that the acceptance of such a Protectorate actually limited his power as Lord-General, and "bound his hands to act nothing without the consent of a Council until the Parliament," that the post was accepted. The powers of the new Protector indeed were strictly limited. Though the members of the Council were originally named by him, each member was irremovable save by consent of the rest: their advice was necessary in all foreign affairs, their consent in matters of peace and war, their approval in nominations to the great offices of state, or the disposal of the military or civil power. With this body too lay the choice of all future Protectors. To the administrative check of the Council was added the political check of the Parliament. Three years at the most were to elapse between the assembling of one Parliament and another. Laws could not be made, nor taxes imposed but by its authority, and after the lapse of twenty days the statutes it passed became laws even if the Protector's assent was refused to them. The new Constitution was undoubtedly popular; and the promise of a real Parliament in a few

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months covered the want of any legal character in the new rule. The Government was generally accepted as a provisional one, which could only acquire legal authority from the ratification of its acts in the coming session ; and the desire to settle it on such a Parliamentary basis was universal among the members of the new Assembly which met in the autumn at Westminster.

Few Parliaments have ever been more memorable, or more truly representative of the English people, than the Parliament of 1654. It was the first Parliament in our history where members from Scotland and Ireland sate side by side with those from England, as they sit in the Parliament of to-day. The members for rotten boroughs and pocket-boroughs had disappeared. In spite of the exclusion of royalists and Catholics from the polling-booths, and the arbitrary erasure of the names of a few ultra-republican members by the Council, the House had a better title to the name of a "free Parliament" than any which had sat before. The freedom with which the electors had exercised their right of voting was seen indeed in the large number of Presbyterian members who were returned, and in the reappearance of Haselrig and Bradshaw, with many members of the Long Parliament, side by side with Lord Herbert and the older Sir Harry Vane. The first business of the House was clearly to consider the question of government ; and Haselrig, with the fiercer republicans, at once denied the legal existence of either Council or Protector, on the ground that the Long Parliament had never been dissolved. Such an argument, however, told as much against the Parliament in which they sate as against the administration itself, and the bulk of the Assembly contented themselves with declining to recognize the Constitution or Protectorate as of more than provisional validity. They proceeded at once to settle the government on a Parliamentary basis. The "Instrument" was taken as the groundwork of the new Constitution, and carried clause by clause. That Cromwell should retain his rule as Protector was unanimously agreed ; that he should possess the right of veto or a co-ordinate legislative power with the Parliament was hotly debated, though the violent language of Haselrig did little to disturb the general tone of moderation. Suddenly, however, Cromwell interposed. If he had undertaken the duties of Protector with reluctance, he looked on all legal defects in his title as more than supplied by the consent of the nation. "I called not myself to this place," he urged, "God and the people of these kingdoms have borne testimony to it." His rule had been accepted by London, by the army, by the solemn decision of the judges, by addresses from every shire, by the very appearance of the members of the Parliament in answer to his writ. "Why may I not balance this Providence," he asked, "with any hereditary interest?" In this national approval he saw a call from God, a Divine Right of a higher order than that of the kings who had gone before.

But there was another ground for the anxiety with which he watched the proceedings of the Commons. His passion for administration had far overstepped the bounds of a merely provisional rule in the interval before the assembling of the Parliament. His desire for "settlement" had been strengthened not only by the drift of public opinion, but by the urgent need of every day; and the power reserved by the "Instrument" to issue temporary ordinances "until further order in such matters, to be taken by the Parliament," gave a scope to his marvellous activity of which he at once took advantage. Sixty-four Ordinances had been issued in the nine months before the meeting of the Parliament. Peace had been concluded with Holland. The Church had been set in order. The law itself had been minutely regulated. The union with Scotland had been brought to completion. So far was Cromwell from dreaming that these measures, or the authority which enacted them, would be questioned, that he looked to Parliament simply to complete his work. "The great end of your meeting," he said at the first assembly of its members, "is healing and settling." Though he had himself done much, he added, "there was still much to be done." Peace had to be made with Portugal, and alliance with Spain. Bills were laid before the House for the codification of the law. The plantation and settlement of Ireland had still to be completed. He resented the setting these projects aside for constitutional questions which, as he held, a Divine call had decided, but he resented yet more the renewed claim advanced by Parliament to the sole power of legislation. As we have seen, his experience of the evils which had arisen from the concentration of legislative and executive power in the Long Parliament had convinced Cromwell of the danger to public liberty which lay in such a union. He saw in the joint government of "a single person and a Parliament" the only assurance "that Parliaments should not make themselves perpetual," or that their power should not be perverted to public wrong. But whatever strength there may have been in the Protector's arguments, the act by which he proceeded to enforce them was fatal to liberty, and in the end to Puritanism. "If my calling be from God," he ended, "and my testimony from the People, God and the People shall take it from me, else I will not part from it." And he announced that no member would be suffered to enter the House without signing an engagement "not to alter the Government as it is settled in a single person and a Parliament." No act of the Stuarts had been a bolder defiance of constitutional law; and the act was as needless as it was illegal. One hundred members alone refused to take the engagement, and the signatures of three-fourths of the House proved that the security Cromwell desired might have been easily procured by a vote of Parliament. But those who remained resumed their constitutional task with unbroken firmness. They quietly asserted

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their sole title to government by referring the Protector's Ordinances to Committees for revision, and for conversion into laws. The "Instrument of Government" was turned into a bill, debated, and after some modifications read a third time. Money votes, as in previous Parliaments, were deferred till "grievances" had been settled. But Cromwell once more intervened. The royalists were astir again; and he attributed their renewed hopes to the hostile attitude which he ascribed to the Parliament. The army, which remained unpaid while the supplies were delayed, was seething with discontent. "It looks," said the Protector, "as if the laying grounds for a quarrel had rather been designed than to give the people settlement. Judge yourselves whether the contesting of things that were provided for by this government hath been profitable expense of time for the good of this nation." In words of angry reproach he declared the Parliament dissolved.

With the dissolution of the Parliament of 1654 ended all show of constitutional rule. The Protectorate, deprived by its own act of all chance of legal sanction, became a simple tyranny. Cromwell professed, indeed, to be restrained by the "Instrument": but the one great restraint on his power which the Instrument provided, the inability to levy taxes save by consent of Parliament, was set aside on the plea of necessity. "The People," said the Protector in words which Strafford might have uttered, "will prefer their real security to forms." That a danger of royalist revolt existed was undeniable, but the danger was at once doubled by the general discontent. From this moment, Whitelock tells us, "many sober and noble patriots," in despair of public liberty, "did begin to incline to the King's restoration." In the mass of the population the reaction was far more rapid. "Charles Stuart," writes a Cheshire correspondent to the Secretary of State, "hath five hundred friends in these adjacent counties for every one friend to you among them." But before the overpowering strength of the army even this general discontent was powerless. Yorkshire, where the royalist insurrection was expected to be most formidable, never ventured to rise at all. There were risings in Devon, Dorset, and the Welsh Marches, but they were quickly put down, and their leaders brought to the scaffold. Easily however as the revolt was suppressed, the terror of the Government was seen in the energetic measures to which Cromwell resorted in the hope of securing order. The country was divided into ten military governments, each with a major-general at its head, who was empowered to disarm all Papists and royalists, and to arrest suspected persons. Funds for the supports of this military despotism were provided by an Ordinance of the Council of State, which enacted that all who had at any time borne arms for the King should pay every year a tenth part of their income, in spite of the Act of Oblivion, as a fine for their royalist tendencies. The despotism

of the major-generals was seconded by the older expedients of tyranny. The ejected clergy had been zealous in promoting the insurrection, and they were forbidden in revenge to act as chaplains or as tutors. The press was placed under a strict censorship. The payment of taxes levied by the sole authority of the Protector was enforced by distraint ; and when a collector was sued in the courts for redress, the counsel for the prosecution were sent to the Tower.

If pardon, indeed, could ever be won for a tyranny, the wisdom and grandeur with which he used the power he had usurped would win pardon for the Protector. The greatest among the many great enterprises undertaken by the Long Parliament had been the Union of the three Kingdoms : and that of Scotland with England had been brought about, at the very end of its career, by the tact and vigour of Sir Harry Vane. But its practical realization was left to Cromwell. In four months of hard fighting General Monk brought the Highlands to a new tranquillity ; and the presence of an army of eight thousand men, backed by a line of forts, kept the most restless of the clans in good order. The settlement of the country was brought about by the temperance and sagacity of Monk's successor, General Deane. No further interference with the Presbyterian system was attempted beyond the suppression of the General Assembly. But religious liberty was resolutely protected, and Deane ventured even to interfere on behalf of the miserable victims whom Scotch bigotry was torturing and burning on the charge of witchcraft. Even steady royalists acknowledged the justice of the Government and the wonderful discipline of its troops. "We always reckon those eight years of the usurpation," said Burnet afterwards, "a time of great peace and prosperity." There was sterner work in Ireland. The war of conquest had been continued by Ireton, and was completed after his death by General Ludlow. Thousands perished by famine, and a third of the population was blotted out. Shipload after shipload of those who surrendered were sent over sea for sale into forced labour in Jamaica and the West Indies. Slave-dealers were let loose, and orphan boys and girls and young widows of the slain sold in Barbadoes to the planters. More than forty thousand of the beaten Catholics were permitted to enlist for foreign service, and found a refuge in exile under the banners of France and Spain. The work of settlement turned out to be even more terrible than the work of the sword. It took as its model the Plantation of Ulster, the fatal measure which had destroyed all hope of a united Ireland, and had brought inevitably in its train the revolt and the war. The people were divided into classes in the order of their assumed guilt. All who had shared in the rising of 1641 were condemned to death and forfeiture of lands. Catholic proprietors who had borne arms against the Parliament forfeited all their estates :

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some were promised a third of their value in Connacht, carved out from the lands of the native clans ; others were banished. Papists who had not shown "a constant good affection" for the Parliament by actively taking arms for it, lost their estates and were allowed two-thirds of their value in Connacht. The confiscation was universal. Ploughmen and labourers were alone permitted to remain to cultivate the land for the new masters, soldiers and adventurers. No such doom had ever fallen on a nation in modern times as fell upon Ireland in its new settlement. Among the bitter memories which part Ireland from England the memory of the bloodshed and confiscation which the Puritans wrought remains the bitterest ; and the worst curse an Irish peasant can hurl at his enemy is "the curse of Cromwell." But pitiless as the Protector's policy was, it was successful in the ends at which it aimed. The whole native population lay helpless and crushed. All or almost all the land in the three largest and richest provinces was confiscated and divided among English Protestants. The legislative union which had been brought about with Scotland was now carried out with Ireland, and thirty seats were allotted to its representatives in the general Parliament.

In England Cromwell dealt with the royalists as irreconcilable enemies ; but in every other respect he carried fairly out his pledge of "healing and settling." The series of administrative reforms planned by the Convention had been partially carried into effect before the meeting of Parliament in 1654 ; but the work was pushed on after the dissolution of the House with yet greater energy. Nearly a hundred ordinances showed the industry of the Government. Police, public amusements, roads, finances, the condition of prisons, the imprisonment of debtors, were a few among the subjects which claimed Cromwell's attention. An ordinance of more than fifty clauses reformed the Court of Chancery. The anarchy which had reigned in the Church since the break-down of Episcopacy and the failure of the Presbyterian system to supply its place, was put an end to by a series of wise and temperate measures for its reorganization. Rights of patronage were left untouched ; but a Board of Triers, a fourth of whom were laymen, was appointed to examine the fitness of ministers presented to livings ; and a Church board of gentry and clergy was set up in every county to exercise a supervision over ecclesiastical affairs, and to detect and remove scandalous and ineffectual ministers. Even by the confession of Cromwell's opponents, the plan worked well. It furnished the country with "able, serious preachers," Baxter tells us, "who lived a godly life, of what tolerable opinion soever they were," and, as both Presbyterian and Independent ministers were presented to livings at the will of their patrons, it solved so far as practical working was concerned the problem of a religious union among the Puritans on the base of a wide variety of Christian opinion. From the Church which was

thus reorganized all power of interference with faiths differing from its own was resolutely withheld. Save in his dealings with the Episcopalian, whom he looked on as a political danger, Cromwell remained true throughout to the cause of religious liberty. Even the Quaker, rejected by all other Christian bodies as an anarchist and blasphemer, found sympathy and protection in the Protector. The Jews had been excluded from England since the reign of Edward the First; and a prayer which they now presented for leave to return was refused by the commission of merchants and divines to whom the Protector referred it for consideration. But the refusal was quietly passed over, and the connivance of Cromwell in the settlement of a few Hebrews in London and Oxford was so clearly understood that no one ventured to interfere with them.

No part of his policy is more characteristic of Cromwell's mind, whether in its strength or in its weakness, than his management of foreign affairs. While England had been absorbed in her long and obstinate struggle for freedom the whole face of the world around her had changed. The Thirty Years' War was over. The victories of Gustavus, and of the Swedish generals who followed him, had been seconded by the policy of Richelieu and the intervention of France. Protestantism in Germany was no longer in peril from the bigotry or ambition of the House of Austria: and the Treaty of Westphalia had drawn a permanent line between the territories belonging to the adherents of the old religion and the new. There was little danger, indeed, now to Europe from the great Catholic House which had threatened its freedom ever since Charles the Fifth. Its Austrian branch was called away from dreams of aggression in the west to a desperate struggle with the Turk for the possession of Hungary and the security of Austria itself. Spain was falling into a state of strange decrepitude. So far from aiming to be mistress of Europe, she was rapidly sinking into the almost helpless prey of France. It was France which had now become the dominant power in Christendom, though her position was far from being as commanding as it was to become under Lewis the Fourteenth. The peace and order which prevailed after the cessation of the religious troubles throughout her compact and fertile territory gave scope at last to the quick and industrious temper of the French people; while her wealth and energy were placed by the centralizing administration of Henry the Fourth, of Richelieu, and of Mazarin, almost absolutely in the hands of the Crown. Under the three great rulers who have just been named her ambition was steadily directed to the same purpose of territorial aggrandizement, and though limited as yet to the annexation of the Spanish and Imperial territories which still parted her frontier from the Pyrenees, the Alps, and the Rhine, a statesman of wise political genius would have discerned the beginning of that great struggle for supremacy over Europe at large which was

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only foiled by the genius of Marlborough and the victories of the Grand Alliance. But in his view of European politics Cromwell was misled by the conservative and unspeculative temper of his mind as well as by the strength of his religious enthusiasm. Of the change in the world around him he seems to have discerned nothing. He brought to the Europe of Mazarin the hopes and ideas with which all England was thrilling in his youth at the outbreak of the Thirty Years' War. Spain was still to him "the head of the Papal Interest," whether at home or abroad. "The Papists in England," he said to the Parliament of 1656, "have been accounted, ever since I was born, Spaniolized; they never regarded France, or any other Papist state, but Spain only." The old English hatred of Spain, the old English resentment at the shameful part which the nation had been forced to play in the great German struggle by the policy of James and of Charles, lived on in Cromwell, and was only strengthened by the religious enthusiasm which the success of Puritanism had kindled within him. "The Lord Himself," he wrote to his admirals as they sailed to the West Indies, "hath a controversy with your enemies; even with that Romish Babylon of which the Spaniard is the great underpropper. In that respect we fight the Lord's battles." What Sweden had been under Gustavus, England, Cromwell dreamt, might be now—the head of a great Protestant League in the struggle against Catholic aggression. "You have on your shoulders," he said to the Parliament of 1654, "the interest of all the Christian people of the world. I wish it may be written on our hearts to be zealous for that interest."

The first step in such a struggle was necessarily to league the Protestant powers together, and Cromwell's earliest efforts were directed to bring the ruinous and indecisive quarrel with Holland to an end. The fierceness of the strife had grown with each engagement; but the hopes of Holland fell with her admiral, Tromp, who received a mortal wound at the moment when he had succeeded in forcing the English line; and the skill and energy of his successor, De Ruyter, struggled in vain to restore her waning fortunes. She was saved by the expulsion of the Long Parliament, which had persisted in its demand of a political union of the two countries; and the new policy of Cromwell was seen in the conclusion of peace. The United Provinces recognized the supremacy of the English flag in the British seas, and submitted to the Navigation Act, while Holland pledged itself to shut out the House of Orange from power, and thus relieved England from the risk of seeing a Stuart restoration supported by Dutch forces. The peace with the Dutch was followed by the conclusion of like treaties with Sweden and with Denmark; and on the arrival of a Swedish envoy with offers of a league of friendship, Cromwell endeavoured to bring the Dutch, the Brandenburgers, and the Danes into a confederation of the Protestant powers. His efforts in this direction however, though they never

wholly ceased, remained fruitless ; but the Protector was resolute to carry out his plans single-handed. The defeat of the Dutch had left England the chief sea-power of the world ; and before the dissolution of the Parliament, two fleets put to sea with secret instructions. The first, under Blake, appeared in the Mediterranean, exacted reparation from Tuscany for wrongs done to English commerce, bombarded Algiers, and destroyed the fleet with which its pirates had ventured through the reign of Charles to insult the English coast. The thunder of Blake's guns, every Puritan believed, would be heard in the castle of St. Angelo, and Rome itself would have to bow to the greatness of Cromwell. But though no declaration of war had been issued against Spain, the true aim of both expeditions was an attack on that power ; and the attack proved singularly unsuccessful. Though Blake sailed to the Spanish coast, he failed to intercept the treasure fleet from America ; and the second expedition, which made its way to the West Indies, was foiled in a descent on St. Domingo. Its conquest of Jamaica, important as it really was in breaking through the monopoly of the New World in the South which Spain had till now enjoyed, seemed at the time but a poor result for a vast expenditure of blood and money. Its leaders were sent to the Tower on their return ; but Cromwell found himself at war with Spain, and thrown whether he would or no into the hands of the French minister Mazarin.

He was forced to sign a treaty of alliance with France ; while the cost of his abortive expeditions drove him again to face a Parliament. But Cromwell no longer trusted, as in his earlier Parliament, to freedom of elections. The sixty members sent from Ireland and Scotland under the Ordinances of union were simply nominees of the Government. Its whole influence was exerted to secure the return of the more conspicuous members of the Council of State. It was calculated that of the members returned one-half were bound to the Government by ties of profit or place. But Cromwell was still unsatisfied. A certificate of the Council was required from each member before admission to the House ; and a fourth of the whole number returned—one hundred in all, with Haselrig at their head—were by this means excluded on grounds of disaffection or want of religion. To these arbitrary acts of violence the House replied only by a course of singular moderation and wisdom. From the first it disclaimed any purpose of opposing the Government. One of its earliest acts provided securities for Cromwell's person, which was threatened by constant plots of assassination. It supported him in his war policy, and voted supplies of unprecedented extent for the maintenance of the struggle. It was this attitude of loyalty which gave force to its steady refusal to sanction the system of tyranny which had practically placed England under martial law. In his opening address Cromwell boldly took his stand in support of the military despotism wielded by the

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major-generals. "It hath been more effectual towards the discountenancing of vice and settling religion than anything done these fifty years. I will abide by it," he said, with singular vehemence, "notwithstanding the envy and slander of foolish men. I could as soon venture my life with it as with anything I ever undertook. If it were to be done again, I would do it." But no sooner had a bill been introduced into Parliament to confirm the proceedings of the major-generals than a long debate showed the temper of the Commons. They had resolved to acquiesce in the Protectorate, but they were equally resolved to bring it again to a legal mode of government. This indeed was the aim of even Cromwell's wiser adherents. "What makes me fear the passing of this Act," one of them wrote to his son Henry, "is that thereby His Highness' government will be more founded in force, and more removed from that natural foundation which the people in Parliament are desirous to give him, supposing that he will become more theirs than now he is." The bill was rejected, and Cromwell bowed to the feeling of the nation by withdrawing the powers of the major-generals.

But the defeat of the tyranny of the sword was only a step towards a far bolder effort for the restoration of the power of the law. It was no mere pedantry, still less was it vulgar flattery, which influenced the Parliament in their offer to Cromwell of the title of King. The experience of the last few years had taught the nation the value of the traditional forms under which its liberties had grown up. A king was limited by constitutional precedents. "The King's prerogative," it was well urged, "is under the courts of justice, and is bounded as well as any acre of land, or anything a man hath." A Protector, on the other hand, was new in our history, and there were no traditional means of limiting his power. "The one office being lawful in its nature," said Glynne, "known to the nation, certain in itself, and confined and regulated by the law, and the other not so—that was the great ground why the Parliament did so much insist on this office and title." Under the name of Monarchy, indeed, the question really at issue between the party headed by the officers and the party led by the lawyers in the Commons was that of the restoration of constitutional and legal rule. The proposal was carried by an overwhelming majority, but a month passed in endless consultations between the Parliament and the Protector. His good sense, his knowledge of the general feeling of the nation, his real desire to obtain a settlement which should secure the ends for which Puritanism fought, political and religious liberty, broke in conference after conference through a mist of words. But his real concern throughout was with the temper of the army. Cromwell knew well that his government was a sheer government of the sword, and that the discontent of his soldiery would shake the fabric of his power. He vibrated to and fro between his sense of the political advan-

tages of such a settlement, and his sense of its impossibility in face of the mood of the army. His soldiers, he said, were no common swordsmen. They were "godly men, men that will not be beaten down by a worldly and carnal spirit while they keep their integrity;" men in whose general voice he recognized the voice of God. "They are honest and faithful men," he urged, "true to the great things of the Government. And though it really is no part of their goodness to be unwilling to submit to what a Parliament shall settle over them, yet it is my duty and conscience to beg of you that there may be no hard things put upon them which they cannot swallow. I cannot think God would bless an undertaking of anything which would justly and with cause grieve them." The temper of the army was soon shown. Its leaders, with Lambert, Fleetwood, and Desborough at their head, placed their commands in Cromwell's hands. A petition from the officers to Parliament demanded the withdrawal of the proposal to restore the Monarchy, "in the name of the old cause for which they had bled." Cromwell at once anticipated the coming debate on this petition, a debate which might have led to an open breach between the army and the Commons, by a refusal of the crown. "I cannot undertake this Government," he said, "with that title of King; and that is my answer to this great and weighty business."

Disappointed as it was, the Parliament with singular self-restraint turned to other modes of bringing about its purpose. The offer of the crown had been coupled with the condition of accepting a constitution which was a modification of the Instrument of Government adopted by the Parliament of 1654, and this constitution Cromwell emphatically approved. "The things provided by this Act of Government," he owned, "do secure the liberties of the people of God as they never before have had them." With a change of the title of King into that of Protector, the Act of Government now became law; and the solemn inauguration of the Protector by the Parliament was a practical acknowledgment on the part of Cromwell of the illegality of his former rule. In the name of the Commons the Speaker invested him with a mantle of State, placed the sceptre in his hand, and girt the sword of justice by his side. By the new Act of Government Cromwell was allowed to name his own successor, but in all after cases the office was to be an elective one. In every other respect the forms of the older Constitution were carefully restored. Parliament was again to consist of two Houses, the seventy members of "the other House" being named by the Protector. The Commons regained their old right of exclusively deciding on the qualification of their members. Parliamentary restrictions were imposed on the choice of members of the Council, and officers of State or of the army. A fixed revenue was voted to the Protector, and it was provided that no moneys should be raised but by assent of Parliament. Liberty of worship was secured

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for all but Papists, Prelatists, Socinians, or those who denied the inspiration of the Scriptures ; and liberty of conscience was secured for all.

The adjournment of the House after his inauguration left Cromwell at the height of his power. He seemed at last to have placed his government on a legal and national basis. The ill-success of his earlier operations abroad was forgotten in a blaze of glory. On the eve of the Parliament's assembly one of Blake's captains had managed to intercept a part of the Spanish treasure fleet. At the close of 1656 the Protector seemed to have found the means of realizing his schemes for rekindling the religious war throughout Europe in a quarrel between the Duke of Savoy and his Protestant subjects in the valleys of Piedmont. A ruthless massacre of these Vaudois by the Duke's troops roused deep resentment throughout England, a resentment which still breathes in the noblest of Milton's sonnets. While the poet called on God to avenge his "slaughtered saints, whose bones lie scattered on the Alpine mountains cold," Cromwell was already busy with the work of earthly vengeance. An English envoy appeared at the Duke's court with haughty demands of redress. Their refusal would have been followed by instant war, for the Protestant Cantons of Switzerland were bribed into promising a force of ten thousand men for an attack on Savoy. The plan was foiled by the cool diplomacy of Mazarin, who forced the Duke to grant Cromwell's demands ; but the apparent success of the Protector raised his reputation at home and abroad. The spring of 1657 saw the greatest as it was the last of the triumphs of Blake. He found the Spanish Plate fleet guarded by galleons in the strongly-armed harbour of Santa Cruz ; he forced an entrance into the harbour and burnt or sank every ship within it. Triumphs at sea were followed by a triumph on land. Cromwell's demand of Dunkirk, which had long stood in the way of any acceptance of his offers of aid, was at last conceded ; and a detachment of the Puritan army joined the French troops who were attacking Flanders under the command of Turenne. Their valour and discipline were shown by the part they took in the capture of Mardyke ; and still more by the victory of the Dunes, a victory which forced the Flemish towns to open their gates to the French, and gave Dunkirk to Cromwell.

Never had the fame of an English ruler stood higher ; but in the midst of his glory the hand of death was falling on the Protector. He had long been weary of his task. "God knows," he had burst out to the Parliament a year before, "I would have been glad to have lived under my woodside, and to have kept a flock of sheep, rather than to have undertaken this government." And now to the weariness of power was added the weakness and feverish impatience of disease. Vigorous and energetic as his life had seemed, his health was by no means as

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strong as his will ; he had been struck down by intermittent fever in the midst of his triumphs both in Scotland and in Ireland, and during the past year he had suffered from repeated attacks of it. "I have some infirmities upon me," he owned twice over in his speech at the re-opening of the Parliament after an adjournment of six months ; and his feverish irritability was quickened by the public danger. No supplies had been voted, and the pay of the army was heavily in arrear, while its temper grew more and more sullen at the appearance of the new Constitution and the re-awakening of the royalist intrigues. Under the terms of the new Constitution the members excluded in the preceding year took their places again in the House. The mood of the nation was reflected in the captious and quarrelsome tone of the Commons. They still delayed the grant of supplies. Meanwhile a hasty act of the Protector in giving to his nominees in "the other House," as the new second chamber he had devised was called, the title of "Lords," kindled a strife between the two Houses which was busily fanned by Haselrig and other opponents of the Government. It was contended that the "other House" had under the new Constitution simply judicial and not legislative powers. Such a contention struck at Cromwell's work of restoring the old political forms of English life ; and the reappearance of Parliamentary strife threw him at last, says an observer at his court, "into a rage and passion like unto madness." What gave weight to it was the growing strength of the royalist party, and its preparations for a coming rising. Charles himself with a large body of Spanish troops drew to the coast of Flanders to take advantage of it. His hopes were above all encouraged by the strife in the Commons, and their manifest dislike of the system of the Protectorate. It was this that drove Cromwell to action. Summoning his coach, by a sudden impulse, the Protector drove with a few guards to Westminster ; and setting aside the remonstrances of Fleetwood, summoned the two Houses to his presence. "I do dissolve this Parliament," he ended a speech of angry rebuke, "and let God be judge between you and me." Fatal as was the error, for the moment all went well. The army was reconciled by the blow levelled at its opponents, and the few murmurers were weeded from its ranks by a careful remodelling. The triumphant officers vowed to stand or fall with his Highness. The danger of a royalist rising vanished before a host of addresses from the counties. Great news too came from abroad, where victory in Flanders, and the cession of Dunkirk, set the seal on Cromwell's glory. But the fever crept steadily on, and his looks told the tale of death to the Quaker, Fox, who met him riding in Hampton Court Park. "Before I came to him," he says, "as he rode at the head of his Life Guards, I saw and felt a waft of death go forth against him, and when I came to him he looked like a dead man." In the midst of his triumph Cromwell's heart was in fact heavy with the sense of failure. He had no desire to

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play the tyrant ; nor had he any belief in the permanence of a mere tyranny. He clung desperately to the hope of bringing the country to his side. He had hardly dissolved the Parliament before he was planning the summons of another, and angry at the opposition which his Council offered to the project. "I will take my own resolutions," he said gloomily to his household ; "I can no longer satisfy myself to sit still, and make myself guilty of the loss of all the honest party and of the nation itself." But before his plans could be realized the over-taxed strength of the Protector suddenly gave way. He saw too clearly the chaos into which his death would plunge England to be willing to die. "Do not think I shall die," he burst out with feverish energy to the physicians who gathered round him ; "say not I have lost my reason ! I tell you the truth. I know it from better authority than any you can have from Galen or Hippocrates. It is the answer of God Himself to our prayers !" Prayer indeed rose from every side for his recovery, but death drew steadily nearer, till even Cromwell felt that his hour was come. "I would be willing to live," the dying man murmured, "to be further serviceable to God and His people, but my work is done ! Yet God will be with His people !" A storm which tore roofs from houses, and levelled huge trees in every forest, seemed a fitting prelude to the passing away of his mighty spirit. Three days later, on the third of September, the day which had witnessed his victories of Worcester and Dunbar, Cromwell quietly breathed his last.

So absolute even in death was his sway over the minds of men, that, to the wonder of the excited royalists, even a doubtful nomination on his death-bed was enough to secure the peaceful succession of his son, Richard Cromwell. Many, in fact, who had rejected the authority of his father submitted peaceably to the new Protector. Their motives were explained by Baxter, the most eminent among the Presbyterian ministers, in the address to Richard which announced his adhesion. "I observe," he says, "that the nation generally rejoice in your peaceable entrance upon the Government. Many are persuaded that you have been strangely kept from participating in any of our late bloody contentions, that God might make you the healer of our breaches, and employ you in that Temple work which David himself might not be honoured with, though it was in his mind, because he shed blood abundantly and made great wars." The new Protector was a weak and worthless man, but the bulk of the nation were content to be ruled by one who was at any rate no soldier, no Puritan, and no innovator. Richard was known to be lax and worldly in his conduct, and he was believed to be conservative and even royalist in heart. The tide of reaction was felt even in his Council. Their first act was to throw aside one of the greatest of Cromwell's reforms, and to fall back in the summons which they issued for the new Par-

liament on the old system of election. It was felt far more keenly in the tone of the new House of Commons. The republicans under Vane, backed adroitly by the secret royalists, fell hotly on Cromwell's system. The fiercest attack of all came from Sir Ashley Cooper, a Dorsetshire gentleman who had changed sides in the civil war, had fought for the King and then for the Parliament, had been a member of Cromwell's Council, and had of late ceased to be a member of it. His virulent invective on "his Highness of deplorable memory, who with fraud and force deprived you of your liberty when living, and entailed slavery on you at his death," was followed by an equally virulent invective against the army. "They have not only subdued their enemies," said Cooper, "but the masters who raised and maintained them! They have not only conquered Scotland and Ireland, but rebellious England too; and there suppressed a Malignant party of magistrates and laws." The army was quick with its reply. It had already demanded the appointment of a soldier as its General in the place of the new Protector, who had assumed the command. The tone of the Council of Officers now became so menacing that the Commons ordered the dismissal of all officers who refused to engage "not to disturb or interrupt the free meetings of Parliament." Richard ordered the Council of Officers to dissolve. Their reply was a demand for the dissolution of the Parliament, a demand with which Richard was forced to comply. The purpose of the army however was still to secure a settled government; and setting aside the new Protector, whose weakness was now evident, they resolved to come to a reconciliation with the republican party, and to recall the fragment of the Commons whom they had expelled from St. Stephen's in 1653. Of the one hundred and sixty members who had continued to sit after the King's death, about ninety returned to their seats, and resumed the administration of affairs. But the continued exclusion of the members who had been "purged" from the House in 1648, proved that no real intention existed of restoring a legal rule. The House was soon at strife with the soldiers. In spite of Vane's counsels, it proposed a reform of the officers, and though a royalist rising in Cheshire during August threw the disputants for a moment together, the struggle revived as the danger passed away. A new hope indeed filled men's minds. Not only was the nation sick of military rule, but the army, unconquerable so long as it held together, at last showed signs of division. In Ireland and Scotland the troops protested against the attitude of their English comrades; and Monk, the commander of the Scottish army, threatened to march on London and free the Parliament from their pressure. Their divisions encouraged Haselrig and his coadjutors to demand the dismissal of Fleetwood and Lambert from their commands. They answered by driving the Parliament again from Westminster, and by marching under Lambert

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to the north to meet Monk's army. Negotiation gave Monk time to gather a Convention at Edinburgh and strengthen himself with money and recruits. His attitude roused England to action. So rapidly did the tide of feeling rise throughout the country that the army was driven to undo its work by recalling the Rump. Monk however advanced rapidly to Coldstream, and crossed the border. The cry of "A free Parliament" ran like fire through the country. Not only Fairfax, who appeared in arms in Yorkshire, but the ships on the Thames and the mob which thronged the streets of London caught up the cry; and Monk, who lavished protestations of loyalty to the Rump, while he accepted petitions for a "Free Parliament," entered London unopposed. From the moment of his entry the restoration of the Stuarts became inevitable. The army, resolute as it still remained for the maintenance of "the cause," was deceived by Monk's declarations of loyalty to it, and rendered powerless by his adroit dispersion of the troops over the country. At the instigation of Ashley Cooper, those who remained of the members who had been excluded from the House of Commons by Pride's Purge in 1648 again forced their way into Parliament, and at once resolved on a dissolution and the election of a new House of Commons. The new House, which bears the name of the Convention, had hardly taken the solemn League and Covenant which showed its Presbyterian temper, and its leaders had only begun to draw up terms on which the King's restoration might be assented to, when they found that Monk was in negotiation with the exiled Court. All exaction of terms was now impossible; a Declaration from Breda in which Charles promised a general pardon, religious toleration, and satisfaction to the army was received with a burst of national enthusiasm; and the old Constitution was restored by a solemn vote of the Convention, "that according to the ancient and fundamental laws of this Kingdom, the government is, and ought to be, by King, Lords, and Commons." The King was at once invited to hasten to his realm; he landed at Dover, and made his way amidst the shouts of a great multitude to Whitehall. "It is my own fault," laughed the new King, with characteristic irony "that I had not come back sooner; for I find nobody who does not tell me he has always longed for my return."

Puritanism, so men believed, had fallen never to rise again. As a political experiment it had ended in utter failure and disgust. As a religious system of national life it brought about the wildest outbreak of moral revolt that England has ever witnessed. And yet Puritanism was far from being dead; it drew indeed a nobler life from suffering and defeat. Nothing aids us better to trace the real course of Puritan influence since the fall of Puritanism than the thought of the two great works which have handed down from one generation to another its highest and noblest spirit. From that time to this the most popular of all religious books has been the Puritan allegory of the "Pilgrim's Progress."

The most popular of all English poems has been the Puritan epic of the "Paradise Lost." Milton had been engaged during the civil war in strife with Presbyterians and with Royalists, pleading for civil and religious freedom, for freedom of social life, and freedom of the press. At a later time he became Latin Secretary to the Protector, in spite of a blindness which had been brought on by the intensity of his study. The Restoration found him of all living men the most hateful to the Royalists; for it was his "Defence of the English People" which had justified throughout Europe the execution of the King. Parliament ordered his book to be burnt by the common hangman; he was for a time imprisoned, and even when released he had to live amidst threats of assassination from fanatical Cavaliers. To the ruin of his cause were added personal misfortunes in the bankruptcy of the scrivener who held the bulk of his property, and in the Fire of London, which deprived him of much of what was left. As age drew on, he found himself reduced to comparative poverty, and driven to sell his library for subsistence. Even among the sectaries who shared his political opinions Milton stood in religious opinion alone, for he had gradually severed himself from every accepted form of faith, had embraced Arianism, and had ceased to attend at any place of worship. Nor was his home a happy one. The grace and geniality of his youth disappeared in the drudgery of a schoolmaster's life and amongst the invectives of controversy. In age his temper became stern and exacting. His daughters, who were forced to read to their blind father in languages which they could not understand, revolted utterly against their bondage. But solitude and misfortune only brought out into bolder relief Milton's inner greatness. There was a grand simplicity in the life of his later years. He listened every morning to a chapter of the Hebrew Bible, and after musing in silence for a while pursued his studies till midday. Then he took exercise for an hour, played for another hour on the organ or viol, and renewed his studies. The evening was spent in converse with visitors and friends. For, lonely and unpopular as Milton was, there was one thing about him which made his house in Bunhill Fields a place of pilgrimage to the wits of the Restoration. He was the last of the Elizabethans. He had possibly seen Shakspere, as on his visits to London after his retirement to Stratford the playwright passed along Bread Street to his wit combats at the Mermaid. He had been the contemporary of Webber and Massinger, of Herrick and Crashaw. His "Comus" and "Arcades" had rivalled the masques of Ben Jonson. It was with a reverence drawn from thoughts like these that men looked on the blind poet as he sate, clad in black, in his chamber hung with rusty green tapestry, his fair brown hair falling as of old over a calm, serene face that still retained much of its youthful beauty, his cheeks delicately coloured, his clear grey eyes showing no trace of their

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blindness. But famous, whether for good or ill, as his prose writings had made him, during fifteen years only a few sonnets had broken his silence as a singer. It was now, in his blindness and old age, with the cause he loved trodden under foot by men as vile as the rabble in "Comus," that the genius of Milton took refuge in the great poem on which through years of silence his imagination had still been brooding.

On his return from his travels in Italy, Milton had spoken of himself as musing on "a work not to be raised from the heat of youth or the vapours of wine, like that which flows at waste from the pen of some vulgar amourist or the trencher fury of a rhyming parasite, nor to be obtained by the invocation of Dame Memory and her Siren daughters; but by devout prayer to that Eternal Spirit who can enrich with all utterance and knowledge, and sends out His Seraphim, with the hallowed fire of His altar, to touch and purify the lips of whom He pleases." His lips were touched at last. In his quiet retreat he mused during these years of persecution and loneliness on his great work. Seven years after the Restoration appeared the "Paradise Lost," and four years later the "Paradise Regained" and "Samson Agonistes," in the severe grandeur of whose verse we see the poet himself "fallen," like Samson, "on evil days and evil tongues, with darkness and with danger compassed round." But great as the two last works were, their greatness was eclipsed by that of their predecessor. The whole genius of Milton expressed itself in the "Paradise Lost." The romance, the gorgeous fancy, the daring imagination which he shared with the Elizabethan poets, the large but ordered beauty of form which he had drunk in from the literature of Greece and Rome, the sublimity of conception, the loftiness of phrase, which he owed to the Bible, blended in this story "of man's first disobedience, and the fruit of that forbidden tree, whose mortal taste brought death into the world and all our woe." It is only when we review the strangely mingled elements which make up the poem, that we realize the genius which fused them into such a perfect whole. The meagre outline of the Hebrew legend is lost in the splendour and music of Milton's verse. The stern idealism of Geneva is clothed in the gorgeous robes of the Renaissance. If we miss something of the free play of Spenser's fancy, and yet more of the imaginative delight in their own creations which gives so exquisite a life to the poetry of the early dramatists, we find in place of these the noblest example which our literature affords of the ordered majesty of classic form. But it is not with the literary value of the "Paradise Lost" that we are here concerned. Its historic importance lies in this, that it is the Epic of Puritanism. Its scheme is the problem with which the Puritan wrestled in hours of gloom and darkness, the problem of sin and redemption, of the world-wide struggle of evil against good. The intense moral concentration of the Puritan had given an almost bodily shape to spiritual

abstractions before Milton gave life and being to the forms of Sin and Death. It was the Puritan tendency to mass into one vast "body of sin" the various forms of human evil, and by the very force of a passionate hatred to exaggerate their magnitude and their power, to which we owe the conception of Milton's Satan. The greatness of the Puritan aim in the long and wavering struggle for justice and law and a higher good; the grandeur of character which the contest developed; the colossal forms of good and evil which moved over its stage; the debates and conspiracies and battles which had been men's life for twenty years; the mighty eloquence and mightier ambition which the war had roused into being—all left their mark on the "Paradise Lost." Whatever was highest and best in the Puritan temper spoke in the nobleness and elevation of the poem, in its purity of tone, in its grandeur of conception, in its ordered and equable realization of a great purpose. Even in his boldest flights, Milton is calm and master of himself. His touch is always sure. Whether he passes from Heaven to Hell, or from the council hall of Satan to the sweet conference of Adam and Eve, his tread is steady and unfaltering. But if the poem expresses the higher qualities of the Puritan temper, it expresses no less exactly its defects. Throughout it we feel almost painfully a want of the finer and subtler sympathies, of a large and genial humanity, of a sense of spiritual mystery. Dealing as Milton does with subjects the most awful and mysterious that poet ever chose, he is never troubled by the obstinate questionings of invisible things which haunted the imagination of Shakspeare. We look in vain for any Æschylean background of the vast unknown. "Man's disobedience" and the scheme for man's redemption are laid down as clearly and with just as little mystery as in a Puritan discourse. On topics such as these, even God the Father (to borrow Pope's sneer) "turns a school divine." As in his earlier poems he had ordered and arranged nature, so in the "Paradise Lost" Milton orders and arranges Heaven and Hell. His mightiest figures, Angel or Archangel, Satan or Belial, stand out colossal but distinct. There is just as little of the wide sympathy with all that is human which is so loveable in Chaucer and Shakspeare. On the contrary the Puritan individuality is nowhere so overpowering as in Milton. He leaves the stamp of himself deeply graven on all he creates. We hear his voice in every line of his poem. The cold, severe conception of moral virtue which reigns throughout it, the intellectual way in which he paints and regards beauty (for the beauty of Eve is a beauty which no mortal man may love) are Milton's own. We feel his inmost temper in the stoical self-repression which gives its dignity to his figures. Adam utters no cry of agony when he is driven from Paradise. Satan suffers in a defiant silence. It is to this intense self-concentration that we must attribute the strange deficiency of humour which Milton

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shared with the Puritans generally, and which here and there breaks the sublimity of his poem with strange slips into the grotesque. But it is above all to this Puritan deficiency in human sympathy that we must attribute his wonderful want of dramatic genius. Of the power which creates a thousand different characters, which endows each with its appropriate act and word, which loses itself in its own creations, no great poet ever had less.

The poem of Milton was the epic of a fallen cause. The broken hope, which had seen the Kingdom of the Saints pass like a dream away, spoke in its very name. Paradise was lost once more, when the New Model, which embodied the courage and the hope of Puritanism, laid down its arms. In his progress to the capital Charles passed in review the soldiers assembled on Blackheath. Betrayed by their general, abandoned by their leaders, surrounded as they were by a nation in arms, the gloomy silence of their ranks awed even the careless King with a sense of danger. But none of the victories of the New Model were so glorious as the victory which it won over itself. Quietly, and without a struggle, as men who bowed to the inscrutable will of God, the farmers and traders who had dashed Rupert's chivalry to pieces on Naseby field, who had scattered at Worcester the "army of the aliens," and driven into helpless flight the sovereign that now came "to enjoy his own again," who had renewed beyond sea the glories of Crécy and Agincourt, had mastered the Parliament, had brought a King to justice and the block, had given laws to England, and held even Cromwell in awe, became farmers and traders again, and were known among their fellow-men by no other sign than their greater soberness and industry. And, with them, Puritanism laid down the sword. It ceased from the long attempt to build up a kingdom of God by force and violence, and fell back on its truer work of building up a kingdom of righteousness in the hearts and consciences of men. It was from the moment of its seeming fall that its real victory began. As soon as the wild orgy of the Restoration was over, men began to see that nothing that was really worthy in the work of Puritanism had been undone. The revels of Whitehall, the scepticism and debauchery of courtiers, the corruption of statesmen, left the mass of Englishmen what Puritanism had made them, serious, earnest, sober in life and conduct, firm in their love of Protestantism and of freedom. In the Revolution of 1688 Puritanism did the work of civil liberty which it had failed to do in that of 1642. It wrought out through Wesley and the revival of the eighteenth century the work of religious reform which its earlier efforts had only thrown back for a hundred years. Slowly but steadily it introduced its own seriousness and purity into English society, English literature, English politics. The whole history of English progress since the Restoration, on its moral and spiritual sides, has been the history of Puritanism.

CHAPTER IX.

*THE REVOLUTION.***Section I.—England and the Revolution.**

[*Authorities.*—For the social change see Memoirs of Pepys and Evelyn, the dramatic works of Wycherly and Etherege, and Lord Macaulay's "Essay on the Dramatists of the Restoration." For the earlier history of English Science see Hallam's sketch ("Literary History," vol. iv.); the histories of the Royal Society by Thompson or Wade; and Sir D. Brewster's biography of Newton. Sir W. Molesworth has edited the works of Hobbes.]

THE entry of Charles the Second into Whitehall marked a deep and lasting change in the temper of the English people. With it modern England began. The influences which had up to this time moulded our history, the theological influence of the Reformation, the monarchical influence of the new kingship, the feudal influence of the Middle Ages, the yet earlier influence of tradition and custom, suddenly lost power over the minds of men. From the moment of the Restoration we find ourselves all at once among the great currents of thought and activity which have gone on widening and deepening from that time to this. The England around us becomes our own England, an England whose chief forces are industry and science, the love of popular freedom and of law, an England which presses steadily forward to a larger social justice and equality, and which tends more and more to bring every custom and tradition, religious, intellectual, and political, to the test of pure reason. Between modern thought, on some at least of its more important sides, and the thought of men before the Restoration there is a great gulf fixed. A political thinker in the present day would find it equally hard to discuss any point of statesmanship with Lord Burleigh or with Oliver Cromwell. He would find no point of contact between their ideas of national life or national welfare, their conception of government or the ends of government, their mode of regarding economical and social questions, and his own. But no gulf of this sort parts us from the men who followed the Restoration. From that time to this, whatever differences there may have been as to practical conclusions drawn from them, there has been a substantial agreement as to the grounds of our political, our social, our intellectual and religious life. Paley would have found no difficulty in understanding Tillotson: Newton and Sir

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Humphry Davy could have talked without a sense of severance. There would have been nothing to hinder a perfectly clear discussion on government or law between John Locke and Jeremy Bentham.

The change from the old England to the new is so startling that we are apt to look on it as a more sudden change than it really was, and the outer aspect of the Restoration does much to strengthen this impression of suddenness. The aim of the Puritan had been to set up a visible Kingdom of God upon earth. He had wrought out his aim by reversing the policy of the Stuarts and the Tudors. From the time of Henry the Eighth to the time of Charles the First, the Church had been looked upon primarily as an instrument for securing, by moral and religious influences, the social and political ends of the State. Under the Commonwealth, the State, in its turn, was regarded primarily as an instrument for securing through its political and social influences the moral and religious ends of the Church. In the Puritan theory, Englishmen were "the Lord's people;" a people dedicated to Him by a solemn Covenant, and whose end as a nation was to carry out His will. For such an end it was needful that rulers, as well as people, should be "godly men." Godliness became necessarily the chief qualification for public employment. The new modelling of the army filled its ranks with "saints." Parliament resolved to employ no man "but such as the House shall be satisfied of his real godliness." The Covenant which bound the nation to God bound it to enforce God's laws even more earnestly than its own. The Bible lay on the table of the House of Commons; and its prohibition of swearing, of drunkenness, of fornication became part of the law of the land. Adultery was made felony without the benefit of clergy. Pictures whose subjects jarred with the new decorum were ordered to be burnt, and statues were chipped ruthlessly into decency. It was in the same temper that Puritanism turned from public life to private. The Covenant bound not the whole nation only, but every individual member of the nation, to "a jealous God," a God jealous of any superstition that robbed him of the worship which was exclusively his due, jealous of the distraction and frivolity which robbed him of the entire devotion of man to his service. The want of poetry, of fancy, in the common Puritan temper condemned half the popular observances of England as superstitions. It was superstitious to keep Christmas, or to deck the house with holly and ivy. It was superstitious to dance round the village May-pole. It was flat Popery to eat a mince-pie. The rough sport, the mirth and fun of "merry England," were out of place in an England called with so great a calling. Bull-baiting, bear-baiting, horse-racing, cock-fighting, the village revel, the dance under the May-pole, were put down with the same indiscriminating severity. The long struggle between the Puritans and the play-wrights ended in the closing of every theatre.

The Restoration brought Charles to Whitehall : and in an instant the whole face of England was changed. All that was noblest and best in Puritanism was whirled away with its pettiness and its tyranny in the current of the nation's hate. Religion had been turned into a system of political and social oppression, and it fell with their fall. Godliness became a by-word of scorn ; sobriety in dress, in speech, in manners was flouted as a mark of the detested Puritanism. Butler in his "Hudibras" poured insult on the past with a pedantic buffoonery for which the general hatred, far more than its humour, secured a hearing. Archbishop Sheldon listened to the mock sermon of a Cavalier who held up the Puritan phrase and the Puritan twang to ridicule in his hall at Lambeth. Duelling and raking became the marks of a fine gentleman ; and grave divines winked at the follies of "honest fellows," who fought, gambled, swore, drank, and ended a day of debauchery by a night in the gutter. Life among men of fashion vibrated between frivolity and excess. One of the comedies of the time tells the courtier that "he must dress well, dance well, fence well, have a talent for love-letters, an agreeable voice, be amorous and discreet—but not too constant." To graces such as these the rakes of the Restoration added a shamelessness and a brutality which passes belief. Lord Rochester was a fashionable poet, and the titles of some of his poems are such as no pen of our day could copy. Sir Charles Sedley was a fashionable wit, and the foulness of his words made even the porters of Covent Garden pelt him from the balcony when he ventured to address them. The Duke of Buckingham is a fair type of the time, and the most characteristic event in the Duke's life was a duel in which he consummated his seduction of Lady Shrewsbury by killing her husband, while the Countess in disguise as a page held his horse for him and looked on at the murder. Vicious as the stage was, it only reflected the general vice of the time. The Comedy of the Restoration borrowed everything from the Comedy of France save the poetry, the delicacy, and good taste which veiled its grossness. Seduction, intrigue, brutality, cynicism, debauchery, found fitting expression in dialogue of a studied and deliberate foulness, which even its wit fails to redeem from disgust. Wycherly, the popular play-wright of the time remains the most brutal among all writers of the stage ; and nothing gives so damning an impression of his day as the fact that he found actors to repeat his words and audiences to applaud them. Men such as Wycherly gave Milton models for the Belial of his great poem, "than whom a spirit more lewd fell not from Heaven, or more gross to love vice for itself." The dramatist piques himself on the frankness and "plain dealing" which painted the world as he saw it, a world of brawls and assignations, of orgies at Vauxhall, and fights with the watch, of lies and *double-entendres*, of knaves and dupes, of men who sold their daughters, and women who cheated their husbands.

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But the cynicism of Wycherly was no greater than that of the men about him ; and in mere love of what was vile, in contempt of virtue and disbelief in purity or honesty, the King himself stood ahead of any of his subjects.

It is however easy to exaggerate the extent of this reaction. So far as we can judge from the memoirs of the time, its more violent forms were practically confined to the capital and the court. The mass of Englishmen were satisfied with getting back their May-poles and mince-pies ; and a large part of the people remained Puritan in life and belief, though they threw aside many of the outer characteristics of Puritanism. Nor was the revolution in feeling as sudden as it seemed. Even if the political strength of Puritanism had remained unbroken, its social influence must soon have ceased. The young Englishmen who grew up in the midst of the civil war knew nothing of the bitter tyranny which gave its zeal and fire to the religion of their fathers. From the social and religious anarchy around them, from the endless controversies and discussions of the time, they drank in the spirit of scepticism, of doubt, of free inquiry. If religious enthusiasm had broken the spell of ecclesiastical tradition, its own extravagance broke the spell of religious enthusiasm ; and the new generation turned in disgust to try forms of political government and spiritual belief by the cooler and less fallible test of reason. The children even of the leading Puritans stood aloof from Puritanism. The eldest of Cromwell's sons made small pretensions to religion. Cromwell himself in his later years felt bitterly that Puritanism had missed its aim. He saw the country gentleman, alienated from it by the despotism it had brought in its train, alienated perhaps even more by the appearance of a religious freedom for which he was unprepared, drifting into a love of the older Church that he had once opposed. He saw the growth of a dogged resistance in the people at large. The attempt to secure spiritual results by material force had failed, as it always fails. It broke down before the indifference and resentment of the great mass of the people, of men who were neither lawless nor enthusiasts, but who clung to the older traditions of social order, and whose humour and good sense revolted alike from the artificial conception of human life which Puritanism had formed and from its effort to force such a conception on a people by law. It broke down, too, before the corruption of the Puritans themselves. It was impossible to distinguish between the saint and the hypocrite as soon as godliness became profitable. Even amongst the really earnest Puritans prosperity disclosed a pride, a worldliness, a selfish hardness which had been hidden in the hour of persecution. The tone of Cromwell's later speeches shows his consciousness that the ground was slipping from under his feet. He no longer dwells on the dream of a Puritan England, of a nation rising as a whole into a people of God. He falls back on the

phrases of his youth, and the saints become again a "peculiar people," a remnant, a fragment among the nation at large. But the influences which were really foiling Cromwell's aim, and forming beneath his eyes the new England from which he turned in despair, were influences whose power he can hardly have recognized. Even before the outburst of the Civil War a small group of theological Latitudinarians had gathered round Lord Falkland at Great Tew. In the very year when the King's standard was set up at Nottingham, Hobbes published the first of his works on Government. The last royalist had only just laid down his arms when the little company who were at a later time to be known as the Royal Society gathered round Wilkins at Oxford. It is in this group of scientific observers that we catch the secret of the coming generation. From the vexed problems, political and religious, with which it had so long wrestled in vain, England turned at last to the physical world around it, to the observation of its phenomena, to the discovery of the laws which govern them. The pursuit of physical science became a passion; and its method of research, by observation, comparison, and experiment, transformed the older methods of inquiry in matters without its pale. In religion, in politics, in the study of man and of nature, not faith but reason, not tradition but inquiry, were to be the watchwords of the coming time. The dead-weight of the past was suddenly rolled away, and the new England heard at last and understood the call of Francis Bacon.

Bacon had already called men with a trumpet-voice to such studies; but in England at least Bacon stood before his age. The beginnings of physical science were more slow and timid there than in any country of Europe. Only two discoveries of any real value came from English research before the Restoration; the first, Gilbert's discovery of terrestrial magnetism in the close of Elizabeth's reign; the next, the great discovery of the circulation of the blood, which was taught by Harvey in the reign of James. Apart from these illustrious names England took little share in the scientific movement of the continent; and her whole energies seemed to be whirled into the vortex of theology and politics by the Civil War. But the war had not reached its end when a little group of students were to be seen in London, men "inquisitive," says one of them, "into natural philosophy and other parts of human learning, and particularly of what hath been called the New Philosophy, . . . which from the times of Galileo at Florence, and Sir Francis Bacon (Lord Verulam) in England, hath been much cultivated in Italy, France, Germany, and other parts abroad, as well as with us in England." The strife of the time indeed aided in directing the minds of men to natural inquiries. "To have been always tossing about some theological question," says the first historian of the Royal Society, Bishop Sprat, "would have been to have made that their private diversion, the excess of which they disliked in the

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public. To have been eternally musing on civil business and the distresses of the country was too melancholy a reflection. It was nature alone which could pleasantly entertain them in that estate." Foremost in the group stood Doctors Wallis and Wilkins, whose removal to Oxford, which had just been reorganized by the Puritan Visitors, divided the little company into two societies. The Oxford society, which was the more important of the two, held its meetings at the lodgings of Dr. Wilkins, who had become Warden of Wadham College, and added to the names of its members that of the eminent mathematician Dr. Ward, and that of the first of English economists, Sir William Petty. "Our business," Wallis tells us, "was (precluding matters of theology and State affairs) to discourse and consider of philosophical inquiries and such as related thereunto, as Physick, Anatomy, Geometry, Astronomy, Navigation, Statics, Magneticks, Chymicks, Mechanicks, and Natural Experiments: with the state of these studies, as then cultivated at home and abroad. We then discoursed of the circulation of the blood, the valves in the *venæ lacteæ*, the lymphatic vessels, the Copernican hypothesis, the nature of comets and new stars, the satellites of Jupiter, the oval shape of Saturn, the spots in the sun and its turning on its own axis, the inequalities and selenography of the moon, the several phases of Venus and Mercury, the improvement of telescopes, the grinding of glasses for that purpose, the weight of air, the possibility or impossibility of vacuities, and Nature's abhorrence thereof, the Torricellian experiment in quicksilver, the descent of heavy bodies and the degree of acceleration therein, and divers other things of like nature."

The other little company of inquirers, who remained in London, was at last broken up by the troubles of the Second Protectorate; but it was revived at the Restoration by the return to London of the more eminent members of the Oxford group. Science suddenly became the fashion of the day. Charles was himself a fair chymist, and took a keen interest in the problems of navigation. The Duke of Buckingham varied his freaks of riming, drinking, and fiddling by fits of devotion to his laboratory. Poets like Dryden and Cowley, courtiers like Sir Robert Murray and Sir Kenelm Digby, joined the scientific company to which in token of his sympathy with it the King gave the title of "The Royal Society." The curious glass toys called Prince Rupert's drops recall the scientific inquiries which, with the study of etching, amused the old age of the great cavalry-leader of the Civil War. Wits and fops crowded to the meetings of the new Society. Statesmen like Lord Somers felt honoured at being chosen its presidents. Its definite establishment marks the opening of a great age of scientific discovery in England. Almost every year of the half-century which followed saw some step made to a wider and truer knowledge. Our first national observatory rose at Greenwich, and modern astronomy began with the long series

of astronomical observations which immortalized the name of Flamsteed. His successor, Halley, undertook the investigation of the tides, of comets, and of terrestrial magnetism. Hooke improved the microscope, and gave a fresh impulse to microscopical research. Boyle made the air-pump a means of advancing the science of pneumatics, and became the founder of experimental chymistry. Wilkins pointed forward to the science of philology in his scheme of a universal language. Sydenham introduced a careful observation of nature and facts which changed the whole face of medicine. The physiological researches of Willis first threw light upon the structure of the brain. Woodward was the founder of mineralogy. In his edition of Willoughby's "Ornithology," and in his own "History of Fishes," John Ray was the first to raise zoology to the rank of a science; and the first scientific classification of animals was attempted in his "Synopsis of Quadrupeds." Modern botany began with his "History of Plants," and the researches of an Oxford professor, Robert Morrison; while Grew divided with Malpighi the credit of founding the study of vegetable physiology. But great as some of these names undoubtedly are, they are lost in the lustre of Isaac Newton. Newton was born at Woolsthorpe in Lincolnshire, on Christmas-day, in the memorable year which saw the outbreak of the Civil War. In the year of the Restoration he entered Cambridge, where the teaching of Isaac Barrow quickened his genius for mathematics, and where the method of Descartes had superseded the older modes of study. From the close of his Cambridge career his life became a series of great physical discoveries. At twenty-three he facilitated the calculation of planetary movements by his theory of Fluxions. The optical discoveries to which he was led by his experiments with the prism, and which he partly disclosed in the lectures which he delivered as Mathematical Professor at Cambridge, were embodied in the theory of light which he laid before the Royal Society on becoming a Fellow of it. His discovery of the law of gravitation had been made as early as 1666; but the erroneous estimate which was then generally received of the earth's diameter prevented him from disclosing it for sixteen years; and it was not till the eve of the Revolution that the "Principia" revealed to the world his new theory of the Universe.

It is impossible to do more than indicate, in such a summary as we have given, the wonderful activity of directly scientific thought which distinguished the age of the Restoration. But the sceptical and experimental temper of mind which this activity disclosed was telling at the same time on every phase of the world around it. We see the attempt to bring religious speculation into harmony with the conclusions of reason and experience in the school of Latitudinarian theologians which sprang from the group of thinkers that gathered on the eve of the Civil War round Lord Falkland at Great Tew. Whatever

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Hales

Chillingworth

Taylor

verdict history may pronounce on Falkland's political career, his name must ever remain memorable in the history of religious thought. A new era in English theology began with the speculations of the men he gathered round him. Their work was above all to deny the authority of tradition in matters of faith, as Bacon had denied it in matters of physical research; and to assert in the one field as in the other the supremacy of reason as a test of truth. Of the authority of the Church, its Fathers, and its Councils, John Hales, a canon of Windsor, and a friend of Laud, said briefly "it is none." He dismissed with contempt the accepted test of universality. "Universality is such a proof of truth as truth itself is ashamed of. The most singular and strongest part of human authority is properly in the wisest and the most virtuous, and these, I trow, are not the most universal." William Chillingworth, a man of larger if not keener mind, had been taught by an early conversion to Catholicism, and by a speedy return, the insecurity of any basis for belief but that of private judgment. In his "Religion of Protestants" he set aside ecclesiastical tradition or Church authority as grounds of faith in favour of the Bible, but only of the Bible as interpreted by the common reason of men. Jeremy Taylor, the most brilliant of English preachers, a sufferer like Chillingworth on the royalist side during the troubles, and who was rewarded at the Restoration with the bishopric of Down, limited even the authority of the Scriptures themselves. Reason was the one means which Taylor approved of in interpreting the Bible; but the certainty of the conclusions which reason drew from the Bible varied, as he held, with the conditions of reason itself. In all but the simplest truths of natural religion "we are not sure not to be deceived." The deduction of points of belief from the words of the Scriptures was attended with all the uncertainty and liability to error which sprang from the infinite variety of human understandings, the difficulties which hinder the discovery of truth, and the influences which divert the mind from accepting or rightly estimating it. It was plain to a mind like Chillingworth's that this denial of authority, this perception of the imperfection of reason in the discovery of absolute truth, struck as directly at the root of Protestant dogmatism as at the root of Catholic infallibility. "If Protestants are faulty in this matter [of claiming authority] it is for doing it too much and not too little. This presumptuous imposing of the senses of man upon the words of God, of the special senses of man upon the general words of God, and laying them upon men's consciences together under the equal penalty of death and damnation, this vain conceit that we can speak of the things of God better than in the words of God, this deifying our own interpretations and tyrannous enforcing them upon others, this restraining of the word of God from that latitude and generality, and the understandings of men from that liberty wherein Christ and His

apostles left them, is and hath been the only foundation of all the schisms of the Church, and that which makes them immortal." In his "Liberty of Prophesying" Jeremy Taylor pleaded the cause of toleration with a weight of argument which hardly required the triumph of the Independents and the shock of Naseby to drive it home. But the freedom of conscience which the Independent founded on the personal communion of each soul with God, the Latitudinarian founded on the weakness of authority and the imperfection of human reason. Taylor pleads even for the Anabaptist and the Romanist. He only gives place to the action of the civil magistrate in "those religions whose principles destroy government," and "those religions—if there be any such—which teach ill life." Hales openly professed that he would quit the Church to-morrow if it required him to believe that all that dissented from it must be damned. Chillingworth denounced persecution in words of fire. "Take away this persecution, burning, cursing, damning of men for not subscribing the words of men as the words of God: require of Christians only to believe Christ and to call no man master but Him; let them leave claiming infallibility that have no title to it, and let them that in their own words disclaim it, disclaim it also in their actions. . . . Protestants are inexcusable if they do offer violence to other men's consciences." From the denunciation of intolerance the Latitudinarians passed easily to the dream of comprehension which had haunted every nobler soul since the "Utopia" of More. Hales based his loyalty to the Church of England on the fact that it was the largest and the most tolerant Church in Christendom. Chillingworth pointed out how many obstacles to comprehension were removed by such a simplification of belief as flowed from a rational theology. Like More, he asked for "such an ordering of the public service of God as that all who believe the Scripture and live according to it might without scruple or hypocrisy or protestation in any part join in it." Taylor, like Chillingworth, rested his hope of union on the simplification of belief. He saw a probability of error in all the creeds and confessions adopted by Christian Churches. "Such bodies of confessions and articles," he said, "must do much hurt." "He is rather the schismatic who makes unnecessary and inconvenient impositions, than he who disobeys them because he cannot do otherwise without violating his conscience." The Apostles' Creed in its literal meaning seemed to him the one term of Christian union which the Church had any right to impose. With the Restoration the Latitudinarians came at once to the front. They were soon distinguished from both Puritans and High Churchmen by their opposition to dogma, by their preference of reason to tradition whether of the Bible or the Church, by their basing religion on a natural theology, by their aiming at rightness of life rather than at correctness of opinion, by their advocacy of toleration and comprehension as the

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grounds of Christian unity. Chillingworth and Taylor found successors in the restless good sense of Burnet, the enlightened piety of Tillotson, and the calm philosophy of Bishop Butler. Meanwhile the impulse which such men were giving to religious speculation was being given to political and social inquiry by a mind of far greater keenness and power.

Hobbes

1588-1679

1642

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*His political
speculations*

Bacon's favourite secretary was Thomas Hobbes. "He was beloved by his Lordship," Aubrey tells us, "who was wont to have him walk in his delicate groves, where he did meditate ; and when a notion darted into his mind, Mr. Hobbes was presently to write it down. And his Lordship was wont to say that he did it better than any one else about him ; for that many times when he read their notes he scarce understood what they writ, because they understood it not clearly themselves." The long life of Hobbes covers a memorable space in our history. He was born in the year of the victory over the Armada ; he died, at the age of ninety-two, only nine years before the Revolution. His ability soon made itself felt, and in his earlier days he was the secretary of Bacon, and the friend of Ben Jonson and Lord Herbert of Cherbury. But it was not till the age of fifty-four, when he withdrew to France on the eve of the Great Rebellion, that his speculations were made known to the world in his treatise "De Cive." He joined the exiled Court at Paris, and became mathematical tutor to Charles the Second, whose love and regard for him seem to have been real to the end. But his post was soon forfeited by the appearance of his "Leviathan" ; he was forbidden to approach the Court, and returned to England, where he seems to have acquiesced in the rule of Cromwell. The Restoration brought him a pension ; but both his works were condemned by Parliament, and "Hobbism" became, ere he died, the popular synonym for irreligion and immorality. Prejudice of this kind sounded oddly in the case of a writer who had laid down, as the two things necessary to salvation, faith in Christ and obedience to the law. But the prejudice sprang from a true sense of the effect which the Hobbist philosophy must necessarily have on the current religion and the current notions of political and social morality. Hobbes was the first great English writer who dealt with the science of government from the ground, not of tradition, but of reason. It was in his treatment of man in the stage of human development which he supposed to precede that of society that he came most roughly into conflict with the accepted beliefs. Men, in his theory, were by nature equal, and their only natural relation was a state of war. It was no innate virtue of man himself which created human society out of this chaos of warring strengths. Hobbes in fact denied the existence of the more spiritual sides of man's nature. His hard and narrow logic dissected every human custom and desire, and reduced even the most sacred to demonstrations of a prudent selfishness. Friendship was

simply a sense of social utility to one another. The so-called laws of nature, such as gratitude or the love of our neighbour, were in fact contrary to the natural passions of man, and powerless to restrain them. Nor had religion rescued man by the interposition of a Divine will. Nothing better illustrates the daring with which the new scepticism was to break through the theological traditions of the older world than the pitiless logic with which Hobbes assailed the very theory of revelation. "To say God hath spoken to man in a dream, is no more than to say man dreamed that God hath spoken to him." "To say one hath seen a vision, or heard a voice, is to say he hath dreamed between sleeping and waking." Religion, in fact, was nothing more than "the fear of invisible powers;" and here, as in all other branches of human science, knowledge dealt with words and not with things. It was man himself who for his own profit created society, by laying down certain of his natural rights and retaining only those of self-preservation. A Covenant between man and man originally created "that great Leviathan called the Commonwealth or State, which is but an artificial man, though of greater stature and strength than the natural, for whose protection and defence it was intended." The fiction of such an "original contract" has long been dismissed from political speculation, but its effect at the time of its first appearance was immense. Its almost universal acceptance put an end to the religious and patriarchal theories of society, on which Kingship had till now founded its claim of a Divine right to authority which no subject might question. But if Hobbes destroyed the old ground of royal despotism, he laid a new and a firmer one. To create a society at all, he held that the whole body of the governed must have resigned all rights save that of self-preservation into the hands of a single ruler, who was the representative of all. Such a ruler was absolute, for to make terms with him implied a man making terms with himself. The transfer of rights was inalienable, and after generations were as much bound by it as the generation which made the transfer. As the head of the whole body, the ruler judged every question, settled the laws of civil justice or injustice, or decided between religion and superstition. His was a Divine Right, and the only Divine Right, because in him were absorbed all the rights of each of his subjects. It was not in any constitutional check that Hobbes looked for the prevention of tyranny, but in the common education and enlightenment as to their real end and the best mode of reaching it on the part of both subjects and Prince. And the real end of both was the weal of the Commonwealth at large. It was in laying boldly down this end of government, as well as in the basis of contract on which he made government repose, that Hobbes really influenced all later politics. Locke, the foremost political thinker of the Restoration, derived political authority, like Hobbes, from the consent of the governed,

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and adopted the common weal as the end of Government. But the practical temper of the time moulded the new theory into a form which contrasted strangely with that given to it by its first inventor. The political philosophy of Locke indeed was little more than a formal statement of the conclusions which the bulk of Englishmen had drawn from the great struggle of the Civil War. In his theory the people remain passively in possession of the power which they have delegated to the Prince, and have the right to withdraw it if it be used for purposes inconsistent with the end which society was formed to promote. To the origin of all power in the people, and the end of all power for the people's good—the two great doctrines of Hobbes—Locke added the right of resistance, the responsibility of princes to their subjects for a due execution of their trust, and the supremacy of legislative assemblies as the voice of the people itself. It was in this modified and enlarged form that the new political philosophy found general acceptance after the Revolution of 1688.

Section II.—The Restoration. 1660—1667.

[*Authorities.*—Clarendon's detailed account of his own ministry in his "Life," Bishop Kennet's "Register," and Burnet's lively "History of my own Times," are our principal sources of information. We may add fragments of the autobiography of James the Second preserved in Macpherson's "Original Papers" (of very various degrees of value.) For the relations of the Church and the Dissenters, see Neal's "History of the Puritans," Calamy's "Memoirs of the Ejected Ministers," Mr. Dixon's "Life of William Penn," Baxter's "Autobiography," and Bunyan's account of his sufferings in his various works. The social history of the time is admirably given by Pepys in his "Memoirs." Throughout the whole reign of Charles the Second, the "Constitutional History" of Mr. Hallam is singularly judicious and full in its information.]

The
Restora-
tion

When Charles the Second entered Whitehall, the work of the Long Parliament seemed undone. Not only was the Monarchy restored, but it was restored, in spite of the efforts of Sir Matthew Hale, without written restriction or condition on the part of the people, though with implied conditions on the part of Charles himself; and of the two great influences which had hitherto served as checks on its power, the first, that of Puritanism, had become hateful to the nation at large, while the second, the tradition of constitutional liberty, was discredited by the issue of the Civil War. But amidst all the tumult of demonstrative loyalty the great "revolution of the seventeenth century," as it has justly been styled, went steadily on. The supreme power was gradually transferred from the Crown to the House of Commons. Step by step, Parliament drew nearer to a solution of the political problem which had so long foiled its efforts, the problem how to make its will the law of administrative action without itself undertaking the task of administration. It is only

by carefully fixing our eyes on this transfer of power, and by noting the successive steps towards its realization, that we can understand the complex history of the Restoration and the Revolution.

The first acts of the new Government showed a sense that, loyal as was the temper of the nation, its loyalty was by no means the blind devotion of the Cavalier. The chief part in the Restoration had in fact been played by the Presbyterians; and the Presbyterians were still powerful from their almost exclusive possession of the magistracy and all local authority. The first ministry which Charles ventured to form bore on it the marks of a compromise between this powerful party and their old opponents. Its most influential member indeed was Sir Edward Hyde, the adviser of the King during his exile, who soon became Earl of Clarendon and Lord Chancellor. Lord Southampton, a steady royalist, accepted the post of Lord Treasurer; and the devotion of Ormond was rewarded with a dukedom and the dignity of Lord Steward. But the purely Parliamentary interest was represented by Monk, who remained Lord-General of the army with the title of Duke of Albemarle; and though the King's brother, James, Duke of York, was made Lord Admiral, the administration of the fleet was virtually in the hands of one of Cromwell's followers, Montagu, the new Earl of Sandwich. An old Puritan, Lord Say and Sele, was made Lord Privy Seal. Sir Ashley Cooper, a leading member of the same party, was rewarded for his activity in bringing about the Restoration first by a Privy Councillorship, and soon after by a barony and the office of Chancellor of the Exchequer. Of the two Secretaries of State, the one, Nicholas, was a devoted royalist; the other, Morice, was a steady Presbyterian. Of the thirty members of the Privy Council, twelve had borne arms against the King.

It was clear that such a ministry was hardly likely to lend itself to a mere policy of reaction, and the temper of the new Government therefore fell fairly in with the temper of the Convention when that body, after declaring itself a Parliament, proceeded to consider the measures which were requisite for a settlement of the nation. The Convention had been chosen under the ordinances which excluded royalist "Malignants" from the right of voting; and the bulk of its members were men of Presbyterian sympathies, loyalist to the core, but as averse to despotism as the Long Parliament itself. In its earlier days a member who asserted that those who had fought against the King were as guilty as those who cut off his head was sternly rebuked from the Chair. The first measure which was undertaken by the House, the Bill of Indemnity and Oblivion for all offences committed during the recent troubles, showed at once the moderate character of the Commons. In the punishment of the Regicides indeed, a Presbyterian might well be as zealous as a Cavalier. In spite of a Proclamation he had issued in the first days of his return, in which mercy was

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virtually promised to all the judges of the late King who surrendered themselves to justice, Charles pressed for revenge on those whom he regarded as his father's murderers, and the Lords went hotly with the King. It is to the credit of the Commons that they steadily resisted the cry for blood. By the original provisions of the Bill of Oblivion and Indemnity only seven of the living regicides were excluded from pardon; and though the rise of royalist fervour during the three months in which the bill was under discussion forced the House in the end to leave almost all to the course of justice, the requirement of a special Act of Parliament for the execution of those who had surrendered under the Proclamation protected the lives of most of them. Twenty-eight of the King's judges were in the end arraigned at the bar of a court specially convened for their trial, but only thirteen were executed, and only one of these, General Harrison, had played any conspicuous part in the rebellion. Twenty others, who had been prominent in what were now called "the troubles" of the past twenty years, were declared incapable of holding office under the State: and by an unjustifiable clause which was introduced into the Act before its final adoption, Sir Harry Vane and General Lambert, though they had taken no part in the King's death, were specially exempted from the general pardon. In dealing with the questions of property which arose from the confiscations and transfers of estates during the Civil Wars the Convention met with greater difficulties. No opposition was made to the resumption of all Crown-lands by the State, but the Convention desired to protect the rights of those who had purchased Church property, and of those who were in actual possession of private estates which had been confiscated by the Long Parliament, or by the Government which succeeded it. The bills however which they prepared for this purpose were delayed by the artifices of Hyde; and at the close of the session the bishops and the evicted royalists quietly re-entered into the occupation of their old possessions. The royalists indeed were far from being satisfied with this summary confiscation. Fines and sequestrations had impoverished all the steady adherents of the royal cause, and had driven many of them to forced sales of their estates; and a demand was made for compensation for their losses and the cancelling of these sales. Without such provisions, said the frenzied Cavaliers, the bill would be "a Bill of Indemnity for the King's enemies, and of Oblivion for his friends." But here the Convention stood firm. All transfers of property by sale were recognized as valid, and all claims of compensation for losses by sequestration were barred by the Act. From the settlement of the nation the Convention passed to the settlement of the relations between the nation and the Crown. So far was the constitutional work of the Long Parliament from being undone, that its more important measures were silently accepted as the base of future government. Not a voice demanded the restoration

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of the Star Chamber, or of monopolies, or of the Court of High Commission; no one disputed the justice of the condemnation of Ship-money, or the assertion of the sole right of Parliament to grant supplies to the Crown. The Militia, indeed, was placed in the King's hands; but the army was disbanded, though Charles was permitted to keep a few regiments for his guard. The revenue was fixed at £1,200,000; and this sum was granted to the King for life, a grant which might have been perilous for freedom had not the taxes provided to supply the sum fallen constantly below this estimate, while the current expenses of the Crown, even in time of peace, greatly exceeded it. But even for this grant a heavy price was exacted. Though the rights of the Crown over lands held, as the bulk of English estates were held, in military tenure, had ceased to be of any great pecuniary value, they were indirectly a source of considerable power. The right of wardship and of marriage, above all, enabled the sovereign to exercise a galling pressure on every landed proprietor in his social and domestic concerns. Under Elizabeth, the right of wardship had been used to secure the education of all Catholic minors in the Protestant faith; and under James and his successor the charge of minors had been granted to court favourites or sold in open market to the highest bidder. But the real value of these rights to the Crown lay in the political pressure which it was able to exert through them on the country gentry. A squire was naturally eager to buy the good will of a sovereign who might soon be the guardian of his daughter and the administrator of his estate. But the same motives which made the Crown cling to this prerogative made the Parliament anxious to do away with it. Its efforts to bring this about under James the First had been foiled by the King's stubborn resistance; but the long interruption of these rights during the wars made their revival almost impossible at the Restoration. One of the first acts therefore of the Convention was to free the country gentry by abolishing the claims of the Crown to reliefs and wardship, purveyance, and pre-emption, and by the conversion of lands held till then in chivalry into lands held in common socage. In lieu of his rights, Charles accepted a grant of £100,000 a year; a sum which it was originally purposed to raise by a tax on the lands thus exempted from feudal exactions; but which was provided for in the end, with less justice, by a general excise.

Successful as the Convention had been in effecting the settlement of political matters, it failed in bringing about a settlement of the Church. In his proclamation from Breda Charles had promised to respect liberty of conscience, and to assent to any Acts of Parliament which should be presented to him for its security. The Convention was in the main Presbyterian; but it soon became plain that the continuance of a purely Presbyterian system was impossible. "The generality of the people," wrote Sharpe, a shrewd Scotch observer, from London,

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"are doting after Prelacy and the Service-book." The Convention, however, still hoped for some modified form of Episcopalian government which would enable the bulk of the Puritan party to remain within the Church. A large part of the existing clergy, indeed, were Independents, and for these no compromise with Episcopacy was possible: but the greater number were moderate Presbyterians, who were ready "for fear of worse" to submit to such a plan of Church government as Archbishop Usher had proposed, a plan in which the bishop was only the president of a diocesan board of presbyters, and to accept the Liturgy with a few amendments and the omission of the "superstitious practices." It was to a compromise of this kind that the King himself leant at the beginning; and a royal declaration which announced his approval of the Puritan demands was read at a conference of the two parties, and with it a petition from the Independents praying for religious liberty. The King proposed to grant the prayer of the petition, not for the Independents only but for all Christians; but on the point of tolerating the Catholics, Churchmen and Puritans were at one, and a bill which was introduced into the House of Commons by Sir Matthew Hale to turn the declaration into a law was thrown out. A fresh conference was promised, but in the absence of any Parliamentary action the Episcopal party boldly availed themselves of their legal rights. The ejected clergy who still remained alive entered again into their parsonages, the bishops returned to their sees, and the dissolution of the Convention-Parliament destroyed the last hope of an ecclesiastical compromise. The tide of loyalty had in fact been rising fast during its session, and its influence was already seen in a shameful outrage wrought under the very orders of the Convention itself. The bodies of Cromwell, Bradshaw, and Ireton were torn from their graves and hung on gibbets at Tyburn, while those of Pym and Blake were cast out of Westminster Abbey into St. Margaret's churchyard. But in the elections for the new Parliament the zeal for Church and King swept all hope of moderation and compromise before it. "Malignity" had now ceased to be a crime, and voters long deprived of the suffrage, vicars, country gentlemen, farmers, with the whole body of the Catholics, rushed again to the poll. The Presbyterians sank in the Cavalier Parliament to a handful of fifty members. The new House of Commons was made up for the most part of young men, of men, that is, who had but a faint memory of the Stuart tyranny of their childhood, but who had a keen memory of living from manhood beneath the tyranny of the Commonwealth. Their very bearing was that of wild revolt against the Puritan past. To a staid observer, Roger Pepys, they seemed a following of "the most profane, swearing fellows that ever I heard in my life." The zeal of the Parliament at its outset, indeed, far outran that of Charles or his ministers. Though it confirmed the other acts of the Convention, it could with diffi-

culty be brought to confirm the Act of Indemnity. The Commons pressed for the prosecution of Vane. Vane was protected alike by the spirit of the law and by the King's pledge to the Convention that, even if convicted of treason, he would not suffer him to be brought to the block. But he was now brought to trial on the charge of treason against a King "kept out of his royal authority by traitors and rebels," and his spirited defence served as an excuse for his execution. "He is too dangerous a man to let live," Charles wrote with characteristic coolness, "if we can safely put him out of the way." But the new members were yet better churchmen than loyalists. A common suffering had thrown the squires and the Episcopalian clergy together, and for the first time since the Reformation the English gentry were ardent not for King only, but for Church and King. At the opening of their session the Commons ordered every member to receive the communion, and the League and Covenant to be solemnly burnt by the common hangman in Westminster Hall. The bill excluding bishops from the House of Lords was repealed. The conference at the Savoy between the Episcopalians and Presbyterians broke up in anger, and the few alterations made in the Liturgy were made with a view to disgust rather than to conciliate the Puritan party.

The temper of the new Parliament, however, was not a mere temper of revenge. Its wish was to restore the constitutional system which the civil war had violently interrupted, and the royalists were led by the most active of the constitutional loyalists who had followed Falkland in 1642, Hyde, now Earl of Clarendon and Lord Chancellor. The Parliament and the Church were in his conception essential parts of the system of English government, through which the power of the Crown was to be exercised; and under his guidance Parliament turned to the carrying out of the principle of uniformity in Church as well as in State on which the minister was resolved. The chief obstacle to such a policy lay in the Presbyterians, and the strongholds of this party were in the corporations of the boroughs, which practically returned the borough members. An attempt was made to drive the Presbyterians from municipal posts by a severe Corporation Act, which required a reception of the Communion according to the rites of the Anglican Church, a renunciation of the League and Covenant, and a declaration that it was unlawful on any grounds to take up arms against the King, before admission to municipal offices. A more deadly blow was dealt at the Puritans in the renewal of the Act of Uniformity. Not only was the use of the Prayer-book, and the Prayer-book only, enforced in all public worship, but an unfeigned consent and assent was demanded from every minister of the Church to all which was contained in it; while, for the first time since the Reformation, all orders save those conferred by the hands of bishops were legally disallowed. The declaration exacted from corporations was exacted from the clergy,

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and a pledge was required that they would seek to make no change in Church or State. It was in vain that Ashley opposed the bill fiercely in the Lords, that the peers pleaded for pensions to the ejected ministers and for the exemption of schoolmasters from the necessity of subscription, and that even Clarendon, who felt that the King's word was at stake, pressed for the insertion of clauses enabling the Crown to grant dispensations from its provisions. Every suggestion of compromise was rejected by the Commons; and Charles at last assented to the bill, while he promised to suspend its execution by the exercise of his prerogative.

The Anglican Parliament however was resolute to enforce the law; and on St. Bartholomew's day, the last day allowed for compliance with its requirements, nearly two thousand rectors and vicars, or about a fifth of the English clergy, were driven from their parishes as Nonconformists. No such sweeping alteration in the religious aspect of the Church had ever been seen before. The changes of the Reformation had been brought about with little change in the clergy itself. Even the severities of the High Commission under Elizabeth ended in the expulsion of a few hundreds. If Laud had gone zealously to work in emptying Puritan pulpits, his zeal had been to a great extent foiled by the restrictions of the law and by the growth of Puritan sentiment in the clergy as a whole. A far wider change had been brought about by the Civil War; but the change had been gradual, and had ostensibly been wrought for the most part on political or moral rather than on religious grounds. The parsons expelled were expelled as "malignants" or as unfitted for their office by idleness or vice or inability to preach. But the change wrought by St. Bartholomew's day was a distinctly religious change, and it was a change which in its suddenness and completeness stood utterly alone. The rectors and vicars who were driven out were the most learned and the most active of their order. The bulk of the great livings throughout the country were in their hands. They stood at the head of the London clergy, as the London clergy stood in general repute at the head of their class throughout England. They occupied the higher posts at the two Universities. No English divine, save Jeremy Taylor, rivalled Howe as a preacher. No parson was so renowned a controversialist, or so indefatigable a parish priest, as Baxter. And behind these men stood a fifth of the whole body of the clergy, men whose zeal and labour had diffused throughout the country a greater appearance of piety and religion than it had ever displayed before. But the expulsion of these men was far more to the Church of England than the loss of their individual services. It was the definite expulsion of a great party which from the time of the Reformation had played the most active and popular part in the life of the Church. It was the close of an effort which had been going on ever since Elizabeth's accession to bring the English Communion into closer relations with the Reformed

Communion of the Continent, and into greater harmony with the religious instincts of the nation at large. The Church of England stood from that moment isolated and alone among all the Churches of the Christian world. The Reformation had severed it irretrievably from those which still clung to the obedience of the Papacy. By its rejection of all but episcopal orders, the Act of Uniformity severed it as irretrievably from the general body of the Protestant Churches, whether Lutheran or Reformed. And while thus cut off from all healthy religious communion with the world without, it sank into immobility within. With the expulsion of the Puritan clergy, all change, all efforts after reform, all national developement, suddenly stopped. From that time to this the Episcopal Church has been unable to meet the varying spiritual needs of its adherents by any modification of its government or its worship. It stands alone among all the religious bodies of Western Christendom in its failure through two hundred years to devise a single new service of prayer or of praise. But if the issues of St. Bartholomew's day have been harmful to the spiritual life of the English Church, they have been in the highest degree advantageous to the cause of religious liberty. At the Restoration religious freedom seemed again to have been lost. Only the Independents and a few despised sects, such as the Quakers, upheld the right of every man to worship God according to the bidding of his own conscience. The bulk of the Puritan party with the Presbyterians at its head, was at one with its opponents in desiring a uniformity of worship, if not of belief, throughout the land; and, had the two great parties within the Church held together, their weight would have been almost irresistible. Fortunately the great severance of St. Bartholomew's day drove out the Presbyterians from the Church to which they clung, and forced them into a general union with sects which they had hated till then almost as bitterly as the bishops themselves. A common suffering soon blended the Nonconformists into one. Persecution broke down before the numbers, the wealth, and the political weight of the new sectarians; and the Church, for the first time in its history, found itself confronted with an organized body of Dissenters without its pale. The impossibility of crushing such a body as this wrested from English statesmen the first legal recognition of freedom of worship in the Toleration Act; their rapid growth in later times has by degrees stripped the Church of almost all the exclusive privileges which it enjoyed as a religious body, and now threatens what remains of its official connexion with the State. With these remoter consequences however we are not as yet concerned. It is enough to note here that with the Act of Uniformity and the expulsion of the Puritan clergy a new element in our religious and political history, the element of Dissent, the influence of the Nonconformist churches, comes first into play

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The sudden outbreak and violence of the persecution turned the disappointment of the Presbyterians into despair. Many were for retiring to Holland, others proposed flight to New England and the American colonies. Charles however was anxious to use the strife between the two great bodies of Protestants so as to secure toleration for the Catholics, and revive at the same time his prerogative of dispensing with the execution of laws; and fresh hopes of protection were raised by a royal proclamation, which expressed the King's resolve to exempt from the penalties of the Act, "those who, living peaceably, do not conform themselves thereunto, through scruple and tenderness of misguided conscience, but modestly and without scandal perform their devotions in their own way." A bill introduced in 1663, in redemption of a pledge in the declaration itself, gave Charles the power to dispense, not only with the provisions of the Act of Uniformity, but with the penalties provided by all laws which enforced religious conformity, or which imposed religious tests. But if the Presbyterian leaders in the council had stooped to accept the aid of the declaration, the bulk of the Dissidents had no mind to have their grievances used as a means of procuring by a side wind toleration for Roman Catholics, or of building up again that dispensing power which the civil wars had thrown down. The Churchmen, too, whose hatred for the Dissidents had been embittered by suspicions of a secret league between the Dissidents and the Catholics in which the King was taking part, were resolute in opposition. The Houses therefore struck simultaneously at both their opponents. They forced Charles by an address to withdraw his pledge of toleration. They then extorted from him a proclamation for the banishment of all Catholic priests, and followed this up by a Conventicle Act, which punished with fine, imprisonment, and transportation on a third offence all persons who met in greater number than five for any religious worship save that of the Common Prayer; while return, or escape from banishment was punished by death. The Five Mile Act, a year later, completed the code of persecution. By its provisions, every clergyman who had been driven out by the Act of Uniformity was called on to swear that he held it unlawful under any pretext to take up arms against the King, and that he would at no time "endeavour any alteration of government in Church and State." In case of refusal, he was forbidden to go within five miles of any borough, or of any place where he had been wont to minister. As the main body of the Nonconformists belonged to the city and trading classes, the effect of this measure was to rob them of any religious teaching at all. A motion to impose the oath of the Five Mile Act on every person in the nation was rejected in the same session by a majority of only six. The sufferings of the Nonconformists indeed could hardly fail to tell on the sympathies of the people. The thirst for revenge, which had been roused by the violence of the Presbyterians in their hour of triumph, was satisfied by

their humiliation in the hour of defeat. The sight of pious and learned clergymen driven from their homes and their flocks, of religious meetings broken up by the constables, of preachers set side by side with thieves and outcasts in the dock, of gaols crammed with honest enthusiasts whose piety was their only crime, pleaded more eloquently for toleration than all the reasoning in the world. We have a clue to the extent of the persecution from what we know to have been its effect on a single sect. The Quakers had excited alarm by their extravagances of manner, their refusal to bear arms or to take oaths; and a special Act was passed for their repression. They were one of the smallest of the Nonconformist bodies, but more than four thousand were soon in prison, and of these five hundred were imprisoned in London alone. The King's Declaration of Indulgence, twelve years later, set free twelve hundred Quakers who had found their way to the gaols. Of the sufferings of the expelled clergy one of their own number, Richard Baxter, has given us an account. "Many hundreds of them, with their wives and children, had neither house nor bread. . . . Their congregations had enough to do, besides a small maintenance, to help them out of prisons, or to maintain them there. Though they were as frugal as possible they could hardly live; some lived on little more than brown bread and water, many had but eight or ten pounds a year to maintain a family, so that a piece of flesh has not come to one of their tables in six weeks' time; their allowance could scarce afford them bread and cheese. One went to plow six days and preached on the Lord's Day. Another was forced to cut tobacco for a livelihood." But poverty was the least of their sufferings. They were jeered at by the players. They were hooted through the streets by the mob. "Many of the ministers, being afraid to lay down their ministry after they had been ordained to it, preached to such as would hear them in fields and private houses, till they were apprehended and cast into gaols, where many of them perished." They were excommunicated in the Bishops' Court, or fined for non-attendance at church; and a crowd of informers grew up who made a trade of detecting the meetings they held at midnight. Alleyn, the author of the well-known "Alarm to the Unconverted," died at thirty-six from the sufferings he endured in Taunton Gaol. Vavasour Powell, the apostle of Wales, spent the eleven years which followed the Restoration in prisons at Shrewsbury, Southsea, and Cardiff, till he perished in the Fleet. John Bunyan was for twelve years a prisoner at Bedford.

We have already seen the atmosphere of excited feeling in which the youth of Bunyan had been spent. From his childhood he heard heavenly voices, and saw visions of heaven; from his childhood, too, he had been wrestling with an overpowering sense of sin, which sickness and repeated escapes from death did much as he grew up to deepen. But in spite of his self-reproaches his life was a religious one;

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and the purity and sobriety of his youth was shown by his admission at seventeen into the ranks of the "New Model." Two years later the war was over, and Bunyan though hardly twenty found himself married to a "godly" wife, as young and penniless as himself. So poor were the young couple that they could scarce muster a spoon and a plate between them; and the poverty of their home deepened, perhaps, the gloom of the young tinker's restlessness and religious depression. His wife did what she could to comfort him, teaching him again to read and write, for he had forgotten his school-learning, and reading with him in two little "godly" books which formed his library. But the darkness only gathered the thicker round his imaginative soul. "I walked," he tells us of this time, "to a neighbouring town; and sate down upon a settle in the street, and fell into a very deep pause about the most fearful state my sin had brought me to; and after long musing I lifted up my head; but methought I saw as if the sun that shineth in the heavens did grudge to give me light; and as if the very stones in the street and tiles upon the houses did band themselves against me. Methought that they all combined together to banish me out of the world. I was abhorred of them, and wept to dwell among them, because I had sinned against the Saviour. Oh, how happy now was every creature over I! for they stood fast and kept their station. But I was gone and lost." At last, after more than two years of this struggle, the darkness broke. Bunyan felt himself "converted," and freed from the burthen of his sin. He joined a Baptist church at Bedford, and a few years later he became famous as a preacher. As he held no formal post of minister in the congregation, his preaching even under the Protectorate was illegal and "gave great offence," he tells us, "to the doctors and priests of that county," but he persisted with little real molestation until the Restoration. Six months however after the King's return he was committed to Bedford Gaol on a charge of preaching in unlicensed conventicles; and his refusal to promise to abstain from preaching kept him there twelve years. The gaol was crowded with prisoners like himself, and amongst them he continued his ministry, supporting himself by making tagged thread laces, and finding some comfort in the Bible, the "Book of Martyrs," and the writing materials which he was suffered to have with him in his prison. But he was in the prime of life, his age was thirty-two when he was imprisoned; and the inactivity and severance from his wife and little children was hard to bear. "The parting with my wife and poor children," he says in words of simple pathos, "hath often been to me in this place as the pulling of the flesh from the bones, and that not only because I am somewhat too fond of those great mercies, but also because I should have often brought to my mind the many hardships, miseries, and wants that my poor family was like to meet with should I be taken from them, especially my poor blind

child, who lay nearer to my heart than all besides. Oh, the thoughts of the hardships I thought my poor blind one might go under would break my heart to pieces. 'Poor child,' thought I, 'what sorrow art thou like to have for thy portion in this world ! Thou must be beaten, must beg, suffer hunger, cold, nakedness, and a thousand calamities, though I cannot now endure the wind should blow upon thee.'" But suffering could not break his purpose, and Bunyan found compensation for the narrow bounds of his prison in the wonderful activity of his pen. Tracts, controversial treatises, poems, meditations, his "Grace Abounding," and his "Holy City," followed each other in quick succession. It was in his gaol that he wrote the first and greatest part of his "Pilgrim's Progress." Its publication was the earliest result of his deliverance at the Declaration of Indulgence, and the popularity which it enjoyed from the first proves that the religious sympathies of the English people were still mainly Puritan. Before Bunyan's death in 1688 ten editions of the "Pilgrim's Progress" had already been sold ; and though even Cowper hardly dared to quote it a century later for fear of moving a smile in the polite world about him its favour among the middle classes and the poor has grown steadily from its author's day to our own. It is now the most popular and the most widely known of all English books. In none do we see more clearly the new imaginative force which had been given to the common life of Englishmen by their study of the Bible. Its English is the simplest and the homeliest English which has ever been used by any great English writer ; but it is the English of the Bible. The images of the "Pilgrim's Progress" are the images of prophet and evangelist ; it borrows for its tenderer outbursts the very verse of the Song of Songs, and pictures the Heavenly City in the words of the Apocalypse. But so completely has the Bible become Bunyan's life that one feels its phrases as the natural expression of his thoughts. He has lived in the Bible till its words have become his own. He has lived among its visions and voices of heaven till all sense of possible unreality has died away. He tells his tale with such a perfect naturalness that allegories become living things, that the Slough of Despond and Doubting Castle are as real to us as places we see every day, that we know Mr. Legality and Mr. Worldly Wiseman as if we had met them in the street. It is in this amazing reality of impersonation that Bunyan's imaginative genius specially displays itself. But this is far from being his only excellence. In its range, in its directness, in its simple grace, in the ease with which it changes from lively dialogue to dramatic action, from simple pathos to passionate earnestness, in the subtle and delicate fancy which often suffuses its childlike words, in its playful humour, its bold character-painting, in the even and balanced power which passes without effort from the Valley of the Shadow of Death to the land "where the Shining Ones commonly

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walked, because it was on the borders of heaven," in its sunny kindness unbroken by one bitter word, the "Pilgrim's Progress" is among the noblest of English poems. For if Puritanism had first discovered the poetry which contact with the spiritual world awakes in the meanest soul, Bunyan was the first of the Puritans who revealed this poetry to the outer world. The journey of Christian from the City of Destruction to the Heavenly City is simply a record of the life of such a Puritan as Bunyan himself, seen through an imaginative haze of spiritual idealism in which its commonest incidents are heightened and glorified. He is himself the pilgrim who flies from the City of Destruction, who climbs the hill Difficulty, who faces Apollyon, who sees his loved ones cross the river of Death towards the Heavenly City, and how, because "the hill on which the City was framed was higher than the clouds, they therefore went up through the region of the air, sweetly talking as they went."

The success, however, of the system of religious repression rested mainly on the maintenance of peace; and while Bunyan was lying in Bedford Gaol, and the Church was carrying on its bitter persecution of the Nonconformists, England was plunging into a series of bitter humiliations and losses abroad. The old commercial jealousy between the Dutch and English, which had been lulled by a formal treaty in 1662, but which still lived on in petty squabbles at sea, was embittered by the cession of Bombay—a port which gave England an entry into the profitable trade with India—and by the establishment of a West Indian Company in London which opened a traffic with the Gold Coast of Africa. The quarrel was fanned into a war. Parliament voted a large supply unanimously; and the King was won by hopes of the ruin of the Dutch presbyterian and republican government, and by his resentment at the insults he had suffered from Holland in his exile. The war at sea which followed was a war of giants. An obstinate battle off Lowestoft ended in a victory for the English fleet; but in an encounter the next year with De Ruyter off the North Foreland Monk and his fleet after two day's fighting were only saved from destruction by the arrival of Prince Rupert. The dogged admiral renewed the fight, but the combat again ended in De Ruyter's favour and the English took refuge in the Thames. Their fleet was indeed ruined, but the losses of the enemy had been hardly less. "English sailors may be killed," said De Witt, "but they cannot be conquered;" and the saying was as true of one side as the other. A third battle, as hard-fought as its predecessors, ended in the triumph of the English, and their fleet sailed along the coast of Holland, burning ships and towns. But Holland was as unconquerable as England herself, and the Dutch fleet was soon again refitted and was joined in the Channel by the French. Meanwhile, calamity at home was added to the sufferings of the war. In the preceding year a hundred thousand Londoners had died in six months of

the Plague which broke out in the crowded streets of the capital ; and the Plague was followed now by a fire, which, beginning in the heart of London, reduced the whole city to ashes from the Tower to the Temple. Thirteen thousand houses and ninety churches were destroyed. The loss of merchandise and property was beyond count. The Treasury was empty, and neither ships nor forts were manned when the Dutch fleet appeared at the Nore, advanced unopposed up the Thames to Gravesend, forced the boom which protected the Medway, burned three men-of-war which lay anchored in the river, and withdrew only to sail proudly along the coast, the masters of the Channel.

Section III.—Charles the Second. 1667—1673.

[*Authorities.*—To the authorities already mentioned, we may add the *Memoirs* of Sir William Temple, with Lord Macaulay's well-known *Essay* on that statesman, Reresby's *Memoirs*, and the works of Andrew Marvell. The "*Memoirs of the Count de Grammont*," by Anthony Hamilton, give a witty and amusing picture of the life of the court. Lingard becomes important from the original materials he has used, and from his clear and dispassionate statement of the Catholic side of the question. Ranke's "*History of the XVII. Century*" throws great light on the diplomatic history of the later Stuart reigns ; on internal and constitutional points he is dispassionate but of less value. Dalrymple, in his "*Memoirs of Great Britain and Ireland*," was the first to discover the real secret of the negotiations with France ; but all previous researches have been superseded by those of M. Mignet, whose "*Négociations relatives à la Succession d'Espagne*" is indispensable for a knowledge of the time.]

The thunder of the Dutch guns in the Medway and the Thames woke England to a bitter sense of its degradation. The dream of loyalty was over. "Everybody now-a-days," Pepys tells us, "reflect upon Oliver and commend him, what brave things he did, and made all the neighbour princes fear him." But Oliver's successor was coolly watching this shame and discontent of his people with the one aim of turning it to his own advantage. To Charles the Second the degradation of England was only a move in the political game which he was playing, a game played with so consummate a secrecy and skill that it deceived not only the closest observers of his own day but still misleads historians of ours. What his subjects saw in their King was a pleasant, brown-faced gentleman playing with his spaniels, or drawing caricatures of his ministers, or flinging cakes to the water-fowl in the park. To all outer seeming Charles was the most consummate of idlers. "He delighted," says one of his courtiers, "in a bewitching kind of pleasure called sauntering." The business-like Pepys soon discovered that "the King do mind nothing but pleasures, and hates the very sight or thoughts of business." He only laughed when Tom Killigrew frankly told him that badly as things were going there was one man whose industry could soon set them right, "and this is one

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Charles Stuart, who now spends his time in using his lips about the Court, and hath no other employment." That Charles had great natural parts no one doubted. In his earlier days of defeat and danger he showed a cool courage and presence of mind which never failed him in the many perilous moments of his reign. His temper was pleasant and social, his manners perfect, and there was a careless freedom and courtesy in his address which won over everybody who came into his presence. His education indeed had been so grossly neglected that he could hardly read a plain Latin book; but his natural quickness and intelligence showed itself in his pursuit of chymistry and anatomy, and in the interest he showed in the scientific inquiries of the Royal Society. Like Peter the Great his favourite study was that of naval architecture, and he piqued himself on being a clever ship-builder. He had some little love too for art and poetry, and a taste for music. But his shrewdness and vivacity showed itself most in his endless talk. He was fond of telling stories, and he told them with a good deal of grace and humour. His humour indeed never forsook him: even on his death-bed he turned to the weeping courtiers around and whispered an apology for having been so unconscionable a time in dying. He held his own fairly with the wits of his Court, and bandied repartees on equal terms with Sedley or Buckingham. Even Rochester in his merciless epigram was forced to own that Charles "never said a foolish thing." He had inherited in fact his grandfather's gift of pithy sayings, and his habitual irony often gave an amusing turn to them. When his brother, the most unpopular man in England, solemnly warned him of plots against his life, Charles laughingly bade him set all fear aside. "They will never kill me, James," he said, "to make you king." But courage and wit and ability seemed to have been bestowed on him in vain. Charles hated business. He gave to outer observers no sign of ambition. The one thing he seemed in earnest about was sensual pleasure, and he took his pleasure with a cynical shamelessness which roused the disgust even of his shameless courtiers. Mistress followed mistress, and the guilt of a troop of profligate women was blazoned to the world by the gift of titles and estates. The royal bastards were set amongst English nobles. The ducal house of Grafton springs from the King's adultery with Barbara Palmer, whom he created Duchess of Cleveland. The Dukes of St. Albans owe their origin to his intrigue with Nell Gwynn, a player and a courtesan. Louise de Quérouaille, a mistress sent by France to win him to its interests, became Duchess of Portsmouth and ancestress of the house of Richmond. An earlier mistress, Lucy Walters, was mother of a boy whom he raised to the Dukedom of Monmouth, and to whom the Dukes of Buccleuch trace their line; but there is good reason for doubting whether the King was actually his father. But Charles was far from

being content with these recognized mistresses, or with a single form of self-indulgence. Gambling and drinking helped to fill up the vacant moments when he could no longer toy with his favourites or bet at Newmarket. No thought of remorse or of shame seems ever to have crossed his mind. "He could not think God would make a man miserable," he said once, "only for taking a little pleasure out of the way." From shame indeed he was shielded by his cynical disbelief in human virtue. Virtue he regarded simply as a trick by which clever hypocrites imposed upon fools. Honour among men seemed to him as mere a pretence as chastity among women. Gratitude he had none, for he looked upon self-interest as the only motive of men's actions, and though soldiers had died and women had risked their lives for him, he "loved others as little as he thought they loved him." But if he felt no gratitude for benefits he felt no resentment for wrongs. He was incapable either of love or of hate. The only feeling he retained for his fellow-men was that of an amused contempt.

It was difficult for Englishmen to believe that any real danger to liberty could come from an idler and a voluptuary such as Charles the Second. But in the very difficulty of believing this lay half the King's strength. He had in fact no taste whatever for the despotism of the Stuarts who had gone before him. His shrewdness laughed his grandfather's theory of Divine Right down the wind, while his indolence made such a personal administration as that which his father delighted in burthensome to him. He was too humorous a man to care for the pomp and show of power, and too good-natured a man to play the tyrant. But he believed as firmly as his father or his grandfather had believed in the older prerogatives of the Crown; and, like them, he looked on Parliaments with suspicion and jealousy. "He told Lord Essex," Burnet says, "that he did not wish to be like a Grand Signior, with some mutes about him, and bags of bowstrings to strangle men; but he did not think he was a king so long as a company of fellows were looking into his actions, and examining his ministers as well as his accounts." "A king," he thought, "who might be checked, and have his ministers called to an account, was but a king in name." In other words, he had no settled plan of tyranny, but he meant to rule as independently as he could, and from the beginning to the end of his reign there never was a moment when he was not doing something to carry out his aim. But he carried it out in a tentative, irregular fashion which it was as hard to detect as to meet. Whenever there was any strong opposition he gave way. If popular feeling demanded the dismissal of his ministers, he dismissed them. If it protested against his declaration of indulgence, he recalled it. If it cried for victims in the frenzy of the Popish Plot, he gave it victims till the frenzy was at an end. It was easy for Charles to yield and to wait, and just as easy for him to take up the thread of his purpose again the moment the pressure was over.

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The one fixed resolve which overrode every other thought in the King's mind was a resolve "not to set out on his travels again." His father had fallen through a quarrel with the two Houses, and Charles was determined to remain on good terms with the Parliament till he was strong enough to pick a quarrel to his profit. He treated the Lords with an easy familiarity which robbed opposition of its seriousness. "Their debates amused him," he said in his indolent way; and he stood chatting before the fire while peer after peer poured invectives on his ministers, and laughed louder than the rest when Shaftesbury directed his coarsest taunts at the barrenness of the Queen. Courtiers were entrusted with the secret "management" of the Commons: obstinate country gentlemen were brought to the royal closet to kiss the King's hand and listen to the King's pleasant stories of his escape after Worcester; and still more obstinate country gentlemen were bribed. Where bribes, flattery, and management failed, Charles was content to yield and to wait till his time came again. Meanwhile he went on patiently gathering up what fragments of the old royal power still survived, and availing himself of whatever new resources offered themselves. If he could not undo what Puritanism had done in England, he could undo its work in Scotland and in Ireland. Before the Civil War these kingdoms had served as useful checks on English liberty, and by simply regarding the Union which the Long Parliament and the Protector had brought about as a nullity in law it was possible they might become checks again. In his refusal to recognize the Union Charles was supported by public opinion among his English subjects, partly from sheer abhorrence of changes wrought during "the troubles," and partly from a dread that the Scotch and Irish members would form a party in the English Parliament which would always be at the service of the Crown. In both the lesser kingdoms too a measure which seemed to restore somewhat of their independence was for the moment popular. But the results of this step were quick in developing themselves. In Scotland the Covenant was at once abolished. The new Scotch Parliament at Edinburgh, the Drunken Parliament, as it was called, outdid the wildest loyalty of the English Cavaliers by annulling in a single Act all the proceedings of its predecessors during the last eight-and-twenty years. By this measure the whole existing Church system of Scotland was deprived of legal sanction. The General Assembly had already been prohibited from meeting by Cromwell; the kirk-sessions and ministers' synods were now suspended. The Scotch bishops were again restored to their spiritual pre-eminence, and to their seats in Parliament. An iniquitous trial sent the Marquis of Argyle, the only noble strong enough to oppose the royal will, to the block, and the government was entrusted to a knot of profligate statesmen till it fell into the hands of Lauderdale, one of the ablest and most unscrupulous of the King's ministers.

Their policy was steadily directed to the two purposes of humbling Presbyterianism—as the force which could alone restore Scotland to freedom, and enable her to lend aid as before to English liberty in any struggle with the Crown—and that of raising a royal army which might be ready in case of need to march over the border to the King's support. In Ireland the dissolution of the Union brought back the bishops to their sees ; but whatever wish Charles may have had to restore the balance of Catholic and Protestant as a source of power to the Crown was baffled by the Protestant resistance to any plans for redressing the confiscations of Cromwell. If one interest or other must suffer, Charles “thought it most for the good of the kingdom, advantage of the Crown, and security of his Government, that the loss should fall on the Irish. This was the opinion of his council, and a contrary conduct would have been matter of discontent to the Parliament of England.” A new Bill of Settlement excluded without trial over three thousand old proprietors from their estates ; it was estimated that four-fifths of the kingdom, or more than two-thirds of the good land, was secured to the Protestants. The downfall of the old race was all but accomplished. But the severance of the two kingdoms from England was in itself a gain to the royal authority ; and Charles turned quietly to the building up of a royal army at home. A standing army had become so hateful a thing to the body of the nation, and above all to the royalists whom the New Model had trodden under foot, that it was impossible to propose its establishment. But in the mind of Charles and his brother James, their father's downfall had been owing to the want of a disciplined force which would have trampled out the first efforts of national resistance ; and while disbanding the New Model, Charles availed himself of the alarm created by a mad rising of some Fifth-Monarchy men in London under an old soldier called Venner to retain five thousand horse and foot in his service under the name of his guards. A body of “gentlemen of quality and veteran soldiers, excellently clad, mounted, and ordered,” was thus kept ready for service near the royal person ; and in spite of the scandal which it aroused the King persisted, steadily but cautiously, in gradually increasing its numbers. Twenty years later it had grown to a force of seven thousand foot and one thousand seven hundred horse and dragoons at home, with a reserve of six fine regiments abroad in the service of the United Provinces.

But Charles was too quick-witted a man to believe, as his brother James believed, that it was possible to break down English freedom by the royal power or by a few thousand men in arms. It was still less possible by such means to break down, as he wished to break down, English Protestantism. In heart, whether the story of his renunciation of Protestantism during his exile be true or no, he had long ceased to be a Protestant. Whatever religious feeling he had was on

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the side of Catholicism; he encouraged conversions among his courtiers, and the last act of his life was to seek formal admission into the Roman Church. But his feelings were rather political than religious. The English Roman Catholics formed a far larger part of the population then than now; their wealth and local influence gave them a political importance which they have long since lost, and every motive of gratitude as well as self-interest led him to redeem his pledge to procure toleration for their worship. But he was already looking, however vaguely, to something more than Catholic toleration. He saw that despotism in the State could hardly co-exist with free inquiry and free action in matters of the conscience, and that government, in his own words, "was a safer and easier thing where the authority was believed infallible and the faith and submission of the people were implicit." The difficulties in the way of such a religious change probably seemed the less to him from his long residence in Roman Catholic countries, and from his own religious scepticism. Two years indeed after his restoration he had already despatched an agent to Rome to arrange the terms of a reconciliation between the Anglican Church and the Papacy. But though he counted much for the success of his project of toleration on taking advantage of the dissensions between Protestant Churchmen and Protestant Dissenters he soon discovered that for any real success in his political or religious aims he must seek resources elsewhere than at home. At this moment France was the dominant power in Europe. Its young King, Lewis the Fourteenth, was the champion of Catholicism and despotism against civil and religious liberty throughout the world. France was the wealthiest of European powers, and her subsidies could free Charles from dependence on his Parliament. Her army was the finest in the world, and French soldiers could put down, it was thought, any resistance from English patriots. The aid of Lewis could alone realize the aims of Charles, and Charles was willing to pay the price which Lewis demanded for his aid, the price of concurrence in his designs on Spain. Spain at this moment had not only ceased to threaten Europe but herself trembled at the threats of France; and the aim of Lewis was to complete her ruin, to win the Spanish provinces in the Netherlands, and ultimately to secure the succession to the Spanish throne for a French prince. But the presence of the French in Flanders was equally distasteful to England and to Holland, and in such a contest Spain might hope for the aid of these states and of the Empire. For some years Lewis contented himself with perfecting his army and preparing by skilful negotiations to make such a league of the great powers against him impossible. His first success in England was in the marriage of the King. Portugal, which had only just shaken off the rule of Spain, was really dependent upon France; and in accepting the hand of Catharine of Braganza in spite of the protests of Spain, Charles

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announced his adhesion to the alliance of Lewis. Already English opinion saw the danger of such a course, and veered round to the Spanish side. As early as 1661 the London mob backed the Spanish ambassador in a street squabble for precedence with the ambassador of France. "We do all naturally love the Spanish," says Pepys, "and hate the French." The marriage of Catharine, the sale of Dunkirk, the one result of Cromwell's victories, to France, aroused the national jealousy and suspicion of French influence; and the war with Holland seemed at one time likely to end in a war with Lewis. The Dutch war was in itself a serious stumblingblock in the way of French projects. To aid either side was to throw the other on the aid of the House of Austria, and to build up a league which would check France in its aim. Only peace could keep the European states disunited, and enable Lewis by their disunion to carry out his design of seizing Flanders. His attempt at mediation was fruitless; the defeat of Lowestoft forced him to give aid to Holland, and the news of his purpose at once roused England to a hope of war. When Charles announced it to the Houses, "there was a great noise," says Louvois, "in the Parliament to show the joy of the two Houses at the prospect of a fight with us." Lewis, however, cautiously limited his efforts to narrowing the contest to a struggle at sea, while England, vexed with disasters at home and abroad, could scarcely maintain the war. The appearance of the Dutch fleet in the Thames was followed by the sudden conclusion of peace which again left the ground clear for the diplomatic intrigues of Lewis.

In England the irritation was great and universal, but the public resentment fell on Clarendon alone. Charles had been bitterly angered when in 1663 his bill to vest a dispensing power in the Crown had been met by Clarendon's open opposition. The Presbyterian party, represented by Ashley, and the Catholics, led by the Earl of Bristol, alike sought his overthrow; in the Court he was opposed by Bennet, afterwards Earl of Arlington, a creature of the King's. But Clarendon was still strong in his intimate connexion with the King's affairs, in the marriage of his daughter, Anne Hyde, to the Duke of York, in his capacity for business, above all in the support of the Church, and the confidence of the royalist and orthodox House of Commons. Foiled in their efforts to displace him, his rivals had availed themselves of the jealousy of the merchant-class to drive him against his will into the war with Holland; and though the Chancellor succeeded in forcing the Five Mile Act through the Houses in the teeth of Ashley's protests, the calculations of his enemies were soon verified. The union between Clarendon and the Parliament was broken by the war. The Parliament was enraged by his counsel for its dissolution, and by his proposal to raise troops without a Parliamentary grant, and his opposition to the inspection of accounts, in which they saw an attempt

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to re-establish the one thing they hated most, a standing army. Charles could at last free himself from the minister who had held him in check so long; the Chancellor was dismissed from office, and driven to take refuge in France. By the exile of Clarendon, the death of Southampton, and the retirement of Ormond and Nicholas, the party of constitutional loyalists in the Council ceased to exist; and the section which had originally represented the Presbyterians, and which under the guidance of Ashley had bent to purchase toleration even at the cost of increasing the prerogatives of the Crown, came to the front of affairs. The religious policy of Charles had as yet been defeated by the sturdy Churchmanship of the Parliament, the influence of Clarendon, and the reluctance of the Presbyterians as a body to accept the Royal "indulgence" at the price of a toleration of Catholicism and a recognition of the King's power to dispense with Parliamentary statutes. The first steps of the new ministry in releasing Nonconformists from prison, in suffering conventicles to reopen, and suspending the operation of the Act of Uniformity, were in open defiance of the known will of the two Houses. But when Charles again proposed to his counsellors a general toleration he no longer found himself supported by them as in 1663. Even Ashley's mood was changed. Instead of toleration they pressed for a union of Protestants which would have utterly foiled the King's projects; and a scheme of Protestant comprehension which had been approved by the moderate divines on both sides, by Tillotson and Stillingfleet on the part of the Church as well as by Manton and Baxter on the part of the Nonconformists, was laid before the House of Commons. Even its rejection failed to bring Ashley and his party back to their old position. They were still for toleration, but only for a toleration the benefit of which did not extend to Catholics, "in respect the laws have determined the principles of the Romish religion to be inconsistent with the safety of your Majesty's person and government." The policy of the Council in fact was determined by the look of public affairs abroad. Lewis had quickly shown the real cause of the eagerness with which he had pressed on the Peace of Breda between England and the Dutch. He had secured the neutrality of the Emperor by a secret treaty which shared the Spanish dominions between the two monarchs in case the King of Spain died without an heir. England, as he believed, was held in check by Charles, and like Holland was too exhausted by the late war to meddle with a new one. On the very day therefore on which the treaty was signed he sent in his formal claims on the Low Countries, and his army at once took the field. The greater part of Flanders was occupied and six great fortresses secured in two months. Franche Comté was overrun in seventeen days. Holland protested and appealed to England for aid; but her appeals remained at first unanswered. England sought in fact to tempt Holland, Spain, and

France in turn by secret offers of alliance. From France she demanded, as the price of her aid against Holland and perhaps Spain, a share in the eventual partition of the Spanish dominions, and an assignment to her in such a case of the Spanish Empire in the New World. But all her offers were alike refused. The need of action became clearer every hour to the English ministers, and wider views gradually set aside the narrow dreams of merely national aggrandizement. The victories of Lewis, the sudden revelation of the strength of France, roused even in the most tolerant minds a dread of Catholicism. Men felt instinctively that the very existence of Protestantism and with it of civil freedom was again to be at stake. Arlington himself had a Dutch wife and had resided in Spain; and Catholic as in heart he was, thought more of the political interests of England, and of the invariable resolve of its statesmen since Elizabeth's day to keep the French out of Flanders, than of the interests of Catholicism. Lewis, warned of his danger, strove to lull the general excitement by offers of peace to Spain, while he was writing to Turenne, "I am turning over in my head things that are far from impossible, and go to carry them into execution whatever they may cost." Three armies were, in fact, ready to march on Spain, Germany, and Flanders, when Arlington despatched Sir William Temple to the Hague, and the signature of a Triple Alliance between England, Holland, and Sweden bound Lewis to the terms he had offered as a blind, and forced on him the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle.

Few measures have won a greater popularity than the Triple Alliance. "It is the only good public thing," says Pepys, "that hath been done since the King came to England." Even Dryden, writing at the time as a Tory, counted among the worst of Shaftesbury's crimes that "the Triple Bond he broke." In form indeed the Alliance simply bound Lewis to adhere to terms of peace proposed by himself, and those advantageous terms. But in fact it utterly ruined his plans. It brought about too that union of the powers of Europe against which, as Lewis felt instinctively, his ambition would dash itself in vain. It was Arlington's aim to make the Alliance the nucleus of a greater confederation; and he tried not only to perpetuate it, but to include within it the Swiss Cantons, the Empire, and the House of Austria. His efforts were foiled; but the "Triple Bond" bore within it the germs of the Grand Alliance which at last saved Europe. To England it at once brought back the reputation which she had lost since the death of Cromwell. It was a sign of her re-entry on the general stage of European politics, and of the formal adoption of the balance of power as a policy essential to the welfare of Europe at large. But it was not so much the action of England which had galled the pride of Lewis, as the action of Holland. That "a nation of shopkeepers" (for Lewis applied the phrase to Holland long before Napoleon applied it to England) should

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have foiled his plans at the very moment of their realization, "stung him," he owned, "to the quick." If he refrained from an instant attack it was to nurse a surer revenge. His steady aim during the four years which followed the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle was to isolate the United Provinces, to bring about the neutrality of the Empire in any attack on them, to break the Triple Alliance by detaching Sweden from it and securing Charles, and to leave the Dutch without help, save from the idle goodwill of Brandenburg and Spain. His diplomacy was everywhere successful, but it was nowhere so successful as with England. Charles had been stirred to a momentary pride by the success of the Triple Alliance, but he had never seriously abandoned his policy, and he was resolute at last to play an active part in realizing it. It was clear that little was to be hoped for from his old plans of winning toleration for the Catholics from his new ministers, and that in fact they were resolute to bring about such a union of Protestants as would have been fatal to his designs. From this moment he resolved to seek for his advantage from France. The Triple Alliance was hardly concluded when he declared to Lewis his purpose of entering into an alliance with him, offensive and defensive. He owned to being the only man in his kingdom who desired such a league, but he was determined to realize his desire, whatever might be the sentiments of his ministers. His ministers, indeed, he meant either to bring over to his schemes or to outwit. Two of them, Arlington and Sir Thomas Clifford, were Catholics in heart like the King; and they were summoned, with the Duke of York, who had already secretly embraced Catholicism, and two Catholic nobles, to a conference in which Charles, after pledging them to secrecy, declared himself a Catholic, and asked their counsel as to the means of establishing the Catholic religion in his realm. It was resolved to apply to Lewis for aid in this purpose; and Charles proceeded to seek from the King a "protection," to use the words of the French ambassador, "of which he always hoped to feel the powerful effects in the execution of his design of changing the present state of religion in England for a better, and of establishing his authority so as to be able to retain his subjects in the obedience they owe him." The fall of Holland was as needful for the success of the plans of Charles as of Lewis; and with the ink of the Triple Alliance hardly dry, Charles promised help in Lewis's schemes for the ruin of Holland and the annexation of Flanders. He offered therefore to declare his religion and to join France in an attack on Holland, if Lewis would grant him a subsidy equal to a million a year. In the event of the King of Spain's death without a son Charles pledged himself to support France in her claims upon Flanders, while Lewis promised to assent to the designs of England on the Spanish dominions in America. On this basis, after a year's negotiations, a secret treaty was concluded at Dover in an interview between Charles and his

sister Henrietta, the Duchess of Orleans. It provided that Charles should announce his conversion, and that in case of any disturbance arising from such a step he should be supported by a French army and a French subsidy. War was to be declared by both powers against Holland, England furnishing a small land force, but bearing the chief burthen of the contest at sea, on condition of an annual subsidy of three hundred thousand pounds.

Nothing marks better the political profligacy of the age than that Arlington, the author of the Triple Alliance, should have been chosen as the confidant of Charles in his treaty of Dover. But to all save Arlington and Clifford the King's change of religion or his political aims remained utterly unknown. It would have been impossible to obtain the consent of the party in the royal council which represented the old Presbyterians, of Ashley or Lauderdale or the Duke of Buckingham, to the Treaty of Dover. But it was possible to trick them into approval of a war with Holland by playing on their desire for a toleration of the Nonconformists. The announcement of the King's Catholicism was therefore deferred; and a series of mock negotiations, carried on through Buckingham, ended in the conclusion of a sham treaty which was communicated to Lauderdale and to Ashley, a treaty which suppressed all mention of the religious changes or of the promise of French aid in bringing them about, and simply stipulated for a joint war against the Dutch. In such a war there was no formal breach of the Triple Alliance, for the Triple Alliance only guarded against an attack on the dominions of Spain, and Ashley and his colleagues were lured into assent to it in 1671 by the promise of a toleration on their own terms. Charles in fact yielded the point to which he had hitherto clung, and, as Ashley demanded, promised that no Catholic should be benefited by the Indulgence. The bargain once struck, and his ministers outwitted, it only remained for Charles to outwit his Parliament. A large subsidy had been demanded in 1670 for the fleet, under the pretext of upholding the Triple Alliance; and the subsidy was granted. In the spring the two Houses were adjourned. So great was the national opposition to his schemes that Charles was driven to plunge hastily into hostilities. An attack on a Dutch convoy was at once followed by a declaration of war, and fresh supplies were obtained for the coming struggle by closing the Exchequer, and suspending under Clifford's advice the payment of either principal or interest on loans advanced to the public Treasury. The suspension spread bankruptcy among half the goldsmiths of London; but with the opening of the war Ashley and his colleagues gained the toleration they had bought so dear. By virtue of his ecclesiastical powers the King ordered "that all manner of penal laws on matters ecclesiastical against whatever sort of Nonconformists or recusants should be from that day suspended," and gave liberty of public worship to all

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dissidents save Catholics, who were allowed to say mass only in private houses. The effect of the Declaration went far to justify Ashley and his colleagues (if anything could justify their course) in the bargain by which they purchased toleration. Ministers returned, after years of banishment, to their homes and their flocks. Chapels were reopened. The gaols were emptied. Bunyan left his prison at Bedford; and hundreds of Quakers, who had been the special objects of persecution, were set free to worship God after their own fashion.

The Declaration of Indulgence however failed to win any expression of gratitude from the bulk of the Nonconformists. Dear as toleration was to them, the general interests of religion were dearer, and not only these but national freedom was now at stake. The success of the Allies seemed at first complete. The French army passed the Rhine, overran three of the States without opposition, and pushed its outposts to within sight of Amsterdam. It was only by skill and desperate courage that the Dutch ships under De Ruyter held the English fleet under the Duke of York at bay in an obstinate battle off the coast of Suffolk. The triumph of the English cabinet was shown in the elevation of the leaders of both its parties. Ashley was made Chancellor and Earl of Shaftesbury, and Clifford became Lord Treasurer. But the Dutch were saved by the stubborn courage which awoke before the arrogant demands of the conqueror. The plot of the two Courts hung for success on the chances of a rapid surprise; and with the approach of winter which suspended military operations, all chance of a surprise was over. The death of De Witt, the leader of the great merchant class, called William the Prince of Orange to the head of the Republic. Young as he was, he at once displayed the cool courage and tenacity of his race. "Do you not see your country is lost?" asked the Duke of Buckingham, who had been sent to negotiate at the Hague. "There is a sure way never to see it lost," replied William, "and that is, to die in the last ditch." With the spring the tide began to turn. Holland was saved and province after province won back from France by William's dauntless resolve. In England the delay of winter had exhausted the supplies which had been so unscrupulously procured, while the closing of the Treasury had shaken credit and rendered it impossible to raise a loan. It was necessary in 1673 to appeal to the Commons, but the Commons met in a mood of angry distrust. The war, unpopular as it was, they left alone. What overpowered all other feelings was a vague sense, which we know now to have been justified by the facts, that liberty and religion were being unscrupulously betrayed. There was a suspicion that the whole armed force of the nation was in Catholic hands. The Duke of York was suspected of being in heart a Papist, and he was in command of the fleet. Catholics had been placed as officers in the force which was being raised for the war in Holland. Lady Castlemaine, the King's

mistress, paraded her conversion ; and doubts were fast gathering over the Protestantism of the King. There was a general suspicion that a plot was on foot for the establishment of Catholicism and despotism, and that the war and the Indulgence were parts of the plot. The change of temper in the Commons was marked by the appearance of what was from that time called the Country party, with Lord Russell, Lord Cavendish, and Sir William Coventry at its head, a party which sympathized with the desire of the Nonconformists for religious toleration, but looked on it as its first duty to guard against the designs of the Court. As to the Declaration of Indulgence, however, all parties in the House were at one. The Commons resolved "that penal statutes in matters ecclesiastical cannot be suspended but by consent of Parliament," and refused supplies till the Declaration was recalled. The King yielded ; but the Declaration was no sooner recalled than a Test Act was passed through both Houses without opposition, which required from every one in the civil and military employment of the State the oaths of allegiance and supremacy, a declaration against transubstantiation, and a reception of the sacrament according to the rites of the Church of England. It was known that the Protestant dissidents were prepared to waive all objection to oath or sacrament, while the Bill would wholly exclude Catholics from share in the government. Clifford at once counselled resistance, and Buckingham talked flightily about bringing the army to London. But the grant of a subsidy was still held in suspense ; and Arlington, who saw that all hope of carrying the "great plan" through was at an end, pressed Charles to yield. A dissolution was the King's only resource, but in the temper of the nation a new Parliament would have been yet more violent than the present one ; and Charles sullenly gave way. Few measures have ever brought about more startling results. The Duke of York owned himself a Catholic, and resigned his office as Lord High Admiral. Throngs of excited people gathered round the Lord Treasurer's house at the news that Clifford, too, had owned to being a Catholic and had laid down his staff of office. Their resignation was followed by that of hundreds of others in the army and the civil service of the Crown. On public opinion the effect was wonderful. "I dare not write all the strange talk of the town," says Evelyn. The resignations were held to have proved the existence of the dangers which the Test Act had been framed to meet. From this moment all trust in Charles was at an end. "The King," Shaftesbury said bitterly, "who if he had been so happy as to have been born a private gentleman had certainly passed for a man of good parts, excellent breeding, and well natured, hath now, being a Prince, brought his affairs to that pass that there is not a person in the world, man or woman, that dares rely upon him or put any confidence in his word or friendship."

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[*Authorities.*—As before. Mr. Christie's "Life of Shaftesbury," a defence, and in some respects a successful defence, of that statesman's career, throws a fresh light on the policy of the Whig party during this period.]

The one man in England on whom the discovery of the King's perfidy fell with the most crushing effect was the Chancellor, Lord Shaftesbury. Ashley Cooper had piqued himself on a penetration which read the characters of men around him, and on a political instinct which discerned every coming change. His self-reliance was wonderful. In mere boyhood he saved his estate from the greed of his guardians by boldly appealing in person to Noy, who was then Attorney-General. As an undergraduate at Oxford he organized a rebellion of the freshmen against the oppressive customs which were enforced by the senior men of his college, and succeeded in abolishing them. At eighteen he was a member of the Short Parliament. On the outbreak of the Civil War he took part with the King; but in the midst of the royal successes he foresaw the ruin of the royal cause, passed to the Parliament, attached himself to the fortunes of Cromwell, and became member of the Council of State. Before all things a strict Parliamentarian, however, he was alienated by Cromwell's setting up of absolute rule without Parliament; and a temporary disgrace during the last years of the Protectorate only quickened him to an active opposition which did much to bring about its fall. His bitter invectives against the dead Protector, his intrigues with Monk, and the active part which he took, as member of the Council of State, in the King's recall, were rewarded at the Restoration with a peerage, and with promotion to a foremost share in the royal councils. Ashley was then a man of forty, and under the Commonwealth he had been, in the contemptuous phrase of Dryden when writing as a Tory, "the loudest bagpipe of the squeaking train;" but he was no sooner a minister of Charles than he flung himself into the debauchery of the Court with an ardour which surprised even his master. "You are the wickedest dog in England!" laughed Charles at some unscrupulous jest of his counsellor's. "Of a subject, Sir, I believe I am!" was the unabashed reply. But the debauchery of Ashley was simply a mask. He was in fact temperate by nature and habit, and his ill-health rendered any great excess impossible. Men soon found that the courtier who lounged in Lady Castlemaine's boudoir, or drank and jested with Sedley and Buckingham, was a diligent and able man of business. "He is a man," says the puzzled Pepys, three years after the Restoration, "of great business, and yet of pleasure and dissipation too." His rivals were as envious of the ease and mastery with which he dealt with questions of finance, as of

the "nimble wit" which won the favour of the King. Even in later years his industry earned the grudging praise of his enemies. Dryden owned that as Chancellor he was "swift to despatch and easy of access," and wondered at the restless activity which "refused him age the needful hours of rest." His activity indeed was the more wonderful that his health was utterly broken. An accident in early days left behind it an abiding weakness, whose traces were seen in the furrows which seared his long pale face, in the feebleness of his health, and the nervous tremor which shook his puny frame. The "pigmy body" was "fretted to decay" by the "fiery soul" within it. But pain and weakness brought with them no sourness of spirit. Ashley was attacked more unscrupulously than any statesman save Walpole; but Burnet, who did not love him, owns that he was never bitter or angry in speaking of his assailants. Even the wit with which he crushed them was commonly good-humoured. "When will you have done preaching?" a bishop murmured testily, as Shaftesbury was speaking in the House of Peers. "When I am a bishop, my Lord!" was the laughing reply.

As a statesman Ashley not only stood high among his contemporaries from his wonderful readiness and industry, but he stood far above them in his scorn of personal profit. Even Dryden, while raking together every fault in his character, owns that his hands were clean. As a political leader his position was to modern eyes odd enough. In religion he was at best a Deist, with some fanciful notions "that after death our souls lived in stars." But Deist as he was, he remained the representative of the Presbyterian and Nonconformist party in the royal council. He was the steady and vehement advocate of toleration, but his advocacy was based on purely political grounds. He saw that persecution would fail to bring back the Dissenters to the Church, and that the effort to recall them only left the country disunited, and thus exposed English liberty to invasion from the Crown, and robbed England of all influence in Europe. The one means of uniting Churchmen and Dissidents was by a policy of toleration, but in the temper of England after the Restoration he saw no hope of obtaining toleration save from the King. Wit, debauchery, rapidity in the despatch of business, were all therefore used as a means to gain influence over the King, and to secure him as a friend in the struggle which Ashley carried on against the intolerance of Clarendon. Charles, as we have seen, had his own game to play and his own reasons for protecting Ashley during his vehement but fruitless struggle against the Test and Corporation Act, the Act of Uniformity, and the persecution of the Dissidents. Fortune at last smiled on the unscrupulous ability with which he entangled Clarendon in the embarrassments of the Dutch war of 1664, and took advantage of the alienation of the Parliament to ensure his fall. By a yet more unscrupulous bargain

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TO

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*Shaftesbury's
change of
policy*

Ashley had bought, as he believed, the Declaration of Indulgence, the release of the imprisoned Nonconformists, and freedom of worship for all dissidents, at the price of a consent to the second attack on Holland ; and he was looked on by the public at large as the minister most responsible both for the measures he advised and the measures he had nothing to do with. But while facing the gathering storm of unpopularity Ashley learnt in a moment of drunken confidence the secret of the King's religion. He owed to a friend "his trouble at the black cloud which was gathering over England ;" but, troubled as he was, he still believed himself strong enough to use Charles for his own purposes. His acceptance of the Chancellorship and of the Earldom of Shaftesbury, as well as his violent defence of the war on opening the Parliament, identified him yet more with the royal policy. It was after the opening of the Parliament, if we credit the statement of the French Ambassador, that he learnt from Arlington the secret of the Treaty of Dover. Whether this were so, or whether suspicion, as in the people at large, deepened into certainty, Shaftesbury saw he had been duped. To the bitterness of such a discovery was added the bitterness of having aided in schemes which he abhorred. His change of policy was rapid and complete. He pressed in the royal council for the withdrawal of the Declaration of Indulgence. In Parliament he supported the Test Act with extraordinary vehemence. The displacement of James and Clifford by the Test left him, as he thought, dominant in the royal council, and gave him hopes of revenging the deceit which had been practised on him by forcing his policy on the King. He was resolved to end the war. He had dreams of meeting the danger of a Catholic successor by a dissolution of the King's marriage and by a fresh match with a Protestant princess. For the moment indeed Charles was helpless. He found himself, as he had told Lewis long before, alone in his realm. The Test Act had been passed unanimously by both Houses. Even the Nonconformists deserted him, and preferred persecution to the support of his plans. The dismissal of the Catholic officers made the employment of force, if he ever contemplated it, impossible, while the ill success of the Dutch war robbed him of all hope of aid from France. The firmness of the Prince of Orange had roused the stubborn energy of his countrymen. The French conquests on land were slowly won back, and at sea the fleet of the allies was still held in check by the fine seamanship of De Ruyter. Nor was William less successful in diplomacy than in war. The House of Austria was at last roused to action by the danger which threatened Europe, and its union with the United Provinces laid the foundation of the Grand Alliance. If Charles was firm to continue the war, Shaftesbury, like the Parliament itself, was resolved on peace ; and for this purpose he threw himself into hearty alliance with the Country party in the Commons, and welcomed the Duke of Ormond and Prince

Rupert, who were looked upon as "great Parliament men," back to the royal council. It was to Shaftesbury's influence that Charles attributed the dislike which the Commons displayed to the war, and their refusal of a grant of supplies until fresh religious securities were devised. It was at his instigation that an address was presented by both Houses against the plan of marrying James to a Catholic princess, Mary of Modena. But the projects of Shaftesbury were suddenly interrupted by an unexpected act of vigour on the part of the King. The Houses were no sooner prorogued in November than the Chancellor was ordered to deliver up the Seals.

"It is only laying down my gown and buckling on my sword," Shaftesbury is said to have replied to the royal bidding; and, though the words were innocent enough, for the sword was part of the usual dress of a gentleman which he must necessarily resume when he laid aside the gown of the Chancellor, they were taken as conveying a covert threat. He was still determined to force on the King a peace with the States. But he looked forward to the dangers of the future with even greater anxiety than to those of the present. The Duke of York, the successor to the throne, had owned himself a Catholic, and almost every one agreed that securities for the national religion would be necessary in the case of his accession. But Shaftesbury saw, and it is his especial merit that he did see, that with a king like James, convinced of his Divine Right and bigoted in his religious fervour, securities were valueless. From the first he determined to force on Charles his brother's exclusion from the throne, and his resolve was justified by the Revolution which finally did the work he proposed to do. Unhappily he was equally determined to fight Charles with weapons as vile as his own. The result of Clifford's resignation, of James's acknowledgement of his conversion, had been to destroy all belief in the honesty of public men. A panic of distrust had begun. The fatal truth was whispered that Charles himself was a Catholic. In spite of the Test Act, it was suspected that men Catholics in heart still held high office in the State, and we know that in Arlington's case the suspicion was just. Shaftesbury seized on this public alarm, stirred above all by a sense of inability to meet the secret dangers which day after day was disclosing, as the means of carrying out his plans. He began fanning the panic by tales of a Papist rising in London, and of a coming Irish revolt with a French army to back it. He retired to his house in the City to find security against a conspiracy which had been formed, he said, to cut his throat. Meanwhile he rapidly organized the Country party in the Parliament, and placed himself openly at its head. An address for the removal of ministers "popishly affected or otherwise obnoxious or dangerous" was presented on the reassembling of the Houses. The Commons called on the King to dismiss Lauderdale, Buckingham, and Arlington, and to disband the troops raised

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since 1664. A bill was brought in to prevent all Catholics from approaching the Court, in other words for removing James from the King's councils. A far more important bill was that of the Protestant Securities, which was pressed by Shaftesbury, Halifax, and Carlisle, the leaders of the new Opposition in the House of Lords, a bill which enacted that any prince of the blood should forfeit his right to the Crown on his marriage with a Catholic. The bill, which was the first sketch of the later Exclusion Bill, failed to pass, but its failure left the Houses excited and alarmed. Shaftesbury intrigued busily in the City, corresponded with William of Orange, and pressed for a war with France which Charles could only avert by an appeal to Lewis, a subsidy from whom enabled him to prorogue the Parliament. But Charles saw that the time had come to give way. "Things have turned out ill," he said to Temple with a burst of unusual petulance, "but had I been well served I might have made a good business of it." His concessions however were as usual complete. He dismissed Buckingham and Arlington. He made peace with the Dutch. But Charles was never more formidable than in the moment of defeat, and he had already resolved on a new policy by which the efforts of Shaftesbury might be held at bay. Ever since the opening of his reign he had clung to a system of balance, had pitted Churchman against Nonconformist, and Ashley against Clarendon, partly to preserve his own independence, and partly with a view of winning some advantage to the Catholics from the political strife. The temper of the Commons had enabled Clarendon to baffle the King's efforts; and on his fall Charles felt strong enough to abandon the attempt to preserve a political balance, and had sought to carry out his designs with the single support of the Nonconformists. But the new policy had broken down like the old. The Nonconformists refused to betray the cause of Protestantism, and Shaftesbury, their leader, was pressing on measures which would rob Catholicism of the hopes it had gained from the conversion of James. In straits like these Charles resolved to win back the Commons by boldly adopting the policy on which the House was set. The majority of its members were Cavalier Churchmen, who regarded Sir Thomas Osborne, a dependant of Arlington's, as their representative in the royal councils. The King had already created Osborne Earl of Danby, and made him Lord Treasurer in Clifford's room. In 1674 he frankly adopted the policy of Danby and his party in the Parliament.

The policy of Danby was in the main that of Clarendon. He had all Clarendon's love of the Church, his equal hatred of Popery and Dissent, his high notions of the prerogative tempered by a faith in Parliament and the law. His first measures were directed to allay the popular panic, and strengthen the position of James. Mary, the Duke's eldest child and after him the presumptive heir to the Crown, was confirmed by the royal order as a Protestant. Secret negotiations

were opened for her marriage with William of Orange, the son of the King's sister Mary, who if James and his house were excluded stood next in succession to the crown. Such a marriage secured James against the one formidable rival to his claims, while it opened to William a far safer chance of mounting the throne at his father-in-law's death. The union between the Church and the Crown was ratified in conferences between Danby and the bishops; and its first fruits were seen in the rigorous enforcement of the law against conventicles, and the exclusion of all Catholics from court; while the Parliament which was assembled in 1675 was assured that the Test Act should be rigorously enforced. The change in the royal policy came not a moment too soon. As it was, the aid of the Cavalier party which rallied round Danby hardly saved the King from the humiliation of being forced to recall the troops he still maintained in the French service. To gain a majority on this point Danby was forced to avail himself of a resource which from this time played for nearly a hundred years an important part in English politics. He bribed lavishly. He was more successful in winning back the majority of the Commons from their alliance with the Country party by reviving the old spirit of religious persecution. He proposed that the test which had been imposed by Clarendon on municipal officers should be extended to all functionaries of the State; that every member of either House, every magistrate and public officer, should swear never to take arms against the King or to "endeavour any alteration of the Protestant religion now established by law in the Church of England, or any alteration in the Government in Church and State as it is by law established." The Bill was forced through the Lords by the bishops and the Cavalier party, and its passage through the Commons was only averted by a quarrel on privilege between the two Houses which Shaftesbury dexterously fanned into flame. On the other hand the Country party remained strong enough to hamper their grant of supplies with conditions unacceptable to the King. Eager as they were for the war with France which Danby promised, the Commons could not trust the King; and Danby was soon to discover how wise their distrust had been. For the Houses were no sooner prorogued than Charles revealed to him the negotiations he had been all the while carrying on with Lewis, and required him to sign a treaty by which, on consideration of a yearly pension guaranteed on the part of France, the two sovereigns bound themselves to enter into no engagements with other powers, and to lend each other aid in case of rebellion in their dominions. Such a treaty not only bound England to dependence on France, but freed the King from all Parliamentary control. But his minister pleaded in vain for delay and for the advice of the Council. Charles answered his entreaties by signing the treaty with his own hand. Danby found himself duped by the King as Shaftesbury had found himself duped;

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but his bold temper was only spurred to fresh plans for rescuing Charles from his bondage to Lewis. To do this the first step was to reconcile the King and the Parliament, which met after a prorogation of fifteen months. The Country party stood in the way of such a reconciliation, but Danby resolved to break its strength by measures of unscrupulous vigour, for which a blunder of Shaftesbury's gave an opportunity. Shaftesbury despaired of bringing the House of Commons, elected as it had been fifteen years before in a moment of religious and political reaction, to any steady opposition to the Crown. He had already moved an address for a dissolution; and he now urged that as a statute of Edward the Third ordained that Parliaments should be held "once a year or oftener if need be," the Parliament by the recent prorogation of a year and a half had ceased legally to exist. The Triennial Act deprived such an argument of any force. But Danby represented it as a contempt of the House, and the Lords at his bidding committed its supporters, Shaftesbury, Buckingham, Salisbury, and Wharton, to the Tower. While the Opposition cowered under the blow, Danby pushed on a measure which was designed to win back alarmed Churchmen to confidence in the Crown. By the Bill for the security of the Church it was provided that on the succession of a king not a member of the Established Church the appointment of bishops should be vested in the existing prelates, and that the King's children should be placed in the guardianship of the Archbishop of Canterbury.

**Treaty
of Nim-
guen**

The bill however failed in the Commons; and a grant of supply was only obtained by Danby's profuse bribery. The progress of the war abroad, indeed, was rousing panic in England faster than Danby could allay it. New successes of the French arms in Flanders, and a defeat of the Prince of Orange at Cassel, stirred the whole country to a cry for war. The two Houses echoed the cry in an address to the Crown; but Charles parried the blow by demanding a supply before the war was declared, and on the refusal of the still suspicious House prorogued the Parliament. Fresh and larger subsidies from France enabled him to continue this prorogation for seven months. But the silence of the Parliament did little to silence the country; and Danby took advantage of the popular cry for war to press an energetic course of action on the King. In its will to check French aggression the Cavalier party was as earnest as the Puritan, and Danby aimed at redeeming his failure at home by uniting the Parliament through a vigorous policy abroad. As usual, Charles appeared to give way. He was himself for the moment uneasy at the appearance of the French on the Flemish coast, and he owned that "he could never live at ease with his subjects" if Flanders were abandoned. He allowed Danby, therefore, to press on both parties the necessity for mutual concessions, and to define the new attitude of England by a step which was to

produce momentous results. The Prince of Orange was invited to England, and wedded to Mary, the presumptive heiress of the Crown. The marriage promised a close political union in the future with Holland, and a corresponding opposition to the ambition of France. With the country it was popular as a Protestant match, and as ensuring a Protestant successor to James. But Lewis was bitterly angered; he rejected the English propositions of peace, and again set his army in the field. Danby was ready to accept the challenge, and the withdrawal of the English ambassador from Paris was followed by an assembly of the Parliament. A warlike speech from the throne was answered by a warlike address from the House, supplies were voted, and an army raised. But the actual declaration of war still failed to appear. While Danby threatened France, Charles was busy turning the threat to his own profit, and gaining time by prologations for a series of base negotiations. At one stage he demanded from Lewis a fresh pension for the next three years as the price of his good offices with the allies. Danby stooped to write the demand, and Charles added, "This letter is written by my order, C.R." A force of three thousand English soldiers were landed at Ostend; but the allies were already broken by their suspicions of the King's real policy, and Charles soon agreed for a fresh pension to recall the brigade. The bargain was hardly struck when Lewis withdrew the terms of peace he had himself offered, and on the faith of which England had ostensibly retired from the scene. Once more Danby offered aid to the allies, but all faith in England was lost. One power after another gave way to the new French demands, and though Holland, the original cause of the war, was saved, the Peace of Nimeguen made Lewis the arbiter of Europe.

Disgraceful as the peace was to England, it left Charles the master of a force of twenty thousand men levied for the war he refused to declare, and with nearly a million of French money in his pocket. His course had roused into fresh life the old suspicions of his perfidy, and of a secret plot with Lewis for the ruin of English freedom and of English religion. That there was such a plot we know; and from the moment of the Treaty of Dover the hopes of the Catholic party mounted even faster than the panic of the Protestants. But they had been bitterly disappointed by the King's withdrawal from his schemes after his four years ineffectual struggle, and by his seeming return to the policy of Clarendon. Their anger and despair were revealed in letters from English Jesuits, and the correspondence of Coleman. Coleman, the secretary of the Duchess of York, and a busy intriguer, had gained sufficient knowledge of the real plans of the King and of his brother to warrant him in begging for money from Lewis for the work of saving Catholic interests from Danby's hostility by intrigues in the Parliament. A passage from one of his letters gives us a glimpse of the

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wild dreams which were stirring among the hotter Catholics of the time. "They had a mighty work on their hands," he wrote, "no less than the conversion of three kingdoms, and by that perhaps the utter subduing of a pestilent heresy which had so long domineered over a great part of the northern world. Success would give the greatest blow to the Protestant religion that it had received since its birth." The suspicions which had been stirred in the public mind mounted into alarm when the Peace of Nimeguen suddenly left Charles master—as it seemed—of the position; and it was of this general panic that one of the vile impostors who are always thrown to the surface at times of great public agitation was ready to take advantage by the invention of a Popish plot. Titus Oates, a Baptist minister before the Restoration, a curate and navy chaplain after it, but left penniless by his infamous character, had sought bread in a conversion to Catholicism, and had been received into Jesuit houses at Valladolid and St. Omer. While he remained there, he learnt the fact of a secret meeting of the Jesuits in London, which was probably nothing but the usual congregation of the order. On his expulsion for misconduct this single fact widened in his fertile brain into a plot for the subversion of Protestantism and the death of the King. His story was laid before Charles, and received with cool incredulity; but Oates made affidavit of its truth before a London magistrate, Sir Edmondsbury Godfrey, and at last managed to appear before the Council. He declared that he had been trusted with letters which disclosed the Jesuit plans. They were stirring rebellion in Ireland; in Scotland they disguised themselves as Cameronians; in England their aim was to assassinate the King, and to leave the throne open to the Papist Duke of York. The extracts from Jesuit letters however which he produced, though they showed the disappointment and anger of the writers, threw no light on the monstrous charges of a plot for assassination. Oates would have been dismissed indeed with contempt but for the seizure of Coleman's correspondence. His letters gave a new colour to the plot. Danby himself, conscious of the truth that there were designs which Charles dared not avow, was shaken in his rejection of the disclosures, and inclined to use them as weapons to check the King in his Catholic policy. But a more dexterous hand had already seized on the growing panic. Shaftesbury, released after a long imprisonment and hopeless of foiling the King's policy in any other way, threw himself into the plot. "Let the Treasurer cry as loud as he pleases against Popery," he laughed, "I will cry a note louder." But no cry was needed to heighten the popular frenzy from the moment when Sir Edmondsbury Godfrey, the magistrate before whom Oates had laid his information, was found in a field near London with his sword run through his heart. His death was assumed to be murder, and the murder to be an attempt of the Jesuits to "stifle the plot." A solemn funeral added to public agitation; and

the two Houses named committees to investigate the charges made by Oates.

In this investigation Shaftesbury took the lead. Whatever his personal ambition may have been, his public aims in all that followed were wise and far-sighted. He aimed at forcing Charles to dissolve Parliament and appeal to the nation. He aimed at driving Danby out of office and at forcing on Charles a ministry which should break his dependence on France and give a constitutional turn to his policy. He saw that no security would really avail to meet the danger of a Catholic sovereign, and he aimed at excluding James from the throne. But in pursuing these aims he rested wholly on the plot. He fanned the popular panic by accepting without question some fresh depositions in which Oates charged five Catholic peers with part in the Jesuit conspiracy. The peers were sent to the Tower, and two thousand suspected persons were hurried to prison. A proclamation ordered every Catholic to leave London. The trainbands were called to arms, and patrols paraded through the streets, to guard against the Catholic rising which Oates declared to be at hand. Meanwhile Shaftesbury turned the panic to political account by forcing through Parliament a bill which excluded Catholics from a seat in either House. The exclusion remained in force for a century and a half; but it had really been aimed against the Duke of York, and Shaftesbury was defeated by a proviso which exempted James from the operation of the bill. The plot, which had been supported for four months by the sole evidence of Oates, began to hang fire; but a promise of reward brought forward a villain, named Bedloe, with tales beside which those of Oates seemed tame. The two informers were now pressed forward by an infamous rivalry to stranger and stranger revelations. Bedloe swore to the existence of a plot for the landing of a Catholic army and a general massacre of the Protestants. Oates capped the revelations of Bedloe by charging the Queen herself, at the bar of the Lords, with knowledge of the plot to murder her husband. Monstrous as such charges were, they revived the waning frenzy of the people and of the two Houses. The peers under arrest were ordered to be impeached. A new proclamation enjoined the arrest of every Catholic in the realm. A series of judicial murders began with the trial and execution of Coleman, which even now can only be remembered with horror. But the alarm must soon have worn out had it only been supported by perjury. What gave force to the false plot was the existence of a true one. Coleman's letters had won credit for the perjuries of Oates, and a fresh discovery now won credit for the perjuries of Bedloe. From the moment when the pressure of the Commons and of Danby had forced Charles into a position of seeming antagonism to France, Lewis had resolved to bring about the dissolution of the Parliament, the fall of the Minister, and the disbanding of the army which Danby still looked on as a weapon against him. For this purpose the

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*Dissolution
of the
Parliament***Sir
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French ambassador had entered into negotiations with the leaders of the Country party. The English ambassador at Paris, Ralph Montagu, now returned home on a quarrel with Danby, obtained a seat in the House of Commons, and in spite of the seizure of his papers, laid on the table of the House the despatch which had been forwarded to Lewis, demanding payment for the King's services to France during the late negotiations. The House was thunderstruck; for strong as had been the general suspicion, the fact of the dependence of England on a foreign power had never before been proved. Danby's name was signed to the despatch, and he was at once impeached on a charge of high treason. But Shaftesbury was more eager to secure the election of a new Parliament than to punish his rival, and Charles was resolved to prevent at any price a trial which could not fail to reveal the disgraceful secret of his foreign policy. Charles was in fact at Shaftesbury's mercy, and the end for which Shaftesbury had been playing was at last secured. In January, 1679, the Parliament of 1661, after the longest unbroken life in our Parliamentary annals, was at last dissolved.

Section V.—Shaftesbury. 1679–1682.

[*Authorities.*—As before. We may add for this period Earl Russell's *Life of his ancestor, William, Lord Russell.*]

The new Parliament was elected in a tumult of national excitement. The members were for the most part Churchmen and country gentlemen, but they shared the alarm of the country, and even before their assembly in March their temper had told on the King's policy. James was sent to Brussels. Charles began to disband the army and promised that Danby should soon withdraw from office. In his speech from the throne he asked for supplies to maintain the Protestant attitude of his Government in foreign affairs. But it was impossible to avert Danby's fall. The Commons insisted on carrying his impeachment to the bar of the Lords. It was necessary to dismiss him from his post of Treasurer and to construct a new ministry. Shaftesbury became President of the Council. The chiefs of the Country party, Lord Russell and Lord Cavendish, took their seats at the board with Lords Holles and Roberts, the older representatives of the Presbyterian party which had merged in the general Opposition. Savile, Lord Halifax, as yet known only as a keen and ingenious speaker, entered the ministry in the train of Shaftesbury, with whom he was connected; Lord Sunderland was admitted to the Council; while Lord Essex and Lord Capel, two of the most popular among the Country leaders, went to the Treasury. The recall of Sir William Temple, the negotiator of the Triple Alliance, from his embassy at the Hague to fill the post of Secretary of State, promised a foreign policy

which would again place England high among the European powers. Temple returned with a plan of administration which, fruitless as it directly proved, is of great importance as marking the silent change which was passing over the Constitution. Like many men of his time, he was equally alarmed at the power both of the Crown and of the Parliament. In moments of national excitement the power of the Houses seemed irresistible. They had overthrown Clarendon. They had overthrown Clifford and the Cabal. They had just overthrown Danby. But though they were strong enough in the end to punish ill government, they showed no power of securing good government or of permanently influencing the policy of the Crown. For nineteen years, with a Parliament always sitting, Charles as far as foreign policy went had it pretty much his own way. He had made war against the will of the nation and he had refused to make war when the nation demanded it. While every Englishman hated France, he had made England a mere dependency of the French King. The remedy for this state of things, as it was afterwards found, was a very simple one. By a change which we shall have to trace, the Ministry has now become a Committee of State-officers, named by the majority of the House of Commons from amongst the more prominent of its representatives in either House, whose object in accepting office is to do the will of that majority. So long as the majority of the House of Commons itself represents the more powerful current of public opinion it is clear that such an arrangement makes government an accurate reflection of the national will. But obvious as such a plan may seem to us, it had as yet occurred to no English statesman. Even to Temple the one remedy seemed to lie in the restoration of the Royal Council to its older powers. This body, composed as it was of the great officers of the Court, the royal Treasurer and Secretaries, and a few nobles specially summoned to it by the sovereign, formed up to the close of Elizabeth's reign a sort of deliberative assembly to which the graver matters of public administration were commonly submitted by the Crown. A practice, however, of previously submitting such measures to a smaller body of the more important councillors must always have existed; and under James this secret committee, which was then known as the Cabala or Cabal, began almost wholly to supersede the Council itself. In the large and balanced Council which was formed after the Restoration all real power rested with the "Cabala" of Clarendon, Southampton, Ormond, Monk, and the two Secretaries; and on Clarendon's fall these were succeeded by Clifford, Arlington, Buckingham, Ashley, and Lauderdale. By a mere coincidence the initials of the latter names formed the word "Cabal," which has ever since retained the sinister meaning their unpopularity gave to it. The effect of these smaller committees had undoubtedly been to remove the check which the larger numbers

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and the more popular composition of the Royal Council laid upon the Crown. The unscrupulous projects which made the Cabal of Clifford and his fellows a by-word among Englishmen could never have been laid before a Council of great peers and hereditary officers of State. To Temple therefore the organization of the Council seemed to furnish a check on mere personal government which Parliament was unable to supply. For this purpose the Cabala, or Cabinet, as it was now becoming the fashion to term the confidential committee of the Council, was abolished. The Council itself was restricted to thirty members, and their joint income was not to fall below £300,000, a sum little less than what was estimated as the income of the whole House of Commons. A body of great nobles and proprietors, not too numerous for secret deliberation, and wealthy enough to counterbalance either the Commons or the Crown, would form, Temple hoped, a barrier against the violence and aggression of the one power, and a check on the mere despotism of the other.

The new Council and the new ministry gave fair hope of a wise and patriotic government. But the difficulties were still great. The nation was frenzied with suspicion and panic. The elections to the Parliament had taken place amidst a whirl of excitement which left no place for candidates of the Court. The appointment of the new ministry, indeed, was welcomed with a general burst of joy. But the question of the Succession threw all others into the shade. At the bottom of the national panic lay the dread of a Catholic King, a dread which the after history of James fully justified. Shaftesbury was earnest for the exclusion of James, but as yet the majority of the Council shrank from the step, and supported a plan which Charles brought forward for preserving the rights of the Duke of York while restraining his powers as sovereign. By this project the presentation to Church livings was to be taken out of his hands on his accession. The last Parliament of the preceding reign was to continue to sit; and the appointment of all Councillors, Judges, Lord-Lieutenants, and officers in the fleet, was vested in the two Houses so long as a Catholic sovereign was on the throne. The extent of these provisions showed the pressure which Charles felt, but Shaftesbury was undoubtedly right in setting the plan aside as at once insufficient and impracticable. He continued to advocate the Exclusion in the royal Council; and a bill for depriving James of his right to the Crown, and for devolving it on the next Protestant in the line of succession was introduced into the Commons by his adherents, and passed the House by a large majority. It was known that Charles would use his influence with the Peers for its rejection, and the Earl therefore fell back on the tactics of Pym. A bold Remonstrance was prepared in the Commons. The City of London was ready with an address to the two Houses in favour of the bill. All Charles could do

was to gain time by the prorogation of the Parliament, and by its dissolution in May.

But delay would have been useless had the Country party remained at one. The temper of the nation and of the House of Commons was so hotly pronounced in favour of the exclusion of the Duke, that union among the ministers must in the end have secured it and spared England the necessity for the Revolution of 1688. The wiser leaders of the Country party, indeed, were already leaning to the very change which that Revolution brought about. If James were passed over, his daughter Mary, the wife of the Prince of Orange, stood next in the order of succession: and the plan of Temple, Essex, and Halifax after the failure of their bill of Securities, was to bring the Prince over to England during the prorogation, to introduce him into the Council, and to pave his way to the throne. Unhappily Shaftesbury was contemplating a very different course. He distrusted the Prince of Orange as a mere adherent of the royal house, and as opposed to any weakening of the royal power or invasion of the royal prerogative. His motive for setting aside William's claims is probably to be found in the maxim ascribed to him, that "a bad title makes a good king." Whatever were his motives, however, he had resolved to set aside the claims of James and his children, as well as William's own claim, and to place the Duke of Monmouth on the throne. Monmouth was reputed to be the eldest of the King's bastards, a weak and worthless profligate in temper, but popular through his personal beauty and his reputation for bravery. The tale was set about of a secret marriage between the King and his mother; Shaftesbury induced Charles to put the Duke at the head of the troops sent to repress a rising of the Covenanters in the west of Scotland, and on his return pressed the King to give him the command of the Guards, which would have put the only military force possessed by the Crown in Monmouth's hands.

Sunderland, Halifax, and Essex, however, were not only steadily opposed to Shaftesbury's project, but saw themselves marked out for ruin in the event of Shaftesbury's success. They had advised the dissolution of the last Parliament; and the Earl's anger had vented itself in threats that the advisers of the dissolution should pay for it with their heads. The danger came home to them when a sudden illness of the King and the absence of James made Monmouth's accession a possible contingency. The three ministers at once induced Charles to recall the Duke of York; and though he withdrew to Scotland on the King's recovery, Charles deprived Monmouth of his charge as Captain-General of the Forces and ordered him like James to leave the realm. Left alone in his cause by the opposition of his colleagues, Shaftesbury threw himself more and more on the support of the Plot. The prosecution of its victims was pushed recklessly on. Three

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TO

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*Shaftes-
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Catholics were hanged in London. Eight priests were put to death in the country. Pursuivants and informers spread terror through every Catholic household. He counted on the reassembling of the Parliament to bring all this terror to bear upon the King. But Charles had already marked the breach which the Earl's policy had made in the ranks of the Country party. He saw that Shaftesbury was unsupported by any of his colleagues save Russell. To Temple, Essex, or Halifax it seemed possible to bring about the succession of Mary without any violent revolution ; but to set aside not only the right of James but the right of his Protestant children, and even of the Prince of Orange, was to ensure a civil war. It was with their full support therefore that Charles deprived Shaftesbury of his post of Lord President of the Council. The dismissal was the signal for a struggle to whose danger Charles was far from blinding himself. What had saved him till now was his cynical courage. In the midst of the terror and panic of the Plot men "wondered to see him quite cheerful amidst such an intricacy of troubles," says the courtly Reresby, "but it was not in his nature to think or perplex himself much about anything." Even in the heat of the tumult which followed on Shaftesbury's dismissal, Charles was seen fishing and sauntering as usual in Windsor Park. But closer observers than Reresby saw beneath this veil of indolent unconcern a consciousness of new danger. "From this time," says Burnet, "his temper was observed to change very visibly." He became in fact "sullen and thoughtful ; he saw that he had to do with a strange sort of people, that could neither be managed nor frightened." But he faced the danger with his old unscrupulous coolness. He reopened secret negotiations with France. Lewis was as alarmed as Charles himself at the warlike temper of the nation, and as anxious to prevent the assembly of a Parliament ; but the terms on which he offered a subsidy were too humiliating even for the King's acceptance. The failure forced him to summon a new Parliament ; and the panic, which Shaftesbury was busily feeding with new tales of massacre and invasion, returned members even more violent than the members of the House he had just dismissed. A host of petitions called on the King to suffer Parliament to meet at the opening of 1680. Even the Council shrank from the King's proposal to prorogue its assembly to November, 1680, but Charles persisted. Alone as he stood, he was firm in his resolve to gain time, for time, as he saw, was working in his favour. The tide of public sympathy was beginning to turn. The perjury of Oates proved too much at last for the credulity of juries ; and the acquittal of four of his victims was a sign that the panic was beginning to ebb. A far stronger proof of this was seen in the immense efforts which Shaftesbury made to maintain it. Fresh informers were brought forward to swear to a plot for the assassination of the Earl himself, and to the snare of the Duke of York in the con-

spiracies of his fellow-religionists. A paper found in a meal-tub was produced as evidence of the new danger. Gigantic torch-light processions paraded the streets of London, and the effigy of the Pope was burnt amidst the wild outcry of a vast multitude.

Acts of yet greater daring showed the lengths to which Shaftesbury was ready to go. He had grown up amidst the tumults of civil war, and, greyheaded as he was, the fire and vehemence of his early days seemed to wake again in the singular recklessness with which he drove on the nation to a struggle in arms. Early in 1680 he formed a committee for promoting agitation throughout the country; and the petitions which it drew up for the assembly of the Parliament were sent to every town and grand jury, and sent back again with thousands of signatures. Monmouth, in spite of the King's orders, returned at Shaftesbury's call to London; and a daring pamphlet pointed him out as the nation's leader in the coming struggle "against Popery and tyranny." So great was the alarm of the Council that the garrison in every fortress was held in readiness for instant war. But the danger was really less than it seemed. The tide of opinion had fairly turned. Acquittal followed acquittal. A reaction of horror and remorse at the cruelty which had hurried victim after victim to the gallows succeeded to the pitiless frenzy which Shaftesbury had fanned into a flame. Anxious as the nation was for a Protestant sovereign, its sense of justice revolted against the wrong threatened to James's Protestant children; and every gentleman in the realm felt insulted at the project of setting Mary aside to put the crown of England on the head of a bastard. The memory too of the Civil War was still fresh and keen, and the rumour of an outbreak of revolt rallied men more and more round the King. The host of petitions which Shaftesbury procured from the counties was answered by a counter host of addresses from thousands who declared their "abhorrence" of the plans against the Crown. The country was divided into two great factions of "petitioners" and "abhorrrers," the germs of the two great parties of "Whigs" and "Tories" which have played so prominent a part in our political history from the time of the Exclusion Bill. Charles at once took advantage of this turn of affairs. He recalled the Duke of York to the Court. He received the resignations of Russell and Cavendish, as well as of the Earl of Essex, who had at last gone over to Shaftesbury's projects "with all his heart." Shaftesbury met defiance with defiance. Followed by a crowd of his adherents he attended before the Grand Jury of Middlesex, to indict the Duke of York as a Catholic recusant, and the King's mistress, the Duchess of Portsmouth, as a national nuisance, while Monmouth made a progress through the country, and gained favour everywhere by his winning demeanour. Above all, Shaftesbury relied on the temper of the Commons, elected as they had been in the very heat of the panic and irritated by the long delay in

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calling them together. The first act of the House on meeting in October was to vote that their care should be "to suppress Popery and prevent a Popish successor." Rumours of a Catholic plot in Ireland were hardly needed to push the Exclusion Bill through the Commons without a division. So resolute was the temper of the Lower House that even Temple and Essex now gave their adhesion to it as a necessity, and Sunderland himself wavered towards accepting it. Halifax, whose ability and eloquence had now brought him fairly to the front, opposed it resolutely and successfully in the Lords; but Halifax was only the mouthpiece of William. "My Lord Halifax is entirely in the interest of the Prince of Orange," the French ambassador, Barillon, wrote to his master, "and what he seems to be doing for the Duke of York is really in order to make an opening for a compromise by which the Prince of Orange may benefit." The Exclusion Bill once rejected, Halifax followed up the blow by bringing forward a plan of Protestant securities, which would have taken from James on his accession the right of veto on any bill passed by the two Houses, the right of negotiating with foreign states, or of appointing either civil or military officers save with the consent of Parliament. This plan also was no doubt prompted by the Prince of Orange; and the States of Holland supported it by pressing Charles to come to an accommodation with his subjects which would enable them to check the perpetual aggressions which France was making on her neighbours.

But if the Lords would have no Exclusion Bill the Commons with as good reason would have no Securities Bill. They felt—as one of the members for London fairly put it—that such securities would break down at the very moment they were needed. A Catholic king, should he ever come to the throne, would have other forces besides those in England to back him. "The Duke rules over Scotland; the Irish and the English Papists will follow him; he will be obeyed by the officials of high and low rank whom the King has appointed; he will be just such a king as he thinks good." Shaftesbury however was far from resting in a merely negative position. He made a despairing effort to do the work of exclusion by a Bill of Divorce, which would have enabled Charles to put away his Queen on the ground of barrenness, and by a fresh marriage to give a Protestant heir to the throne. The Earl was perhaps already sensible of a change in public feeling, and this he resolved to check and turn by a great public impeachment which would revive and establish the general belief in the Plot. Lord Stafford, who from his age and rank was looked on as the leader of the Catholic party, had lain a prisoner in the Tower since the first outburst of popular frenzy. He was now solemnly impeached; and his trial in December 1680 mustered the whole force of informers to prove the truth of a Catholic conspiracy against the King and the realm. The evidence was worthless; but the trial revived, as Shaftesbury had

hoped, much of the old panic, and the condemnation of the prisoner by a majority of his peers was followed by his death on the scaffold. The blow produced its effect on all but Charles. Sunderland again pressed the King to give way. But deserted as he was by his ministers, and even by his mistress, for the Duchess of Portsmouth had been cowed into supporting the exclusion by the threats of Shaftesbury, Charles was determined to resist. On the coupling of a grant of supplies with demands for a voice in the appointment of officers of the royal garrisons he prorogued the Parliament. The truth was that he was again planning an alliance with France. With characteristic subtlety, however, he dissolved the existing Parliament, and called a new one to meet in March. The act was a mere blind. The King's aim was to frighten the country into reaction by the dread of civil strife; and his summons of the Parliament to Oxford was an appeal to the country against the disloyalty of the capital, and an adroit means of reviving the memories of the Civil War. With the same end he ordered his guards to accompany him, on the pretext of anticipated disorder; and Shaftesbury, himself terrified at the projects of the Court, aided the King's designs by appearing with his followers in arms on the plea of self-protection. Monmouth renewed his progresses through the country. Riots broke out in London. Revolt seemed at hand, and Charles hastened to conclude his secret negotiations with France. He verbally pledged himself to a policy of peace, in other words to withdrawal from any share in the Grand Alliance which William was building up, while Lewis promised a small subsidy which with the natural growth of the royal revenue sufficed to render Charles, if he remained at peace, independent of Parliamentary aids. The violence of the new Parliament played yet more effectually into the King's hands. The members of the House of Commons were the same as those who had been returned to the Parliaments he had just dissolved, and their temper was naturally embittered by the two dissolutions. Their rejection of a new Limitation Bill brought forward by Halifax, which while granting James the title of King would have vested the actual functions of government in the Prince and Princess of Orange, alienated the more moderate and sensible of the Country party. The attempt of the Lower House to revive the panic by impeaching an informer named Fitzharris before the House of Lords, in defiance of the constitutional rule which entitled him as a commoner to a trial by his peers in the course of common law, did still more to throw public opinion on the side of the Crown. Shaftesbury's course, in fact, went wholly on a belief that the penury of the Treasury left Charles at his mercy, and that a refusal of supplies must wring from the King his assent to the Exclusion. But the gold of France had freed the King from his thralldom. He had used the Parliament simply to exhibit himself as a sovereign whose patience and con-

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ciliatory temper was rewarded with insult and violence; and now that his end was accomplished, he no sooner saw the Exclusion Bill re-introduced, than he suddenly dissolved the Houses after a month's sitting, and appealed in a royal declaration to the justice of the nation at large.

The appeal was met by an almost universal burst of loyalty. The Church rallied to the King; his declaration was read from every pulpit; and the Universities solemnly decided that "no religion, no law, no fault, no forfeiture," could avail to bar the sacred right of hereditary succession. The arrest of Shaftesbury on a charge of suborning false witnesses to the Plot marked the new strength of the Crown. London indeed was still true to him; the Middlesex Grand Jury ignored the bill of his indictment; and his discharge from the Tower was welcomed in every street with bonfires and ringing of bells. But a fresh impulse was given to the loyal enthusiasm of the country at large by the publication of a plan said to have been found among his papers, the plan of a secret association for the furtherance of the Exclusion, whose members bound themselves to obey the orders of Parliament even after its prorogation or dissolution by the Crown. So general was the reaction that Halifax advised the calling of a new Parliament in the belief that it would be a loyal one. William of Orange too visited England to take advantage of the turn of affairs to pin Charles to the policy of the Alliance; but the King met both counsels with evasion. He pushed boldly on in his new course. He confirmed the loyalty of the Church by a renewed persecution of the Nonconformists, which drove Penn from England and thus brought about the settlement of Pennsylvania as a refuge for his fellow Quakers. He was soon strong enough to call back James to Court. Monmouth, who had resumed his progresses through the country as a means of checking the tide of reaction, was arrested. The friendship of a Tory mayor secured the nomination of Tory sheriffs in London, and the juries they packed left the life of every Exclusionist at the mercy of the Crown. Shaftesbury, alive to the new danger, plunged madly into conspiracies with a handful of adventurers as desperate as himself, hid himself in the City, where he boasted that ten thousand "brisk boys" were ready to appear at his call, and urged his friends to rise in arms. But their delays drove him to flight; and two months after his arrival in Holland, the soul of the great leader, great from his immense energy and the wonderful versatility of his genius, but whose genius and energy had ended in wrecking for the time the fortunes of English freedom, and in associating the noblest of causes with the vilest of crimes, found its first quiet in death.

Jan. 1683

Section VI.—The Second Stuart Tyranny, 1682—1688.

[*Authorities.*—To those given before we may add Welwood's "Memoirs," Luttrell's "Diary," and above all Lord Macaulay's "History of England."]

The flight of Shaftesbury proclaimed the triumph of the King. His marvellous sagacity had told him when the struggle was over and further resistance useless. But the country leaders, who had delayed to answer the Earl's call, still believed opposition possible; and Monmouth, with Lord Essex, Lord Howard of Effrick, Lord Russell, Hampden, and Algernon Sidney held meetings with the view of founding an association whose agitation should force on the King the assembly of a Parliament. The more desperate spirits who had clustered round him as he lay hidden in the City took refuge in plots of assassination, and in a plan for murdering Charles and his brother as they passed the Rye-house on their road from London to Newmarket. Both projects were betrayed, and though they were wholly distinct from one another the cruel ingenuity of the Crown lawyers blended them into one. Lord Essex saved himself from a traitor's death by suicide in the Tower. Lord Russell, convicted on a charge of sharing in the Rye-house plot, was beheaded in Lincoln's Inn Fields. The same fate awaited Algernon Sidney. Monmouth fled in terror over sea, and his flight was followed by a series of prosecutions for sedition directed against his followers. In 1683 the Constitutional opposition which had held Charles so long in check lay crushed at his feet. A weaker man might easily have been led into a wild tyranny by the mad outburst of loyalty which greeted his triumph. On the very day when the crowd around Russell's scaffold were dipping their handkerchiefs in his blood, as in the blood of a martyr, the University of Oxford solemnly declared that the doctrine of passive obedience, even to the worst of rulers, was a part of religion. But Charles saw that immense obstacles still lay in the road of a mere tyranny. The great Tory party which had rallied to his succour against the Exclusionists were still steady for parliamentary and legal government. The Church was as powerful as ever, and the mention of a renewal of the Indulgence to Nonconformists had to be withdrawn before the opposition of the bishops. He was careful therefore during the few years which remained to him to avoid the appearance of any open violation of public law. He suspended no statute. He imposed no tax by royal authority. Nothing indeed shows more completely how great a work the Long Parliament had done than a survey of the reign of Charles the Second. "The King," Hallam says very truly, "was restored to nothing but what the law had preserved to him." No attempt was made to restore the abuses which the patriots of 1641 had swept away. Parliament was continually summoned. In spite of

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its frequent refusal of supplies, no attempt was ever made to raise money by unconstitutional means. The few illegal proclamations issued under Clarendon ceased with his fall. No effort was made to revive the Star Chamber and the Court of High Commission; and if judges were servile and juries sometimes packed, there was no open interference with the course of justice. In two remarkable points freedom had made an advance even on 1641. From the moment when printing began to tell on public opinion, it had been gagged by a system of licences. The regulations framed under Henry the Eighth subjected the press to the control of the Star Chamber, and the Martin Marprelate libels brought about a yet more stringent control under Elizabeth. Even the Long Parliament laid a heavy hand on the press, and the great remonstrance of Milton in his "Areopagitica" fell dead on the ears of his Puritan associates. But the statute for the regulation of printing which was passed immediately after the Restoration expired finally in 1679, and the temper of the Parliament at once put an end to any attempt at re-establishing the censorship. To the new freedom of the press the Habeas Corpus Act added a new security for the personal freedom of every Englishman. Against arbitrary imprisonment provision had been made in the earliest ages by a famous clause in the Great Charter. No free man could be held in prison save on charge or conviction of crime or for debt, and every prisoner on a criminal charge could demand as a right from the Court of King's Bench the issue of a writ of "habeas corpus," which bound his gaoler to produce both the prisoner and the warrant on which he was imprisoned, that the court might judge whether he was imprisoned according to law. In cases however of imprisonment on a warrant of the royal Council it had been sometimes held by judges that the writ could not be issued, and under Clarendon's administration instances had in this way occurred of imprisonment without legal remedy. But his fall was quickly followed by the introduction of a bill to secure this right of the subject, and after a long struggle the Act which is known as the Habeas Corpus Act passed finally in 1679. By this great statute the old practice of the law was freed from all difficulties and exceptions. Every prisoner committed for any crime save treason or felony was declared entitled to his writ even in the vacations of the courts, and heavy penalties were enforced on judges or gaolers who refused him this right. Every person committed for felony or treason was entitled to be released on bail, unless indicted at the next session of gaol delivery after his commitment, and to be discharged if not indicted at the sessions which followed. It was forbidden under the heaviest penalties to send a prisoner into any places or fortresses beyond the seas.

Galling to the Crown as the freedom of the press and the Habeas Corpus Act were soon found to be, Charles made no attempt to curtail

the one or to infringe the other. But while cautious to avoid rousing popular resistance, he moved coolly and resolutely forward on the path of despotism. It was in vain that Halifax pressed for energetic resistance to the aggressions of France, for the recall of Monmouth, or for the calling of a fresh Parliament. Like every other English statesman he found he had been duped, and that now his work was done he was suffered to remain in office but left without any influence in the government. Hyde, who was created Earl of Rochester, still remained at the head of the Treasury ; but Charles soon gave more of his confidence to the supple and acute Sunderland. Parliament, in defiance of the Triennial Act, which after having been repealed had been re-enacted but without the safeguards of the original act, remained unassembled during the remainder of the King's reign. His secret alliance with France furnished Charles with the funds he immediately required, and the rapid growth of the customs through the increase of English commerce promised to give him a revenue which, if peace were preserved, would save him from the need of a fresh appeal to the Commons. All opposition was at an end. The strength of the Country party had been broken by its own dissensions over the Exclusion Bill, and by the flight or death of its more prominent leaders. Whatever strength it retained lay chiefly in the towns, and these were now attacked by writs of "quo warranto," which called on them to show cause why their charters should not be declared forfeited on the ground of abuse of their privileges. A few verdicts on the side of the Crown brought about a general surrender of municipal liberties ; and the grant of fresh charters, in which all but ultra-loyalists were carefully excluded from their corporations, placed the representation of the boroughs in the hands of the Crown. Against active discontent Charles had long been quietly providing by the gradual increase of his Guards. The withdrawal of its garrison from Tangier enabled him to raise their force to nine thousand well-equipped soldiers, and to supplement this force, the nucleus of our present standing army, by a reserve of six regiments, which were maintained till they should be needed at home in the service of the United Provinces. But great as the danger really was, it lay not so much in isolated acts of tyranny as in the character and purpose of Charles himself. His death at the very moment of his triumph saved English freedom. He had regained his old popularity, and at the news of his sickness crowds thronged the churches, praying that God would raise him up again to be a father to his people. But the one anxiety of the King was to die reconciled to the Catholic Church. His chamber was cleared and a priest named Huddleston, who had saved his life after the battle of Worcester, received his confession and administered the last sacraments. Not a word of this ceremony was whispered when the nobles and bishops were recalled into the

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royal presence. All the children of his mistresses save Monmouth were gathered round the bed. Charles "blessed all his children one by one, pulling them on to his bed; and then the bishops moved him, as he was the Lord's anointed and the father of his country, to bless them also and all that were there present, and in them the general body of his subjects. Whereupon, the room being full, all fell down upon their knees, and he raised himself in his bed and very solemnly blessed them all." The strange comedy was at last over. Charles died as he had lived: brave, witty, cynical, even in the presence of death. Tortured as he was with pain, he begged the bystanders to forgive him for being so unconscionable a time in dying. One mistress, the Duchess of Portsmouth, hung weeping over his bed. His last thought was of another mistress, Nell Gwynn. "Do not," he whispered to his successor ere he sank into a fatal stupor, "do not let poor Nelly starve!"

The first words of James on his accession in February 1685, his promise "to preserve the Government both in Church and State as it is now by law established," were welcomed by the whole country with enthusiasm. All the suspicions of a Catholic sovereign seemed to have disappeared. "We have the word of a King!" ran the general cry, "and of a King who was never worse than his word." The conviction of his brother's faithlessness stood James in good stead. He was looked upon as narrow, impetuous, stubborn, and despotic in heart, but even his enemies did not accuse him of being false. Above all he was believed to be keenly alive to the honour of his country, and resolute to free it from foreign dependence. It was necessary to summon a Parliament, for the royal revenue ceased with the death of Charles; but the elections, swayed at once by the tide of loyalty and by the command of the boroughs which the surrender of their charters had given to the Crown, sent up a House of Commons in which James found few members who were not to his mind. The question of religious security was waived at a hint of the royal displeasure. A revenue of nearly two millions was granted to the King for life. All that was wanted to rouse the loyalty of the country into fanaticism was supplied by a rebellion in the North, and by another under Monmouth in the West. The hopes of Scotch freedom had clung ever since the Restoration to the house of Argyll. The great Marquis, indeed, had been brought to the block at the King's return. His son, the Earl of Argyll, had been unable to save himself even by a life of singular caution and obedience from the ill-will of the vile politicians who governed Scotland. He was at last convicted of treason in 1682 on grounds at which every English statesman stood aghast. "We should not hang a dog here," Halifax protested, "on the grounds on which my lord Argyll has been sentenced to death." The Earl escaped however to Holland, and lived peacefully there during the last years of the reign of Charles.

Monmouth had found the same refuge at the Hague, where a belief in the King's purpose to recall him secured him a kindly reception from William of Orange. But the accession of James was a death-blow to the hopes of the Duke, while it stirred the fanaticism of Argyll to a resolve of wresting Scotland from the rule of a Catholic king. The two leaders determined to appear in arms in England and the North, and the two expeditions sailed within a few days of each other. Argyll's attempt was soon over. His clan of the Campbells rose on his landing in Cantyre, but the country had been occupied for the King, and quarrels among the exiles who accompanied him robbed his effort of every chance of success. His force scattered without a fight; and Argyll, arrested in an attempt to escape, was hurried to a traitor's death. Monmouth for a time found brighter fortune. His popularity in the West was great, and though the gentry held aloof when he landed at Lyme, and demanded effective parliamentary government and freedom of worship for Protestant Nonconformists, the farmers and traders of Devonshire and Dorset flocked to his standard. The clothier-towns of Somerset were true to the Whig cause, and on the entrance of the Duke into Taunton the popular enthusiasm showed itself in flowers which wreathed every door, as well as in a train of young girls who presented Monmouth with a Bible and a flag. His forces now amounted to six thousand men, but whatever chance of success he might have had was lost by his assumption of the title of king. The Houses supported James, and passed a bill of attainder against the Duke. The gentry, still true to the cause of Mary and of William, held stubbornly aloof; while the Guards hurried to the scene of the revolt, and the militia gathered to the royal standard. Foiled in an attempt on Bristol and Bath, Monmouth fell back on Bridgewater, and flung himself in the night of the sixth of July, 1685, on the King's forces, which lay encamped on Sedgemoor. The surprise failed; and the brave peasants and miners who followed the Duke, checked in their advance by a deep drain which crossed the moor, were broken after a short resistance by the royal horse. Their leader fled from the field, and after a vain effort to escape from the realm, was captured and sent pitilessly to the block.

Never had England shown a firmer loyalty; but its loyalty was changed into horror by the terrible measures of repression which followed on the victory of Sedgemoor. Even North, the Lord Keeper, a servile tool of the Crown, protested against the license and bloodshed in which the troops were suffered to indulge after the battle. His protest however was disregarded, and he withdrew broken-hearted from the Court to die. James was, in fact, resolved on a far more terrible vengeance; and the Chief-Justice Jeffreys, a man of great natural powers but of violent temper, was sent to earn the Seals by a series of judicial murders which have left his name a byword for cruelty. Three

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hundred and fifty rebels were hanged in the "Bloody Circuit," as Jeffreys made his way through Dorset and Somerset. More than eight hundred were sold into slavery beyond sea. A yet larger number were whipped and imprisoned. The Queen, the maids of honour, the courtiers, even the Judge himself, made shameless profit from the sale of pardons. What roused pity above all were the cruelties wreaked upon women. Some were scourged from market-town to market-town. Mrs. Lisle, the wife of one of the Regicides, was sent to the block at Winchester for harbouring a rebel. Elizabeth Gaunt, for the same act of womanly charity, was burned at Tyburn. Pity turned into horror when it was found that cruelty such as this was avowed and sanctioned by the King. Even the cold heart of General Churchill, to whose energy the victory at Sedgemoor had mainly been owing, revolted at the ruthlessness with which James turned away from all appeals for mercy. "This marble," he cried as he struck the chimney-piece on which he leant, "is not harder than the King's heart." But it was soon plain that the terror which the butchery was meant to strike into the people was part of a larger purpose. The revolt was made a pretext for a vast increase of the standing army. Charles, as we have seen, had silently and cautiously raised it to nearly ten thousand men; James raised it at one swoop to twenty thousand. The employment of this force was to be at home, not abroad, for the hope of an English policy in foreign affairs had already faded away. In the designs which James had at heart he could look for no consent from Parliament; and however his pride revolted against a dependence on France, it was only by French gold and French soldiers that he could hope to hold the Parliament permanently at bay. A week therefore after his accession he assured Lewis that his gratitude and devotion to him equalled that of Charles himself. "Tell your master," he said to the French ambassador, "that without his protection I can do nothing. He has a right to be consulted, and it is my wish to consult him, about everything." The pledge of subserviency was rewarded with the promise of a subsidy, and the promise was received with the strongest expressions of delight and servility.

Never had the secret league with France seemed so full of danger to English religion. Europe had long been trembling at the ambition of Lewis; it was trembling now at his bigotry. He had proclaimed warfare against civil liberty in his attack upon Holland; he declared war at this moment upon religious freedom by revoking the Edict of Nantes, the measure by which Henry the Fourth after his abandonment of Protestantism secured toleration and the free exercise of their worship for his Protestant subjects. It had been respected by Richelieu even in his victory over the Huguenots, and only lightly tampered with by Mazarin. But from the beginning of his

reign Lewis had resolved to set aside its provisions, and his revocation of it in 1685 was only the natural close of a progressive system of persecution. The Revocation was followed by outrages more cruel than even the bloodshed of Alva. Dragoons were quartered on Protestant families, women were flung from their sick-beds into the streets, children were torn from their mothers' arms to be brought up in Catholicism, ministers were sent to the galleys. In spite of the royal edicts, which forbade even flight to the victims of these horrible atrocities, a hundred thousand Protestants fled over the borders, and Holland, Switzerland, the Palatinate, were filled with French exiles. Thousands found refuge in England, and their industry founded in the fields east of London the silk trade of Spitalfields. But while Englishmen were looking with horror on these events in France, James drew from them new hopes. In defiance of the law he was filling his fresh regiments with Catholic officers. He dismissed Halifax from the Privy Council on his refusal to consent to a plan for repealing the Test Act. He met the Parliament with a haughty declaration that whether legal or no his grant of commissions to Catholics must not be questioned, and with a demand of supplies for his new troops. Loyal as was the temper of the Houses, their alarm for the Church, their dread of a standing army, was yet stronger than their loyalty. The Commons by the majority of a single vote deferred the grant of supplies till grievances were redressed, and demanded in their address the recall of the illegal commissions. The Lords took a bolder tone; and the protest of the bishops against any infringement of the Test Act was backed by the eloquence of Halifax. But both Houses were at once prorogued. The King resolved to obtain from the judges what he could not obtain from Parliament. He remodelled the bench by dismissing four judges who refused to lend themselves to his plans; and their successors decided in the case of Sir Edward Hales, a Catholic officer in the army, that a royal dispensation could be pleaded in bar of the Test Act. The principle laid down by the judges asserted the right of the King to dispense with penal laws according to his own judgement, and it was applied by James with a reckless impatience of all decency and self-restraint. Catholics were admitted into civil and military offices without stint, and four Catholic peers were sworn as members of the Privy Council. The laws which forbade the presence of Catholic priests in the realm, or the open exercise of Catholic worship, were set at naught. A gorgeous chapel was opened in the palace of St. James for the worship of the King. Carmelites, Benedictines, Franciscans, appeared in their religious garb in the streets of London, and the Jesuits set up a crowded school in the Savoy.

The quick growth of discontent at these acts would have startled a wiser man into prudence, but James prided himself on an obstinacy

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which never gave way ; and a riot which took place on the opening of a fresh Catholic chapel in the City was followed by the establishment of a camp of thirteen thousand men at Hounslow to overawe the capital. The course which James intended to follow in England was shown by the course he was following in the sister kingdoms. In Scotland he acted as a pure despot. He placed its government in the hands of two lords, Melfort and Perth, who had embraced his own religion, and put a Catholic in command of the Castle of Edinburgh. The Scotch Parliament had as yet been the mere creature of the Crown, but servile as were its members there was a point at which their servility stopped. When James boldly required them to legalize the toleration of Catholics, they refused to pass such an Act. It was in vain that the King tempted them to consent by the offer of a free trade with England. "Shall we sell our God?" was the indignant reply. James at once ordered the Scotch judges to treat all laws against Catholics as null and void, and his orders were obeyed. In Ireland his policy threw off even the disguise of law. Catholics were admitted by the King's command to the Council and to civil offices. A Catholic, Lord Tyrconnell, was put at the head of the army, and set instantly about its re-organization by cashiering Protestant officers and by admitting two thousand Catholic natives into its ranks. Meanwhile James had begun in England a bold and systematic attack upon the Church. He regarded his ecclesiastical supremacy as a weapon providentially left to him for undoing the work which it had enabled his predecessors to do. Under Henry and Elizabeth it had been used to turn the Church of England from Catholic to Protestant. Under James it should be used to turn it back again from Protestant to Catholic. The High Commission indeed had been declared illegal by an Act of the Long Parliament, and this Act had been confirmed by the Parliament of the Restoration. But it was thought possible to evade this Act by omitting from the instructions on which the Commission acted the extraordinary powers and jurisdictions by which its predecessor had given offence. With this reserve, seven commissioners were appointed for the government of the Church, with Jeffreys at their head ; and the first blow of the Commission was at the Bishop of London. James had forbidden the clergy to preach against "the King's religion," and ordered Bishop Compton to suspend a London vicar who set this order at defiance. The Bishop's refusal was punished by his own suspension. But the pressure of the Commission only drove the clergy to a bolder defiance of the royal will. Sermons against superstition were preached from every pulpit ; and the two most famous divines of the day, Tillotson and Stillingfleet, put themselves at the head of a host of controversialists who scattered pamphlets and tracts from every printing press.

It was in vain that the bulk of the Catholic gentry stood aloof and predicted the inevitable reaction his course must bring about, or that Rome itself counselled greater moderation. James was infatuated with what seemed to be the success of his enterprises. He looked on the opposition he experienced as due to the influence of the High Church Tories who had remained in power since the reaction of 1681, and these he determined "to chastise." The Duke of Queensberry, the leader of this party in Scotland, was driven from office. Tyrconnell, as we have seen, was placed as a check on Ormond in Ireland. In England James resolved to show the world that even the closest ties of blood were as nothing to him if they conflicted with the demands of his faith. His earlier marriage with Anne Hyde, the daughter of Clarendon, bound both the Chancellor's sons to his fortunes; and on his accession he had sent his elder brother-in-law, Henry, Earl of Clarendon, as Lord Lieutenant to Ireland, and raised the younger, Laurence, Earl of Rochester, to the post of Lord Treasurer. But Rochester was now told that the King could not safely entrust so great a charge to any one who did not share his sentiments on religion, and on his refusal to abandon his faith he was deprived of the White Staff. His brother, Clarendon, shared his fall. A Catholic, Lord Bellasys, became First Lord of the Treasury, which was put into commission after Rochester's removal; and another Catholic, Lord Arundel, became Lord Privy Seal, while Father Petre, a Jesuit, was called to the Privy Council. One official after another who refused to aid in the repeal of the Test Act was dismissed. In defiance of the law the Nuncio of the Pope was received in state at Windsor. But even James could hardly fail to perceive the growth of public discontent. If the great Tory nobles were staunch for the Crown, they were as resolute Englishmen in their hatred of mere tyranny as the Whigs themselves. James gave the Duke of Norfolk the sword of State to carry before him as he went to Mass. The Duke stopped at the Chapel door. "Your father would have gone further," said the King. "Your Majesty's father was the better man," replied the Duke, "and he would not have gone so far." The young Duke of Somerset was ordered to introduce the Nuncio into the Presence Chamber. "I am advised," he answered, "that I cannot obey your Majesty without breaking the law." "Do you not know that I am above the law?" James asked angrily. "Your Majesty may be, but I am not," retorted the Duke. He was dismissed from his post; but the spirit of resistance spread fast. In spite of the King's letters the governors of the Charter House, who numbered among them some of the greatest English nobles, refused to admit a Catholic to the benefits of the foundation. The most devoted loyalists began to murmur when James demanded apostasy as a proof of their loyalty. He had soon in fact to abandon all hope of bringing the Church or the Tories over to his will. He

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turned, as Charles had turned, to the Nonconformists, and published in 1687 a Declaration of Indulgence which suspended the operation of the penal laws against Nonconformists and Catholics alike, and of every Act which imposed a test as a qualification for office in Church or State. The temptation to accept the Indulgence was great, for since the fall of Shaftesbury persecution had fallen heavily on the Protestant dissidents, and we can hardly wonder that the Nonconformists wavered for a time, or that numerous addresses of thanks were presented to James. But the great body of them, and all the more venerable names among them, remained true to the cause of freedom. Baxter, Howe, and Bunyan all refused an Indulgence which could only be purchased by the violent overthrow of the law. It was plain that the attempt to divide the forces of Protestantism had utterly failed, and that the only mode of securing his end was to procure a repeal of the Test Act from Parliament itself.

The temper of the existing Houses however remained absolutely opposed to the King's project. He therefore dissolved the Parliament, and summoned a new one. But no free Parliament could be brought, as he knew, to consent to the repeal. The Lords indeed could be swamped by lavish creations of new peers. "Your troop of horse," his minister, Lord Sunderland, told Churchill, "shall be called up into the House of Lords." But it was a harder matter to secure a compliant House of Commons. The Lord-Lieutenants were directed to bring about such a "regulation" of the governing body in boroughs as would ensure the return of candidates pledged to the repeal of the Test, and to question every magistrate in their county as to his vote. Half of them at once refused, and a long list of great nobles—the Earls of Oxford, Shrewsbury, Dorset, Derby, Pembroke, Rutland, Abergavenny, Thanet, Northampton, and Abingdon—were dismissed from their Lord-Lieutenancies. The justices when questioned simply replied that they would vote according to their consciences, and send members to Parliament who would protect the Protestant religion. After repeated "regulations" it was found impossible to form a corporate body which would return representatives willing to comply with the royal will. All thought of a Parliament had to be abandoned; and even the most bigoted courtiers counselled moderation at this proof of the stubborn opposition which James must prepare to encounter from the peers, the gentry, and the trading classes. The clergy alone still hesitated in any open act of resistance. Even the tyranny of the Commission failed to rouse into open disaffection men who had been preaching Sunday after Sunday the doctrine of passive obedience to the worst of kings. But James cared little for passive obedience. He looked on the refusal of the clergy to support his plans as freeing him from his pledge to maintain the Church as established by law; and he resolved to attack it in the great institutions which had till now been its

strongholds. To secure the Universities for Catholicism was to seize the only training schools which the clergy possessed. Cambridge indeed escaped easily. A Benedictine monk who presented himself with royal letters recommending him for the degree of a Master of Arts was rejected on his refusal to sign the Articles: and the Vice-Chancellor paid for the rejection by dismissal from his office. But a violent and obstinate attack was directed against Oxford. The Master of University College, who declared himself a convert, was authorized to retain his post in defiance of the law. Massey, a Roman Catholic, was presented by the Crown to the Deanery of Christ Church. Magdalen was the wealthiest Oxford College, and James in 1687 recommended one Farmer, a Catholic of infamous life and not even qualified by statute for the office, to its vacant headship. The Fellows remonstrated, and on the rejection of their remonstrance chose Hough, one of their own number, as their President. The Ecclesiastical Commission declared the election void; and James, shamed out of his first candidate, recommended a second, Parker, Bishop of Oxford, a Catholic in heart and the meanest of his courtiers. But the Fellows held stubbornly to their legal head. It was in vain that the King visited Oxford, summoned them to his presence, and rated them as they knelt before him like schoolboys. "I am King," he said, "I will be obeyed! Go to your chapel this instant, and elect the Bishop! Let those who refuse look to it, for they shall feel the whole weight of my hand!" It was seen that to give Magdalen as well as Christ Church into Catholic hands was to turn Oxford into a Catholic seminary, and the King's threats were disregarded. But they were soon carried out. A special Commission visited the University, pronounced Hough an intruder, set aside his appeal to the law, burst open the door of his President's house to install Parker in his place, and on their refusal to submit deprived the Fellows of their fellowships. The expulsion of the Fellows was followed on a like refusal by that of the Demies. Parker, who died immediately after his installation, was succeeded by a Roman Catholic bishop *in partibus*, Bonaventure Giffard, and twelve Catholics were admitted to fellowships in a single day.

Meanwhile James clung to the hope of finding a compliant Parliament, from which he might win a repeal of the Test Act. In face of the dogged opposition of the country the elections had been adjourned; and a renewed Declaration of Indulgence was intended as an appeal to the nation at large. At its close he promised to summon a Parliament in November, and he called on the electors to choose such members as would bring to a successful end the policy he had begun. His resolve, he said, was to establish universal liberty of conscience for all future time. It was in this character of a royal appeal that he ordered every clergyman to read the declaration during divine service

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on two successive Sundays. Little time was given for deliberation, but little time was needed. The clergy refused almost to a man to be the instruments of their own humiliation. The Declaration was read in only four of the London churches, and in these the congregation flocked out of church at the first words of it. Nearly all of the country clergy refused to obey the royal orders. The Bishops went with the rest of the clergy. A few days before the appointed Sunday Archbishop Sancroft called his suffragans together, and the six who were able to appear at Lambeth signed a temperate protest to the King, in which they declined to publish an illegal Declaration. "It is a standard of rebellion," James exclaimed as the Primate presented the paper; and the resistance of the clergy was no sooner announced to him than he determined to wreak his vengeance on the prelates who had signed the protest. He ordered the Ecclesiastical Commissioners to deprive them of their sees, but in this matter even the Commissioners shrank from obeying him. The Chancellor, Lord Jeffreys, advised a prosecution for libel as an easier mode of punishment; and the bishops, who refused to give bail, were committed on this charge to the Tower. They passed to their prison amidst the shouts of a great multitude, the sentinels knelt for their blessing as they entered its gates, and the soldiers of the garrison drank their healths. So threatening was the temper of the nation that his ministers pressed James to give way. But his obstinacy grew with the danger. "Indulgence," he said, "ruined my father;" and on the 29th of June the bishops appeared as criminals at the bar of the King's Bench. The jury had been packed, the judges were mere tools of the Crown, but judges and jury were alike overawed by the indignation of the people at large. No sooner had the foreman of the jury uttered the words "Not guilty" than a roar of applause burst from the crowd, and horsemen spurred along every road to carry over the country the news of the acquittal.

Section VII.—William of Orange.

[*Authorities.*—As before.]*William
and Europe*

Amidst the tumult of the Plot and the Exclusion Bill the wiser among English statesmen had fixed their hopes steadily on the succession of Mary, the elder daughter and heiress of James. The tyranny of her father's reign made this succession the hope of the people at large. But to Europe the importance of the change, whenever it should come about, lay not so much in the succession of Mary, as in the new power which such an event would give to her husband, William Prince of Orange. We have come in fact to a moment when the struggle of England against the aggression of its King blends with

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ness of
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the larger struggle of Europe against the aggression of Lewis the Fourteenth, and it is only by a rapid glance at the political state of the Continent that we can understand the real nature and results of the Revolution which drove James from the throne.

At this moment France was the dominant power in Christendom. The religious wars which began with the Reformation had broken the strength of the nations around her. Spain was no longer able to fight the battle of Catholicism. The Peace of Westphalia, by the independence it gave to the German princes and the jealousy it kept alive between the Protestant and Catholic powers of Germany, destroyed the strength of the Empire. The German branch of the House of Austria, spent with the long struggle of the Thirty Years' War, had enough to do in battling hard against the advance of the Turks from Hungary on Vienna. The victories of Gustavus and of the generals whom he formed had been dearly purchased by the exhaustion of Sweden. The United Provinces were as yet hardly regarded as a great power, and were trammelled by their contest with England for the empire of the seas. France alone profited by the general wreck. The wise policy of Henry the Fourth in securing religious peace by a grant of toleration to the Protestants had undone the ill effects of its religious wars. The Huguenots were still numerous south of the Loire, but the loss of their fortresses had turned their energies into the peaceful channels of industry and trade. Feudal disorder was roughly put down by Richelieu, and the policy which gathered all local power into the hands of the crown, though fatal in the end to the real welfare of France, gave it for the moment an air of good government, and a command over its internal resources which no other country could boast. Its compact and fertile territory, the natural activity and enterprise of its people, and the rapid growth of its commerce and manufactures, were sources of natural wealth which even its heavy taxation failed to check. In the latter half of the seventeenth century France was looked upon as the wealthiest power in Europe. The yearly income of the French crown was double that of England, and even Lewis the Fourteenth trusted as much to the credit of his treasury as to the glory of his arms. "After all," he said, when the fortunes of war began to turn against him, "it is the last louis d'or which must win!" It was in fact this superiority in wealth which enabled France to set on foot forces such as had never been seen in Europe since the downfall of Rome. At the opening of the reign of Lewis the Fourteenth its army mustered a hundred thousand men. With the war against Holland it rose to nearly two hundred thousand. In the last struggle against the Grand Alliance there was a time when it counted nearly half a million of men in arms. Nor was France content with these enormous land forces. Since the ruin of Spain the fleets of Holland and of England had alone disputed the empire of

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the seas. Under Richelieu and Mazarin France could hardly be looked upon as a naval power. But the early years of Lewis saw the creation of a navy of 100 men-of-war, and the fleets of France soon held their own against England or the Dutch.

Such a power would have been formidable at any time ; but it was doubly formidable when directed by statesmen who in knowledge and ability were without rivals in Europe. No diplomatist could compare with Lionne, no war minister with Louvois, no financier with Colbert. Their young master, Lewis the Fourteenth, bigoted, narrow-minded, commonplace as he was, without personal honour or personal courage, without gratitude and without pity, insane in his pride, insatiable in his vanity, brutal in his selfishness, had still many of the qualities of a great ruler : industry, patience, quickness of resolve, firmness of purpose, a capacity for discerning greatness and using it, an immense self-belief and self-confidence, and a temper utterly destitute indeed of real greatness, but with a dramatic turn for seeming to be great. As a politician Lewis had simply to reap the harvest which the two great Cardinals who went before him had sown. Both had used to the profit of France the exhaustion and dissension which the wars of religion had brought upon Europe. Richelieu turned the scale against the House of Austria by his alliance with Sweden, with the United Provinces, and with the Protestant princes of Germany ; and the two great treaties by which Mazarin ended the Thirty Years' War, the Treaty of Westphalia and the Treaty of the Pyrenees, left the Empire disorganized and Spain powerless. From that moment indeed Spain sank into a strange decrepitude. Robbed of the chief source of her wealth by the independence of Holland, weakened at home by the revolt of Portugal, her infantry annihilated by Condé in his victory of Rocroi, her fleet ruined by the Dutch, her best blood drained away to the Indies, the energies of her people destroyed by the suppression of all liberty, civil or religious, her intellectual life crushed by the Inquisition, her industry crippled by the expulsion of the Moors, by financial oppression, and by the folly of her colonial system, the kingdom which under Philip the Second had aimed at the empire of the world lay helpless and exhausted under Philip the Fourth. The aim of Lewis from 1661, the year when he really became master of France, was to carry on the policy of his predecessors, and above all to complete the ruin of Spain. The conquest of the Spanish provinces in the Netherlands would carry his border to the Scheldt. A more distant hope lay in the probable extinction of the Austrian line which now sat on the throne of Spain. By securing the succession to that throne for a French prince, not only Castille and Aragon with the Spanish dependencies in Italy and the Netherlands, but the Spanish empire in the New World would be added to the dominions of France. Nothing could save Spain but a union of the European powers, and to prevent this union by his nego-

tiations was a work at which Lewis toiled for years. The intervention of the Empire was guarded against by a renewal of the old alliances between France and the lesser German princes. A league with the Turks gave Austria enough to do on her eastern border. The old league with Sweden, the old friendship with Holland were skilfully maintained. The policy of Charles the Second bound England to the side of Lewis. At last it seemed that the moment for which he had waited had come, and the signing of the Treaty of Breda gave an opportunity for war of which Lewis availed himself in 1667. But the suddenness and completeness of the French success awoke a general terror before which the skilful diplomacy of Charles gave way. Holland was roused to a sense of danger at home by the appearance of French arms on the Rhine. England woke from her lethargy on the French seizure of the coast-towns of Flanders. Sweden joined the two Protestant powers in the Triple Alliance; and the dread of a wider league forced Lewis to content himself with the southern half of Flanders and the possession of a string of fortresses which practically left him master of the Netherlands.

Lewis was maddened by the check. He had always disliked the Dutch as Protestants and Republicans; he hated them now as an obstacle which must be taken out of the way ere he could resume his projects upon Spain. Four years were spent in preparations for a decisive blow. The French army was gradually raised to a hundred and eighty thousand men. Colbert created a fleet which rivalled that of Holland in number and equipment. Sweden was again won over. England was again secured by the Treaty of Dover. Meanwhile Holland lay wrapped in a false security. The French alliance had been its traditional policy since the days of Henry the Fourth, and it was especially dear to the party of the great merchant class which had mounted to power on the fall of the House of Orange. John de Witt, the leader of this party, though he had been forced to conclude the Triple Alliance by the advance of Lewis to the Rhine, still clung blindly to the friendship of France. His trust only broke down when the French army crossed the Dutch border in 1672, and the glare of its watch-fires was seen from the walls of Amsterdam. For the moment Holland lay crushed at the feet of Lewis, but the arrogance of the conqueror roused again the stubborn courage which had wrung victory from Alva and worn out the pride of Philip the Second. De Witt was murdered in a popular tumult, and his fall called William, the Prince of Orange, to the head of the Republic. Though the new Stadholder had hardly reached manhood, his great qualities at once made themselves felt. His earlier life had schooled him in a wonderful self-control. He had been left fatherless and all but friendless in childhood, he had been bred among men who looked on his very existence as a danger to the State, his words had been watched, his

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looks noted, his friends jealously withdrawn. In such an atmosphere the boy grew up silent, wary, self-contained, grave in temper, cold in demeanour, blunt and even repulsive in address. He was weak and sickly from his cradle, and manhood brought with it an asthma and consumption which shook his frame with a constant cough; his face was sullen and bloodless and scored with deep lines which told of ceaseless pain. But beneath this cold and sickly presence lay a fiery and commanding temper, an immoveable courage, and a political ability of the highest order. William was a born statesman. Neglected as his education had been in other ways, for he knew nothing of letters or of art, he had been carefully trained in politics by John De Witt: and the wide knowledge with which in his first address to the States-General the young Stadholder reviewed the general state of Europe, the cool courage with which he calculated the chances of the struggle, at once won him the trust of his countrymen. Their trust was soon rewarded. Holland was saved, and province after province won back from the arms of France, by William's dauntless resolve. Like his great ancestor, William the Silent, he was a luckless commander, and no general had to bear more frequent defeats. But he profited by defeat as other men profit by victory. His bravery indeed was of that nobler cast which rises to its height in moments of ruin and dismay. The coolness with which, boy-general as he was, he rallied his broken squadrons amidst the rout of Seneff, and wrested from Condé at the last the fruits of his victory, moved his veteran opponent to a generous admiration. It was in such moments indeed that the real temper of the man broke through the veil of his usual reserve. A strange light flashed from his eyes as soon as he was under fire, and in the terror and confusion of defeat his manners took an ease and gaiety that charmed every soldier around him.

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The political ability of William was seen in the skill with which he drew Spain and the House of Austria into a coalition against France, a union which laid the foundation of the Grand Alliance. But France was still matchless in arms, and the effect of her victories was seconded by the selfishness of the allies, and above all by the treacherous diplomacy of Charles the Second. William was forced to consent in 1678 to the Treaty of Nimeguen, which left France dominant over Europe as she had never been before. Holland indeed was saved from the revenge of Lewis, but fresh spoils had been wrested from Spain, and Franche-Comté, which had been restored at the close of the former war, was retained at the end of this. Above all France overawed Europe by the daring and success with which she had faced single-handed the wide coalition against her. Her King's arrogance became unbounded. Lorraine was turned into a subject-state. Genoa was bombarded, and its Doge forced to seek pardon in the antechambers of Versailles. The Pope was humiliated by the march of an army

upon Rome to avenge a slight offered to the French ambassador. The Empire was outraged by a shameless seizure of Imperial fiefs in Elsass and elsewhere. The whole Protestant world was defied by the persecution of the Huguenots which was to culminate in the revocation of the Edict of Nantes. In the mind of Lewis peace meant a series of outrages on the powers around him; but every outrage helped the cool and silent adversary who was looking on from the Hague to build up that Great Alliance of all Europe from which alone he looked for any effectual check to the ambition of France. The experience of the last war had taught William that of such an alliance England must form a part, and the efforts of the Prince ever since the peace had been directed to secure her co-operation. A reconciliation of the King with his Parliament was an indispensable step towards freeing Charles from his dependence on France, and it was such a reconciliation that William at first strove to bring about; but he was for a long time foiled by the steadiness with which Charles clung to the power whose aid was needful to carry out the schemes which he was contemplating. The change of policy however which followed on the fall of the Cabal and the entry of Danby into power raised new hopes in William's mind; and his marriage with Mary dealt Lewis what proved to be a fatal blow. James was without a son, and the marriage with Mary would at any rate ensure William the aid of England in his great enterprise on his father-in-law's death. But it was impossible to wait for that event, and though the Prince used his new position to bring Charles round to a decided policy his efforts remained fruitless. The storm of the Popish Plot complicated his position. In the earlier stages of the Exclusion Bill, when the Parliament seemed resolved simply to pass over James and to seat Mary at once on the throne after her uncle's death, William stood apart from the struggle, doubtful of its issue, though prepared to accept the good luck if it came to him. But the fatal error of Shaftesbury in advancing the claims of Monmouth forced him into action. To preserve his wife's right of succession, with all the great issues which were to come of it, no other course was left than to adopt the cause of the Duke of York. In the crisis of the struggle, therefore, William threw his whole weight on the side of James. The eloquence of Halifax secured the rejection of the Exclusion Bill, and Halifax was but the mouthpiece of William.

But while England was seething with the madness of the Popish Plot and of the royalist reaction, the great European struggle was drawing nearer and nearer. The patience of Germany was worn out by the ceaseless aggressions of Lewis, and in 1686 its princes had bound themselves at Augsburg to resist all further encroachments on the part of France. From that moment war became inevitable, and William watched the course of his father-in-law with redoubled

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anxiety. His efforts to ensure English aid had utterly failed. James had renewed his brother's secret treaty with France, and plunged into a quarrel with his people which of itself would have prevented him from giving any aid in a struggle abroad. The Prince could only silently look on, with a desperate hope that James might yet be brought to a nobler policy. He refused all encouragement to the leading malcontents who were already calling on him to interfere in arms. On the other hand he declined to support the King in his schemes for the abolition of the Test. If he still cherished hopes of bringing about a peace between the King and people which might enable him to enlist England in the Grand Alliance, they vanished in 1687 before the Declaration of Indulgence. It was at this moment that James called on him to declare himself in favour of the abolition of the penal laws and of the Test. But simultaneously with the King's appeal came letters of warning and promises of support from the leading English nobles. Some, like the Hydes, simply assured him of their friendship. The Bishop of London added promises of support. Others, like Devonshire, Nottingham, and Shrewsbury, cautiously or openly warned the Prince against compliance with the King's demand. Lord Churchill announced the resolve of Mary's sister Anne to stand by the cause of Protestantism. Danby, the leading representative of the great Tory party, sent urgent warnings. The letters dictated William's answer. No one, he truly protested, loathed religious persecution more than he himself did, but in relaxing political disabilities James called on him to countenance an attack on his own religion. "I cannot," he ended, "concur in what your Majesty desires of me." But William still shrank from the plan of an intervention in arms. General as the disaffection undoubtedly was, the position of James seemed fairly secure. He counted on the aid of France. He had an army of twenty thousand men. Scotland, disheartened by the failure of Argyll's rising, could give no such aid as it gave to the Long Parliament. Ireland was ready to throw a Catholic army on the western coast. It was doubtful if in England itself disaffection would turn into actual rebellion. The "Bloody Circuit" had left its terror on the Whigs. The Tories and the Churchmen, angered as they were, were hampered by their doctrine of non-resistance. William's aim therefore was to discourage all violent counsels, and to confine himself to organizing such a general opposition as would force James by legal means to reconcile himself to the country, to abandon his policy at home and abroad, and to join the alliance against France.

The Invi-
tation

But at this moment the whole course of William's policy was changed by an unforeseen event. His own patience and that of the nation rested on the certainty of Mary's succession. But in the midst of the King's struggle with the Church it was announced that the Queen was again with child. The news was received with general unbelief,

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for five years had passed since the last pregnancy of Mary of Modena. But it at once forced on a crisis. If, as the Catholics joyously foretold, the child turned out a boy, and, as was certain, was brought up a Catholic, the highest Tory had to resolve at last whether the tyranny under which England lay should go on for ever. The hesitation of the country was at an end. Danby, loyal above all to the Church and firm in his hatred of subservience to France, answered for the Tories; Compton for the High Churchmen, goaded at last into rebellion by the Declaration of Indulgence. The Earl of Devonshire, the Lord Cavendish of the Exclusion struggle, answered for the Non-conformists, who were satisfied with William's promise to procure them toleration, as well as for the general body of the Whigs. The announcement of the birth of a Prince of Wales was followed ten days after by a formal invitation to William to intervene in arms for the restoration of English liberty and the protection of the Protestant religion; it was signed by the representatives of the great parties now united against a common danger, and by some others, and was carried to the Hague by Herbert, the most popular of English seamen, who had been deprived of his command for a refusal to vote against the Test. The Invitation called on William to land with an army strong enough to justify those who signed it in rising in arms. It was sent from London on the day after the acquittal of the Bishops. The general excitement, the shouts of the boats which covered the river, the bonfires in every street, showed indeed that the country was on the eve of revolt. The army itself, on which James had implicitly relied, suddenly showed its sympathy with the people. James was at Hounslow when the news of the verdict reached him, and as he rode from the camp he heard a great shout behind him. "What is that?" he asked. "It is nothing," was the reply, "only the soldiers are glad that the Bishops are acquitted!" "Do you call that nothing?" grumbled the King. The shout told him that he stood utterly alone in his realm. The peerage, the gentry, the Bishops, the clergy, the Universities, every lawyer, every trader, every farmer, stood aloof from him. And now his very soldiers forsook him. The most devoted Catholics pressed him to give way. But to give way was to change the whole nature of his government. All show of legal rule had disappeared. Sheriffs, mayors, magistrates, appointed by the Crown in defiance of a parliamentary statute, were no real officers in the eye of the law. Even if the Houses were summoned, members returned by officers such as these could form no legal Parliament. Hardly a Minister of the Crown or a Privy Councillor exercised any lawful authority. James had brought things to such a pass that the restoration of legal government meant the absolute reversal of every act he had done. But he was in no mood to reverse his acts. His temper was only spurred to a more dogged obstinacy by danger and remonstrance. He broke up

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the camp at Hounslow and dispersed its troops in distant cantonments. He dismissed the two judges who had favoured the acquittal of the Bishops. He ordered the chancellor of each diocese to report the names of the clergy who had not read the Declaration of Indulgence. But his will broke fruitlessly against the sullen resistance which met him on every side. Not a chancellor made a return to the Commissioners, and the Commissioners were cowed into inaction by the temper of the nation. When the judges who had displayed their servility to the Crown went on circuit the gentry refused to meet them. A yet fiercer irritation was kindled by the King's resolve to supply the place of the English troops, whose temper proved unserviceable for his purposes, by draughts from the Catholic army which Tyrconnell had raised in Ireland. Even the Roman Catholic peers at the Council table protested against this measure; and six officers in a single regiment laid down their commissions rather than enroll the Irish recruits among their men. The ballad of "Lillibullero," a scurrilous attack on the Irish recruits, was sung from one end of England to the other.

An outbreak of revolt was in fact inevitable. William was straining all his resources to gather a fleet and sufficient forces, while noble after noble made their way to the Hague. The Earl of Shrewsbury brought £2,000 towards the expenses of the expedition. Edward Russell, the representative of the Whig Earl of Bedford, was followed by the representatives of great Tory houses, by the sons of the Marquis of Winchester, of Lord Danby, of Lord Peterborough, and by the High Church Lord Macclesfield. At home the Earls of Danby and Devonshire prepared silently with Lord Lumley for a rising in the North. In spite of the profound secrecy with which all was conducted, the keen instinct of Sunderland, who had stooped to purchase continuance in office at the price of a secret apostasy to Catholicism, detected the preparations of William; and the sense that his master's ruin was at hand encouraged him to tell every secret of James on the promise of a pardon for the crimes to which he had lent himself. James alone remained stubborn and insensate as of old. He had no fear of a revolt unaided by the Prince of Orange, and he believed that the threat of a French attack on Holland would render William's departure impossible. But in September the long-delayed war began, and by the greatest political error of his reign Lewis threw his forces not on Holland, but on Germany. The Dutch at once felt themselves secure; the States-General gave their sanction to William's project, and the armament he had prepared gathered rapidly in the Scheldt. The news no sooner reached England than the King passed from obstinacy to panic. By draughts from Scotland and Ireland he had mustered forty thousand men, but the temper of the troops robbed him of all trust in them. Help from France was now out of the question.

*James
gives way*

He could only fall back on the older policy of a union with the Tory party and the party of the Church. He personally appealed for support to the Bishops. He dissolved the Ecclesiastical Commission. He replaced the magistrates he had driven from office. He restored their franchises to the towns. The Chancellor carried back the Charter of London in state into the City. The Bishop of Winchester was sent to replace the expelled Fellows of Magdalen. Catholic chapels and Jesuit schools were ordered to be closed. Sunderland pressed for the instant calling of a Parliament, but to James the counsel seemed treachery, and he dismissed Sunderland from office. In answer to a declaration from the Prince of Orange, which left the question of the legitimacy of the Prince of Wales to Parliament, he produced before the peers who were in London proofs of the birth of his child. But concessions and proofs came too late. Detained by ill winds, beaten back on its first venture by a violent storm, William's fleet of six hundred transports, escorted by fifty men-of-war, anchored on the fifth of November in Torbay; and his army, thirteen thousand men strong, entered Exeter amidst the shouts of its citizens. His coming had not been looked for in the West, and for a week no great landowner joined him. But nobles and squires soon flocked to his camp, and the adhesion of Plymouth secured his rear. Insurrection broke out in Scotland. Danby, dashing at the head of a hundred horsemen into York, gave the signal for a rising. The militia met his appeal with shouts of "A free Parliament and the Protestant religion!" Peers and gentry flocked to his standard; and a march on Nottingham united his forces to those under Devonshire, who had mustered at Derby the great lords of the midland and eastern counties. Everywhere the revolt was triumphant. The garrison of Hull declared for a free Parliament. The Duke of Norfolk appeared at the head of three hundred gentlemen in the market-place at Norwich. At Oxford townsmen and gowmsmen greeted Lord Lovelace with uproarious welcome. Bristol threw open its gates to the Prince of Orange, who advanced steadily on Salisbury, where James had mustered his forces. But the King's army, broken by dissensions and mutual suspicions among its leaders, fell back in disorder; and the desertion of Lord Churchill was followed by that of so many other officers that James abandoned the struggle in despair. He fled to London to hear that his daughter Anne had left St. James's to join Danby at Nottingham. "God help me," cried the wretched King, "for my own children have forsaken me!" His spirit was utterly broken; and though he promised to call the Houses together, and despatched commissioners to Hungerford to treat with William on the terms of a free Parliament, in his heart he had resolved on flight. Parliament, he said to the few who still clung to him, would force on him concessions he could not endure; and he only waited for news of

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the escape of his wife and child to make his way to the Isle of Sheppey, where a hoy lay ready to carry him to France. Some rough fishermen, who took him for a Jesuit, prevented his escape, and a troop of Life Guards brought him back in safety to London: but it was the policy of William and his advisers to further a flight which removed their chief difficulty out of the way. It would have been hard to depose James had he remained, and perilous to keep him prisoner: but the entry of the Dutch troops into London, the silence of the Prince, and an order to leave St. James's, filled the King with fresh terrors, and taking advantage of the means of escape which were almost openly placed at his disposal, James a second time quitted London and embarked on the 23rd of December unhindered for France.

Before flying James had burnt most of the writs convoking the new Parliament, had disbanded his army, and destroyed so far as he could all means of government. For a few days there was a wild burst of panic and outrage in London, but the orderly instinct of the people soon reasserted itself. The Lords who were at the moment in London provided on their own authority as Privy Councillors for the more pressing needs of administration, and resigned their authority into William's hands on his arrival. The difficulty which arose from the absence of any person legally authorized to call Parliament together was got over by convoking the House of Peers, and forming a second body of all members who had sat in the Commons in the reign of Charles the Second, with the Aldermen and Common Councillors of London. Both bodies requested William to take on himself the provisional government of the kingdom, and to issue circular letters inviting the electors of every town and county to send up representatives to a Convention which met in January, 1689. In the new Convention both Houses were found equally resolved against any recall of or negotiation with the fallen King. They were united in entrusting a provisional authority to the Prince of Orange. But with this step their unanimity ended. The Whigs, who formed a majority in the Commons, voted a resolution which, illogical and inconsistent as it seemed, was well adapted to unite in its favour every element of the opposition to James: the Churchman who was simply scared by his bigotry, the Tory who doubted the right of a nation to depose its King, the Whig who held the theory of a contract between King and People. They voted that King James, "having endeavoured to subvert the constitution of this kingdom by breaking the original contract between King and People, and by the advice of Jesuits and other wicked persons having violated the fundamental laws, and having withdrawn himself out of the kingdom, has abdicated the Government, and that the throne is thereby vacant." But in the Lords, where the Tories were still in the ascendant, the resolution was fiercely debated. Archbishop Sancroft with the high Tories held that no crime could

bring about a forfeiture of the crown, and that James still remained King, but that his tyranny had given the nation a right to withdraw from him the actual exercise of government and to entrust his functions to a Regency. The moderate Tories under Danby's guidance admitted that James had ceased to be King, but denied that the throne could be vacant, and contended that from the moment of his abdication the sovereignty vested in his daughter Mary. It was in vain that the eloquence of Halifax backed the Whig peers in struggling for the resolution of the Commons as it stood. The plan of a Regency was lost by a single vote, and Danby's scheme was adopted by a large majority. But both the Tory courses found a sudden obstacle in William. He declined to be Regent. He had no mind, he said to Danby, to be his wife's gentleman-usher. Mary, on the other hand, refused to accept the crown save in conjunction with her husband. The two declarations put an end to the question. It was agreed that William and Mary should be acknowledged as joint sovereigns, but that the actual administration should rest with William alone. A Parliamentary Committee in which the most active member was John Somers, a young lawyer who had distinguished himself in the trial of the Bishops and who was destined to play a great part in later history, drew up a Declaration of Rights which was presented on February 13th to William and Mary by the two Houses in the banqueting-room at Whitehall. It recited the misgovernment of James, his abdication, and the resolve of the Lords and Commons to assert the ancient rights and liberties of English subjects. It condemned as illegal his establishment of an ecclesiastical commission, and his raising an army without Parliamentary sanction. It denied the right of any king to suspend or dispense with laws, or to exact money, save by consent of Parliament. It asserted for the subject a right to petition, to a free choice of representatives in Parliament, and to a pure and merciful administration of justice. It declared the right of both Houses to liberty of debate. It demanded securities for the free exercise of their religion by all Protestants, and bound the new sovereign to maintain the Protestant religion and the law and liberties of the realm. In full faith that these principles would be accepted and maintained by William and Mary, it ended with declaring the Prince and Princess of Orange King and Queen of England. At the close of the Declaration, Halifax, in the name of the Estates of the Realm, prayed them to receive the crown. William accepted the offer in his own name and his wife's, and declared in a few words the resolve of both to maintain the laws and to govern by advice of Parliament.

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[*Authorities.*—As before.]

The blunder of Lewis in choosing Germany instead of Holland for his point of attack was all but atoned for by the brilliant successes with which he opened the war. The whole country west of the Rhine was soon in his hands ; his armies were masters of the Palatinate, and penetrated even to Würtemberg. His hopes had never been higher than at the moment when the arrival of James at St. Germain dashed all hope to the ground. Lewis was at once thrown back on a war of defence, and the brutal ravages which marked the retreat of his armies from the Rhine revealed the bitterness with which his pride stooped to the necessity. The Palatinate was turned into a desert. The same ruin fell on the stately palace of the Elector at Heidelberg, on the venerable tombs of the Emperors at Speyer, on the town of the trader, on the hut of the vine-dresser. In accepting the English throne William had been moved not so much by personal ambition as by the prospect of firmly knitting together England and Holland, the two great Protestant powers whose fleets held the mastery of the sea, as his diplomacy had knit all Germany together a year before in the Treaty of Augsburg. But the advance from such a union to the formation of the European alliance against France was still delayed by the reluctance of the two branches of the House of Austria in Germany and Spain to league with Protestant States against a Catholic King, while England cared little to join in an attack on France with the view of saving the liberties of Europe. All hesitation, however, passed away when the reception of James as still King of England at St. Germain gave England just ground for a declaration of war, a step in which it was soon followed by Holland, and the two countries at once agreed to stand by one another in their struggle against France. The adhesion of Spain and the Court of Vienna in 1689 to this agreement completed the Grand Alliance which William had designed ; and when Savoy joined the allies France found herself girt in on every side save that of Switzerland with a ring of foes. The Scandinavian kingdoms alone stood aloof from the confederacy of Europe, and their neutrality was unfriendly to France. Lewis was left without a single ally save the Turk : but the energy and quickness of movement which sprang from the concentration of the power of France in a single hand still left the contest an equal one. The Empire was slow to move ; the Court of Vienna was distracted by a war with the Turks : Spain was all but powerless ; Holland and England were alone earnest in the struggle, and England could as yet give little aid in the war. One English brigade, indeed, formed from the regiments raised by James, joined the Dutch army on the Sambre, and distinguished itself under

Churchill, who had been rewarded for his treason by the title of Earl of Marlborough, in a brisk skirmish with the enemy at Walcourt. But William had as yet grave work to do at home.

In England not a sword had been drawn for James. In Scotland his tyranny had been yet greater than in England, and so far as the Lowlands went the fall of his tyranny was as rapid and complete. No sooner had he called his troops southward to meet William's invasion than Edinburgh rose in revolt. The western peasants were at once up in arms, and the Episcopalian clergy who had been the instruments of the Stuart misgovernment ever since the Restoration were rabbled and driven from their parsonages in every parish. The news of these disorders forced William to act, though he was without a show of legal authority over Scotland. On the advice of the Scotch Lords present in London, he ventured to summon a Convention similar to that which had been summoned in England, and on his own responsibility to set aside the laws which excluded Presbyterians from the Scotch Parliament. This Convention resolved that James had forfeited the crown by misgovernment, and offered it to William and Mary. The offer was accompanied by a Claim of Right framed on the model of the Declaration of Rights to which they had consented in England, but closing with a demand for the abolition of Prelacy. Both crown and claim were accepted, and the arrival of the Scotch regiments which William had brought from Holland gave strength to the new Government. Its strength was to be roughly tested. John Graham of Claverhouse, whose cruelties in the persecution of the Western Covenanters had been rewarded by high command in the Scotch army, and the title of Viscount Dundee, withdrew with a few troopers from Edinburgh to the Highlands, and appealed to the clans. In the Highlands nothing was known of English government or misgovernment: all that the Revolution meant to a Highlander was the restoration of the House of Argyll. To many of the clans it meant the restoration of lands which had been granted them on the Earl's attainder; and the Macdonalds, the Macleans, the Camerons, were as ready to join Dundee in fighting the Campbells and the Government which upheld them as they had been ready to join Montrose in the same cause forty years before. They were soon in arms. As William's Scotch regiments under General Mackay climbed the pass of Killiecrankie, Dundee charged them at the head of three thousand clansmen and swept them in headlong rout down the glen. But his death in the moment of victory broke the only bond which held the Highlanders together, and in a few weeks the host which had spread terror through the Lowlands melted helplessly away. In the next summer Mackay was able to build the strong post of Fort William in the very heart of the disaffected country, and his offers of money and pardon brought about the submission of the clans. Sir John

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Dalrymple, the Master of Stair, in whose hands the government of Scotland at this time mainly rested, had hoped that a refusal of the oath of allegiance would give grounds for a war of extermination, and free Scotland for ever from its terror of the Highlanders. He had provided for the expected refusal by orders of a ruthless severity. "Your troops," he wrote to the officer in command, "will destroy entirely the country of Lochaber, Lochiel's lands, Keppoch's, Glengarry's, and Glencoe's. Your powers shall be large enough. I hope the soldiers will not trouble the Government with prisoners." But his hopes were disappointed by the readiness with which the clans accepted the offers of the Government. All submitted in good time save Macdonald of Glencoe, whose pride delayed his taking of the oath till six days after the latest date fixed by the proclamation. Foiled in his larger hopes of destruction, Dalrymple seized eagerly on the pretext given by Macdonald, and an order "for the extirpation of that sect of robbers" was laid before William and received the royal signature. "The work," wrote the Master of Stair to Colonel Hamilton who undertook it, "must be secret and sudden." The troops were chosen from among the Campbells, the deadly foes of the clansmen of Glencoe, and quartered peacefully among the Macdonalds for twelve days, till all suspicion of their errand disappeared. At daybreak they fell on their hosts, and in a few moments thirty of the clansfolk lay dead on the snow. The rest, sheltered by a storm, escaped to the mountains to perish for the most part of cold and hunger. "The only thing I regret," said the Master of Stair when the news reached him, "is that any got away." Whatever horror the Massacre of Glencoe has roused in later days, few save Dalrymple knew of it at the time. The peace of the Highlands enabled the work of reorganization to go on quietly at Edinburgh. In accepting the Claim of Right with its repudiation of Prelacy, William had in effect restored the Presbyterian Church, and its restoration was accompanied by the revival of the Westminster Confession as a standard of faith, and by the passing of an Act which abolished lay patronage. Against the Toleration Act which the King proposed, the Scotch Parliament stood firm. But the King was as firm in his purpose as the Parliament. So long as he reigned, William declared in memorable words, there should be no persecution for conscience' sake. "We never could be of that mind that violence was suited to the advancing of true religion, nor do we intend that our authority shall ever be a tool to the irregular passions of any party."

It was not in Scotland, however, but in Ireland that James and Lewis hoped to arrest William's progress. In the middle of his reign, when his chief aim was to provide against the renewed depression of his fellow religionists at his death by any Protestant successor, James had resolved (if we may trust the statement of the French ambassador)

to place Ireland in such a position of independence that she might serve as a refuge for his Catholic subjects. Lord Clarendon was dismissed from the Lord-Lieutenancy and succeeded in the charge of the island by the Catholic Earl of Tyrconnel. The army, purged of its Protestant soldiers, was entrusted to Catholic officers. Catholics were introduced into the Council, and made judges, sheriffs, and magistrates. The settlers were disarmed, and excluded from the public service. The towns, which had been made wholly Protestant by the settlement of James the First, were compelled to accept new charters providing that two-thirds in their corporations should be Catholic. In a brief time the English ascendancy was overthrown, and the life and fortune of the English settlers were at the mercy of the natives on whom they had trampled since Cromwell's day. Panic spread through the island. When Lord Clarendon left the Lord-Lieutenancy, fifteen hundred Protestant families fled in terror oversea. Wild rumours spread, and a massacre was believed to be at hand. The Protestants of the north drew together at Enniskillen and Londonderry, and prepared for self-defence. The King's flight raised the agitation in Ireland to its height. The English of the north proclaimed William King. Tyrconnel, who had raised an army of nearly forty thousand men, scarcely clothed or armed, called on James to return to Ireland, and at the news of his coming with officers, ammunition, and a supply of money provided by the French King, Tyrconnel met him at Cork, and was raised to a dukedom. On James' entry into Dublin, a flag was hoisted over the Castle with the words embroidered on its folds, "Now or never, now and for ever." The aim of James was to carry out an invasion of England with the army that Tyrconnel was said to have at his disposal. But his hopes were ruined by the conflict between his English and Irish supporters. To Tyrconnel and the Irish leaders the King's plans were utterly distasteful. Their policy was that of Ireland for the Irish, and the first step was to drive out the adherents of William who still stood at bay in Ulster. James called a Parliament to Dublin, and meanwhile marched with the troops to Londonderry, where seven thousand five hundred trained soldiers and some four thousand volunteers found shelter behind a weak wall, manned by a few old guns, and destitute even of a ditch. But the desperate Englishmen behind the wall made up for its weakness. So fierce were their sallies, so crushing the repulse of his attack, that the King's general, Hamilton, at last turned the siege into a blockade. The Protestants died of hunger in the streets, and of the fever which comes of hunger, but the cry of the town was still "No Surrender." The siege had lasted a hundred and five days, and only two days' food remained in Londonderry, when on the 28th of July an English ship broke the boom across the river, and the besiegers sullenly withdrew. Their defeat was turned into a rout by the men of Enniskillen, who struggled

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through a bog to charge an Irish force of double their number at Newtown Butler, and drove horse and foot before them in a panic which soon spread through Hamilton's whole army. The routed soldiers fell back on Dublin, where James was holding the Parliament he had summoned. Nearly all the members were Irishmen and Catholics, and their aim was to undo the confiscations of the last forty-eight years which had given the soil to English settlers, and to get back Ireland for the Irish. An Act declared that the proprietors of 1641 whose lands had been confiscated by Cromwell's Government had received the King's solemn pledge of restoration, and enacted that where the pledge had been broken by the Act of Settlement, they should now at once enter on their old lands. An Act of Attainder proclaimed more than two thousand landowners to be conditionally attainted of treason; hastily and clumsily drawn up, launched in the panic of civil war, its object was to restore by a new forfeiture lands which the English had confiscated, and to find resources to carry on the war. Complete religious equality was proclaimed by a statute far in advance of the age. By another it was ordered that Catholics should pay tithes to their own priests, and Protestants to their clergy, who were left full liberty of teaching. A further Act claimed for Ireland her ancient constitutional right to be governed by laws made in her own Parliament under the King, and not by legislation of the English Parliament.

Through the long agony of Londonderry, through the proscription and forfeitures of the new Irish rule, William was forced to look helplessly on. The best troops in the army which had been mustered at Hounslow had been sent with Marlborough to the Sambre; and the political embarrassments which grew up around the Government made it impossible to spare a man of those who remained. The great ends of the Revolution were indeed secured, even amidst the confusion and intrigue which we shall have to describe, by the common consent of all. On the great questions of civil liberty Whig and Tory were now at one. The Declaration of Rights was turned into the Bill of Rights by the Convention which had now become a Parliament, and the passing of this measure in 1689 restored to the monarchy the character which it had lost under the Tudors and the Stuarts. The right of the people through its representatives to depose the King, to change the order of succession, and to set on the throne whom they would, was now established. All claim of Divine Right, or hereditary right independent of the law, was formally put an end to by the election of William and Mary. Since their day no English sovereign has been able to advance any claim to the crown save a claim which rested on a particular clause in a particular Act of Parliament. William, Mary, and Anne were sovereigns simply by virtue of the Bill of Rights. George the First and his successors have been sovereigns solely by

virtue of the Act of Settlement. An English monarch is now as much the creature of an Act of Parliament as the pettiest tax-gatherer in his realm. Nor was the older character of the kingship alone restored. The older constitution returned with it. Bitter experience had taught England the need of restoring to the Parliament its absolute power over taxation. The grant of revenue for life to the last two kings had been the secret of their anti-national policy, and the first act of the new legislature was to restrict the grant of the royal revenue to a term of four years. William was bitterly galled by the provision. "The gentlemen of England trusted King James," he said, "who was an enemy of their religion and their laws, and they will not trust me, by whom their religion and their laws have been preserved." But the only change brought about in the Parliament by this burst of royal anger was a resolve henceforth to make the vote of supplies an annual one, a resolve which, in spite of the slight changes introduced by the next Tory Parliament, soon became an invariable rule. A change of almost as great importance established the control of Parliament over the army. The hatred to a standing army which had begun under Cromwell had only deepened under James; but with the continental war the existence of an army was a necessity. As yet, however, it was a force which had no legal existence. The soldier was simply an ordinary subject; there were no legal means of punishing strictly military offences or of providing for military discipline: and the assumed power of billeting soldiers in private houses had been taken away by the law. The difficulty both of Parliament and the army was met by the Mutiny Act. The powers requisite for discipline in the army were conferred by Parliament on its officers, and provision was made for the pay of the force, but both pay and disciplinary powers were granted only for a single year. The Mutiny Act, like the grant of supplies, has remained annual ever since the Revolution; and as it is impossible for the State to exist without supplies, or for the army to exist without discipline and pay, the annual assembly of Parliament has become a matter of absolute necessity. The greatest constitutional change which our history has witnessed was thus brought about in an indirect but perfectly efficient way. The dangers which experience had lately shown lay in the Parliament itself were met with far less skill. Under Charles, England had seen a Parliament, which had been returned in a moment of reaction, maintained without fresh election for eighteen years. A Triennial Bill, which limited the duration of a Parliament to three, was passed with little opposition, but fell before the dislike and veto of William. To counteract the influence which a king might obtain by crowding the Commons with officials proved a yet harder task. A Place Bill, which excluded all persons in the employment of the State from a seat in Parliament, was defeated, and wisely defeated, in the Lords. The

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modern course of providing against a pressure from the Court or the administration by excluding all minor officials, but of preserving the hold of Parliament over the great officers of State by admitting them into its body, seems as yet to have occurred to nobody. It is equally strange that while vindicating its right of Parliamentary control over the public revenue and the army, the Bill of Rights should have left by its silence the control of trade to the Crown. It was only a few years later, in the discussions on the charter granted to the East India Company, that the Houses silently claimed and obtained the right of regulating English commerce.

The religious results of the Revolution were hardly less weighty than the political. In the common struggle against Catholicism Churchman and Nonconformist had found themselves, as we have seen, strangely at one; and schemes of Comprehension became suddenly popular. But with the fall of James the union of the two bodies abruptly ceased: and the establishment of a Presbyterian Church in Scotland, together with the "rabbling" of the Episcopalian clergy in its western shires, revived the old bitterness of the clergy towards the dissidents. The Convocation rejected the scheme of the Latitudinarians for such modifications of the Prayer-book as would render possible a return of the Nonconformists, and a Comprehension Bill which was introduced into Parliament failed to pass in spite of the King's strenuous support. William's attempt to partially admit Dissenters to civil equality by a repeal of the Corporation Act proved equally fruitless; but the passing of a Toleration Act in 1689 practically established freedom of worship. Whatever the religious effect of the failure of the Latitudinarian schemes may have been, its political effect has been of the highest value. At no time had the Church been so strong or so popular as at the Revolution, and the reconciliation of the Nonconformists would have doubled its strength. It is doubtful whether the disinclination to all political change which has characterized it during the last two hundred years would have been affected by such a change; but it is certain that the power of opposition which it has wielded would have been enormously increased. As it was, the Toleration Act established a group of religious bodies whose religious opposition to the Church forced them to support the measures of progress which the Church opposed. With religious forces on the one side and on the other England has escaped the great stumbling-block in the way of nations where the cause of religion has become identified with that of political reaction. A secession from within its own ranks weakened the Church still more. The doctrine of Divine Right had a strong hold on the body of the clergy, though they had been driven from their other favourite doctrine of passive obedience, and the requirement of the oath of allegiance to the new sovereigns from all persons in public functions was resented as an intolerable wrong by almost every parson. Sancroft, the Arch-

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bishop of Canterbury, with a few prelates and a large number of the higher clergy, absolutely refused the oath, treated all who took it as schismatics, and on their deprivation by Act of Parliament regarded themselves and their adherents, who were known as Nonjurors, as the only members of the true Church of England. The bulk of the clergy bowed to necessity, but their bitterness against the new Government was fanned into a flame by the religious policy announced in this assertion of the supremacy of Parliament over the Church, and the deposition of bishops by an act of the legislature. The new prelates, such as Tillotson, the Archbishop of Canterbury, and Burnet, Bishop of Salisbury, were men of learning and piety; but it was only among Whigs and Latitudinarians that William and his successors could find friends among the clergy, and it was mainly to these that they were driven to entrust the higher offices of the Church. The result was a severance between the higher dignitaries and the mass of the clergy which broke the strength of the Church; and till the time of George the Third its fiercest strife was waged within its own ranks. But the resentment at the measure which brought this strife about already added to the difficulties which William had to encounter.

Yet greater difficulties arose from the temper of his Parliament. In the Commons the bulk of the members were Whigs, and their first aim was to redress the wrongs which the Whig party had suffered during the last two reigns. The attainder of Lord Russell was reversed. The judgements against Sidney, Cornish, and Alice Lisle were annulled. In spite of the opinion of the judges that the sentence on Titus Oates had been against law, the Lords refused to reverse it, but even Oates received a pardon and a pension. The Whigs however wanted not merely the redress of wrongs but the punishment of the wrong-doers. Whig and Tory had been united, indeed, by the tyranny of James; both parties had shared in the Revolution, and William had striven to prolong their union by joining the leaders of both in his first Ministry. He named the Tory Earl of Danby Lord President, made the Whig Earl of Shrewsbury Secretary of State, and gave the Privy Seal to Lord Halifax, a trimmer between the one party and the other. But save in a moment of common oppression or common danger union was impossible. The Whigs clamoured for the punishment of Tories who had joined in the illegal acts of Charles and of James, and refused to pass the Bill of General Indemnity which William laid before them. William on the other hand was resolved that no bloodshed or proscription should follow the revolution which had placed him on the throne. His temper was averse from persecution; he had no great love for either of the battling parties; and above all he saw that internal strife would be fatal to the effective prosecution of the war. While the cares of his new throne were chaining him to England, the confederacy of which he was the guiding spirit was proving too slow and

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too loosely compacted to cope with the swift and resolute movements of France. The armies of Lewis had fallen back within their own borders, but only to turn fiercely at bay. Even the junction of the English and Dutch fleets failed to assure them the mastery of the seas. The English navy was paralyzed by the corruption which prevailed in the public service, as well as by the sloth and incapacity of its commander. The services of Admiral Herbert at the Revolution had been rewarded by the Earldom of Torrington and the command of the fleet ; but his indolence suffered the seas to be swept by French privateers, and his want of seamanship was shown in an indecisive engagement with a French squadron in Bantry Bay. Meanwhile Lewis was straining every nerve to win the command of the Channel ; the French dockyards were turning out ship after ship, and the galleys of the Mediterranean fleet were brought round to reinforce the fleet at Brest. A French victory off the English coast would have brought serious political danger, for the reaction of popular feeling which had begun in favour of James had been increased by the pressure of the war, by the taxation, by the expulsion of the Non-jurors and the discontent of the clergy, by the panic of the Tories at the spirit of vengeance which broke out among the triumphant Whigs, and above all by the presence of James in Ireland. A new party, that of the Jacobites or adherents of King James, was just forming ; and it was feared that a Jacobite rising would follow the appearance of a French fleet on the coast. In such a state of affairs William judged rightly that to yield to the Whig thirst for vengeance would have been to ruin his cause. He dissolved the Parliament, which had refused to pass a Bill of Indemnity for all political offences, and called a new one to meet in March. The result of the election proved that he had only expressed the general temper of the nation. The boroughs had been alienated from the Whigs by their refusal to pass the Indemnity, and their attempts to secure the Corporations for their own party ; while in the counties parson after parson led his flock to the poll against the Whigs. In the new Parliament the bulk of the members proved Tories. William accepted the resignation of the more violent Whigs among his councillors, and placed Danby at the head of affairs. In May the Houses gave their assent to the Act of Grace. The King's aim in this sudden change of front was not only to meet the change in the national spirit, but to secure a momentary lull in English faction which would suffer him to strike at the rebellion in Ireland. While James was King in Dublin it was hopeless to crush treason at home ; and so urgent was the danger, so precious every moment in the present juncture of affairs, that William could trust no one to bring the work as sharply to an end as was needful save himself.

In the autumn of the year 1689 the Duke of Schomberg, an exiled Huguenot who had followed William to England, had been sent with

a small force to Ulster, but his landing had only roused Ireland to a fresh enthusiasm. The ranks of the Irish army were filled up at once, and James was able to face the Duke at Drogheda with a force double that of his opponent. Schomberg, whose men were all raw recruits whom it was hardly possible to trust at such odds in the field, entrenched himself at Dundalk, in a camp where pestilence soon swept off half his men, till winter parted the two armies. During the next six months James, whose treasury was utterly exhausted, sought to fill it by a coinage of brass money; his soldiers lacked war material, arms, and stores. William meanwhile was toiling hard on the other side of the Channel to bring the Irish war to an end. Schomberg was strengthened during the winter with men and stores, and when the spring came his force reached thirty thousand men. Lewis too felt the importance of the coming struggle; and seven thousand picked Frenchmen, under the Count of Lauzun, were despatched to reinforce the army of James. They had hardly arrived when William himself landed at Carrickfergus, and pushed rapidly to the south. His columns soon caught sight of the Irish forces, posted strongly behind the Boyne. "I am glad to see you, gentlemen," William cried with a burst of delight; "and if you escape me now the fault will be mine." Early next morning the whole English army plunged into the river. The Irish foot broke in a sudden panic, but the horse made so gallant a stand that Schomberg fell in repulsing its charge, and for a time the English centre was held in check. With the arrival of William, however, at the head of the left wing all was over. James, who had throughout been striving to secure the withdrawal of his troops rather than frankly to meet William's onset, forsook his troops as they fell back in retreat upon Dublin, and took ship at Kinsale for France.

But though the beaten army was forced by William's pursuit to abandon the capital, it was still resolute to fight. The incapacity of the Stuart sovereign moved the scorn even of his followers. "Change kings with us," an Irish officer replied to an Englishman who taunted him with the panic of the Boyne, "change kings with us and we will fight you again." They did better in fighting without a king. The French, indeed, withdrew scornfully from the routed army as it stood at bay beneath the walls of Limerick. "Do you call these ramparts?" sneered Lauzun: "the English will need no cannon; they may batter them down with roasted apples." But twenty thousand men remained with Sarsfield, a brave and skilful officer who had seen service in England and abroad; and his daring surprise of the English ammunition train, his repulse of a desperate attempt to storm the town, and the approach of the winter, forced William to raise the siege. The course of the war abroad recalled him to England, and he left his work to one who was quietly proving himself a master in the art of war. Churchill, now Earl of Marlborough, had been recalled from

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Flanders to command a division which landed in the south of Ireland. Only a few days remained before the operations were interrupted by the coming of winter, but the few days were turned to good account. Cork, with five thousand men behind its walls, was taken in forty-eight hours. Kinsale a few days later shared the fate of Cork. Winter indeed left Connacht and the greater part of Munster in Irish hands; the French force remained untouched, and the coming of a new French general, St. Ruth, with arms and supplies encouraged the insurgents. But the summer of 1691 had hardly opened when Ginkell, the new English general, by his seizure of Athlone forced on a battle with the combined French and Irish forces at Aughrim, in which St. Ruth fell on the field and his army was utterly broken. The defeat left Limerick alone in its revolt, and even Sarsfield bowed to the necessity of a surrender. Two treaties were drawn up between the Irish and English generals. By the first it was stipulated that the Catholics of Ireland should enjoy such privileges in the exercise of their religion as were consistent with law, or as they had enjoyed in the reign of Charles the Second. The Crown pledged itself also to summon a Parliament as soon as possible, and to endeavour to procure to the good Roman Catholics security "from any disturbance upon the account of the said religion." By the military treaty those of Sarsfield's soldiers who would were suffered to follow him to France; and ten thousand men, the whole of his force, chose exile rather than life in a land where all hope of national freedom was lost. When the wild cry of the women who stood watching their departure was hushed, the silence of death settled down upon Ireland. For a hundred years the country remained at peace, but the peace was a peace of despair. The most terrible legal tyranny under which a nation has ever groaned avenged the rising under Tyrconnel. The conquered people, in Swift's bitter words of contempt, became "hewers of wood and drawers of water" to their conquerors. With a people held in close bondage by a series of atrocious penal laws, all dream of a national revolt passed away; and till the eve of the French Revolution Ireland ceased to be a source of political danger to England.

Short as the struggle of Ireland had been, it had served Lewis well, for while William was busy at the Boyne a series of brilliant successes was restoring the fortunes of France. In Flanders the Duke of Luxembourg won the victory of Fleurus. In Italy Marshal Catinat defeated the Duke of Savoy. A success of even greater moment, the last victory which France was fated to win at sea, placed for an instant the very throne of William in peril. William never showed a cooler courage than in quitting England to fight James in Ireland at a moment when the Jacobites were only looking for the appearance of a French fleet on the coast to rise in revolt. He was hardly on his way in fact when Tourville, the French admiral, put to sea with strict orders

to fight. He was met by the English and Dutch fleet at Beachy Head, and the Dutch division at once engaged. Though utterly outnumbered, it fought stubbornly in hope of Herbert's aid; but Herbert, whether from cowardice or treason, looked idly on while his allies were crushed, and withdrew at nightfall to seek shelter in the Thames. The danger was as great as the shame, for Tourville's victory left him master of the Channel, and his presence off the coast of Devon invited the Jacobites to revolt. But whatever the discontent of Tories and Non-jurors against William might be, all signs of it vanished with the landing of the French. The burning of Teignmouth by Tourville's sailors called the whole coast to arms; and the news of the Boyne put an end to all dreams of a rising in favour of James. The natural reaction against a cause which looked for foreign aid gave a new strength for the moment to William in England; but ill luck still hung around the Grand Alliance. So urgent was the need for his presence abroad that William left, as we have seen, his work in Ireland undone, and crossed in the spring of 1691 to Flanders. It was the first time since the days of Henry the Eighth that an English king had appeared on the Continent at the head of an English army. But the slowness of the allies again baffled William's hopes. He was forced to look on with a small army while a hundred thousand Frenchmen closed suddenly around Mons, the strongest fortress of the Netherlands, and made themselves masters of it in the presence of Lewis. The humiliation was great, and for the moment all trust in William's fortune faded away. In England the blow was felt more heavily than elsewhere. The Jacobite hopes which had been crushed by the indignation at Tourville's descent woke up to a fresh life. Leading Tories, such as Lord Clarendon and Lord Dartmouth, opened communications with James; and some of the leading Whigs, with the Earl of Shrewsbury at their head, angered at what they regarded as William's ingratitude, followed them in their course. In Lord Marlborough's mind the state of affairs raised hopes of a double treason. His design was to bring about a revolt which would drive William from the throne without replacing James, and give the crown to his daughter Anne, whose affection for Marlborough's wife would place the real government of England in his hands. A yet greater danger lay in the treason of Admiral Russell, who had succeeded Torrington in command of the fleet. Russell's defection would have removed the one obstacle to a new attempt which James was resolved to make for the recovery of his throne, and which Lewis had been brought to support. In the beginning of 1692 an army of thirty thousand troops was quartered in Normandy in readiness for a descent on the English coast. Transports were provided for their passage, and Tourville was ordered to cover it with the French fleet at Brest. Though Russell had twice as many ships as his opponent, the

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belief in his purpose of betraying William's cause was so strong that Lewis ordered Tourville to engage the allied fleets at any disadvantage. But whatever Russell's intrigues may have meant, he was no Herbert. "Do not think I will let the French triumph over us in our own seas," he warned his Jacobite correspondents. "If I meet them I will fight them, even though King James were on board." When the allied fleets met the French off the heights of Barfleur his fierce attack proved Russell true to his word. Tourville's fifty vessels were no match for the ninety ships of the allies, and after five hours of a brave struggle the French were forced to fly along the rocky coast of the Cotentin. Twenty-two of their vessels reached St. Malo; thirteen anchored with Tourville in the bays of Cherbourg and La Hogue; but their pursuers were soon upon them, and in a bold attack the English boats burnt ship after ship under the eyes of the French army. All dread of the invasion was at once at an end; and the throne of William was secured by the detection and suppression of the Jacobite conspiracy at home which the invasion was intended to support. But the overthrow of the Jacobite hopes was the least result of the victory of La Hogue. France ceased from that moment to exist as a great naval power; for though her fleet was soon recruited to its former strength, the confidence of her sailors was lost, and not even Tourville ventured again to tempt in battle the fortune of the seas. A new hope, too, dawned on the Grand Alliance. The spell of French triumph was broken. Namur indeed surrendered to Lewis, and the Duke of Luxembourg maintained the glory of the French arms by a victory over William at Steinkirk. But the battle was a useless butchery in which the conquerors lost as many men as the conquered. France felt herself disheartened and exhausted by the vastness of her efforts. The public misery was extreme. "The country," Fénelon wrote frankly to Lewis, "is a vast hospital." In 1693 the campaign of Lewis in the Netherlands proved a fruitless one, and Luxembourg was hardly able to beat off the fierce attack of William at Neerwinden. For the first time in his long career of prosperity Lewis bent his pride to seek peace at the sacrifice of his conquests, and though the effort was vain it told that the daring hopes of French ambition were at an end, and that the work of the Grand Alliance was practically done.

In outer seeming, the Revolution of 1688 had only transferred the sovereignty over England from James to William and Mary. In actual fact it had given a powerful and decisive impulse to the great constitutional progress which was transferring the sovereignty from the King to the House of Commons. From the moment when its sole right to tax the nation was established by the Bill of Rights, and when its own resolve settled the practice of granting none but annual supplies to the Crown, the House of Commons became the supreme power in the State. It was impossible permanently to

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suspend its sittings, or in the long run to oppose its will, when either course must end in leaving the Government penniless, in breaking up the army and navy, and in suspending the public service. But though the constitutional change was complete, the machinery of government was far from having adapted itself to the new conditions of political life which such a change brought about. However powerful the will of the House of Commons might be, it had no means of bringing its will directly to bear upon the conduct of public affairs. The Ministers who had charge of them were not its servants, but the servants of the Crown; it was from the King that they looked for direction, and to the King that they held themselves responsible. By impeachment or more indirect means the Commons could force a King to remove a Minister who contradicted their will; but they had no constitutional power to replace the fallen statesman by a Minister who would carry out their will. The result was the growth of a temper in the Lower House which drove William and his Ministers to despair. It became as corrupt, as jealous of power, as fickle in its resolves and factious in spirit, as bodies always become whose consciousness of the possession of power is untempered by a corresponding consciousness of the practical difficulties or the moral responsibilities of the power which they possess. It grumbled at the ill-success of the war, at the suffering of the merchants, at the discontent of the Churchmen; and it blamed the Crown and its Ministers for all at which it grumbled. But it was hard to find out what policy or measures it would have preferred. Its mood changed, as William bitterly complained, with every hour. It was, in fact, without the guidance of recognized leaders, without adequate information, and destitute of that organization out of which alone a definite policy can come. Nothing better proves the inborn political capacity of the English mind than that it should at once have found a simple and effective solution of such a difficulty as this. The credit of the solution belongs to a man whose political character was of the lowest type. Robert, Earl of Sunderland, had been a Minister in the later days of Charles the Second; and he had remained Minister through almost all the reign of James. He had held office at last only by compliance with the worst tyranny of his master, and by a feigned conversion to the Roman Catholic faith; but the ruin of James was no sooner certain than he had secured pardon and protection from William by the betrayal of the master to whom he had sacrificed his conscience and his honour. Since the Revolution Sunderland had striven only to escape public observation in a country retirement, but at this crisis he came secretly forward to bring his unequalled sagacity to the aid of the King. His counsel was to recognize practically the new power of the Commons by choosing the Ministers of the Crown exclusively from among the members of the party which was strongest in the Lower House. As yet no

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Ministry in the modern sense of the term had existed. Each great officer of state Treasurer or Secretary or Lord Privy Seal, had in theory been independent of his fellow-officers ; each was the "King's servant" and responsible for the discharge of his special duties to the King alone. From time to time one Minister, like Clarendon, might tower above the rest and give a general direction to the whole course of government, but the predominance was merely personal and never permanent ; and even in such a case there were colleagues who were ready to oppose or even impeach the statesman who overshadowed them. It was common for a King to choose or dismiss a single Minister without any communication with the rest ; and so far was even William from aiming at ministerial unity, that he had striven to reproduce in the Cabinet itself the balance of parties which prevailed outside it. Sunderland's plan aimed at replacing these independent Ministers by a homogeneous Ministry, chosen from the same party, representing the same sentiments, and bound together for common action by a sense of responsibility and loyalty to the party to which it belonged. Not only would such a plan secure a unity of administration which had been unknown till then, but it gave an organization to the House of Commons which it had never had before. The Ministers who were representatives of the majority of its members became the natural leaders of the House. Small factions were drawn together into the two great parties which supported or opposed the Ministry of the Crown. Above all it brought about in the simplest possible way the solution of the problem which had so long vexed both King and Commons. The new Ministers ceased in all but name to be the King's servants. They became simply an executive Committee representing the will of the majority of the House of Commons, and capable of being easily set aside by it and replaced by a similar Committee whenever the balance of power shifted from one side of the House to the other.

**The
Junto**

Such was the origin of that system of representative government which has gone on from Sunderland's day to our own. But though William showed his own political genius in understanding and adopting Sunderland's plan, it was only slowly and tentatively that he ventured to carry it out in practice. In spite of the temporary reaction Sunderland believed that the balance of political power was really on the side of the Whigs. Not only were they the natural representatives of the principles of the Revolution, and the supporters of the war, but they stood far above their opponents in parliamentary and administrative talent. At their head stood a group of statesmen, whose close union in thought and action gained them the name of the Junto. Russell, as yet the most prominent of these, was the victor of La Hogue ; John Somers was an advocate who had sprung into fame by his defence of the Seven Bishops ; Lord Wharton was known as the

most dexterous and unscrupulous of party managers ; and Montague was fast making a reputation as the ablest of English financiers. In spite of such considerations, however, it is doubtful whether William would have thrown himself into the hands of a purely Whig Ministry but for the attitude which the Tories took towards the war. Exhausted as France was the war still languished, and the allies failed to win a single victory. Meanwhile English trade was all but ruined by the French privateers, and the nation stood aghast at the growth of taxation. The Tories, always cold in their support of the Grand Alliance, now became eager for peace. The Whigs, on the other hand, remained resolute in their support of the war. William, in whose mind the contest with France was the first object, was thus driven slowly to follow Sunderland's advice. Montague had already met the strain of the war by bringing forward a plan which had been previously suggested by a Scotchman, William Paterson, for the creation of a National Bank. While serving as an ordinary bank for the supply of capital, the Bank of England, as the new institution was called, was in reality an instrument for procuring loans from the people at large by the formal pledge of the State to repay the money advanced on the demand of the lender. A loan of £1,200,000 was thrown open to public subscription ; and the subscribers to it were formed into a chartered company in whose hands the negotiations of all after loans was placed. In ten days the list of subscribers was full. The discovery of the resources afforded by the national wealth revealed a fresh source of power ; and the rapid growth of the National Debt, as the mass of these loans to the State came to be called, gave a new security against the return of the Stuarts, whose first work would have been the repudiation of the claims of the lenders or "fundholders." The evidence of the public credit gave strength to William abroad, while at home a new unity of action followed the change which Sunderland counselled and which was quietly carried out. One by one the Tory Ministers, already weakened by Montague's success, were replaced by members of the Junto. Russell went to the Admiralty ; Somers was named Lord Keeper ; Shrewsbury, Secretary of State ; Montague, Chancellor of the Exchequer. Even before this change was completed its effect was felt. The House of Commons took a new tone. The Whig majority of its members, united and disciplined, moved quietly under the direction of their natural leaders, the Whig Ministers of the Crown. It was this which enabled William to face the shock which was given to his position by the death of Queen Mary. The renewed attacks of the Tories showed what fresh hopes had been raised by William's lonely position. The Parliament, however, whom the King had just conciliated by assenting at last to the Triennial Bill, went steadily with the Ministry ; and its fidelity was rewarded by triumph abroad. In 1695 the Alliance succeeded for the

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first time in winning a great triumph over France in the capture of Namur. The King skilfully took advantage of his victory to call a new Parliament, and its members at once showed their temper by a vigorous support of the war. The Houses, indeed, were no mere tools in William's hands. They forced him to resume prodigal grants of lands made to his Dutch favourites, and to remove his ministers in Scotland who had aided in a wild project for a Scotch colony on the Isthmus of Darien. They claimed a right to name members of the new Board of Trade, established for the regulation of commercial matters. They rejected a proposal, never henceforth to be revived, for a censorship of the Press. But there was no factious opposition. So strong was the ministry that Montague was enabled to face the general distress that was caused for the moment by a reform of the currency, which had been reduced by clipping to far less than its nominal value; and in spite of the financial embarrassments created by the reform, William was able to hold the French at bay.

But the war was fast drawing to a close. Lewis was simply fighting to secure more favourable terms, and William, though he held that "the only way of treating with France is with our swords in our hands," was almost as eager as Lewis for a peace. The defection of Savoy made it impossible to carry out the original aim of the Alliance, that of forcing France back to its position at the Treaty of Westphalia, and the question of the Spanish succession was drawing closer every day. The obstacles which were thrown in the way of an accommodation by Spain and the Empire were set aside in a private negotiation between William and Lewis, and the year 1697 saw the conclusion of the Peace of Ryswick. In spite of failure and defeat in the field William's policy had won. The victories of France remained barren in the face of a United Europe; and her exhaustion forced her, for the first time since Richelieu's day, to consent to a disadvantageous peace. On the side of the Empire France withdrew from every annexation save that of Strassburg which she had made since the Treaty of Nimeguen, and Strassburg would have been restored but for the unhappy delays of the German negotiators. To Spain Lewis restored Luxemburg and all the conquests he had made during the war in the Netherlands. The Duke of Lorraine was replaced in his dominions. A far more important provision of the peace pledged Lewis to an abandonment of the Stuart cause and a recognition of William as King of England. For Europe in general the Peace of Ryswick was little more than a truce. But for England it was the close of a long and obstinate struggle and the opening of a new æra of political history. It was the final and decisive defeat of the conspiracy which had gone on between Lewis and the Stuarts ever since the Treaty of Dover, the conspiracy to turn England into a Roman Catholic country and into a dependency of France. But it

was even more than this. It was the definite establishment of England as the centre of European resistance against all attempts to overthrow the balance of power.

Section IX.—Marlborough. 1698—1712.

[*Authorities.*—Lord Macaulay's great work, which practically ends at the Peace of Ryswick, has been continued by Lord Stanhope ("History of England under Queen Anne") during this period. For Marlborough himself the main authority must be the Duke's biography by Archdeacon Coxe, with his "Despatches." The French side of the war and negotiations has been carefully given by M. Martin ("Histoire de France") in what is the most accurate and judicious portion of his work. Swift's Journal to Stella, and his political tracts and Bolingbroke's correspondence shew the character of the Tory opposition.]

What had bowed the pride of Lewis to the humiliating terms of the Peace of Ryswick was not so much the exhaustion of France as the need of preparing for a new and greater struggle. The death of the King of Spain, Charles the Second, was known to be at hand; and with him ended the male line of the Austrian princes, who for two hundred years had occupied the Spanish throne. How strangely Spain had fallen from its high estate in Europe the wars of Lewis had abundantly shown, but so vast was the extent of its empire, so enormous the resources which still remained to it, that under a vigorous ruler men believed its old power would at once return. Its sovereign was still master of some of the noblest provinces of the Old World and the New, of Spain itself, of the Milanese, of Naples and Sicily, of the Netherlands, of Southern America, of the noble islands of the Spanish Main. To add such a dominion as this to the dominion either of Lewis or of the Emperor would be to undo at a blow the work of European independence which William had wrought; and it was with a view to prevent either of these results that William freed his hands by the Peace of Ryswick. At this moment the claimants of the Spanish succession were three: the French Dauphin, a son of the Spanish King's elder sister; the Electoral Prince of Bavaria, a grandson of his younger sister; and the Emperor, who was a son of Charles's aunt. In strict law—if there had been any law really applicable to the matter—the claim of the last was the strongest of the three; for the claim of the Dauphin was barred by an express renunciation of all right to the succession at his mother's marriage with Lewis the Fourteenth, a renunciation which had been ratified at the Treaty of the Pyrenees; and a similar renunciation barred the claim of the Bavarian candidate. The claim of the Emperor was more remote in blood, but it was barred by no renunciation at all. William, however, was as resolute in the interests of Europe to repulse the claim of the Emperor as to repulse that of Lewis; and it was the consciousness

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that the Austrian succession was inevitable if the war continued and Spain remained a member of the Grand Alliance, in arms against France and leagued with the Emperor, which made him suddenly conclude the Peace of Ryswick. Had England and Holland shared William's temper he would have insisted on the succession of the Electoral Prince to the whole Spanish dominions. But both were weary of war. In England the peace was at once followed by the reduction of the army at the demand of the House of Commons to fourteen thousand men; and a clamour had already begun for the disbanding even of these. It was necessary to bribe the two rival claimants to a waiver of their claims; and by the First Partition Treaty, concluded in 1698, between England, Holland, and France, the succession of the Electoral Prince was recognized on condition of the cession by Spain of its Italian possessions to his two rivals. The Milanese was to pass to the Emperor; the Two Sicilies, with the border province of Guipuzcoa, to France. But the arrangement was hardly concluded when the death of the Bavarian prince made the Treaty waste paper. Austria and France were left face to face, and a terrible struggle, in which the success of either would be equally fatal to the independence of Europe, seemed unavoidable. The peril was greater that the temper of England left William without the means of backing his policy by arms. The suffering which the war had caused to the merchant class, and the pressure of the debt and taxation it entailed, were waking every day a more bitter resentment in the people, and the general discontent avenged itself on William and the party who had backed his policy. The King's natural partiality to his Dutch favourites, the confidence he gave to Sunderland, his cold and sullen demeanour, his endeavours to maintain the standing army, robbed him of popularity. In the elections held at the close of 1698 a Tory majority pledged to peace was returned to the House of Commons. The Junto lost all hold on the new Parliament. The resignation of Montague and Russell was followed by the dismissal of the Whig ministry, and Somers and his friends were replaced by an administration composed of moderate Tories, with Lords Rochester and Godolphin as its leading members. The fourteen thousand men who still remained in the army were cut down to seven. William's earnest entreaty could not turn the Parliament from its resolve to send his Dutch guards out of the country. The navy, which had numbered forty thousand sailors during the war, was cut down to eight. How much William's hands were weakened by this peace-temper of England was shown by the Second Partition Treaty which was concluded between the two maritime powers and France. The demand of Lewis that the Netherlands should be given to the Elector of Bavaria, whose political position left him a puppet in the French King's hands, was resisted. Spain, the Netherlands, and the Indies

were assigned to the second son of the Emperor, the Archduke Charles of Austria. But the whole of the Spanish territories in Italy were now granted to France; and it was provided that Milan should be exchanged for Lorraine, whose Duke was to be summarily transferred to the new Duchy. If the Emperor persisted in his refusal to come into the Treaty, the share of his son was to pass to another unnamed prince, who was probably the Duke of Savoy.

The Emperor still protested, but his protest was of little moment so long as Lewis and the two maritime powers held firmly together. Nor was the bitter resentment of Spain of more avail. The Spaniards cared little whether a French or an Austrian prince sat on the throne of Charles the Second, but their pride revolted against the dismemberment of the monarchy by the loss of its Italian dependencies. Even the dying King shared the anger of his subjects, and a will wrested from him by the factions which wrangled over his death-bed bequeathed the whole monarchy of Spain to a grandson of Lewis, the Duke of Anjou, the second son of the Dauphin. The Treaty of Partition was so recent, and the risk of accepting this bequest so great, that Lewis would hardly have resolved on it but for his belief that the temper of England must necessarily render William's opposition a fruitless one. Never in fact had England been so averse from war. So strong was the antipathy to William's foreign policy that men openly approved the French King's course. Hardly any one in England dreaded the succession of a boy who, French as he was, would as they believed soon be turned into a Spaniard by the natural course of events. The succession of the Duke of Anjou was generally looked upon as far better than the increase of power which France would have derived from the cessions of the last Treaty of Partition, cessions which would have turned the Mediterranean, it was said, into a French lake, imperilled the English trade with the Levant and America, and raised France into a formidable power at sea. "It grieves me to the heart," William wrote bitterly, "that almost every one rejoices that France has preferred the Will to the Treaty." Astonished and angered as he was at his rival's breach of faith, he had no means of punishing it. The Duke of Anjou entered Madrid, and Lewis proudly boasted that henceforth there were no Pyrenees. The life-work of William seemed undone. He knew himself to be dying. His cough was incessant, his eyes sunk and dead, his frame so weak that he could hardly get into his coach. But never had he shown himself so great. His courage rose with every difficulty. His temper, which had been heated by the personal affronts lavished on him through English faction, was hushed by a supreme effort of his will. His large and clear-sighted intellect looked through the temporary embarrassments of French diplomacy and English party strife to the great interests which he knew must in the end determine the course of European politics. Abroad and at

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home all seemed to go against him. For the moment he had no ally save Holland, for Spain was now united with Lewis, while the attitude of Bavaria divided Germany and held the House of Austria in check. The Bavarian Elector indeed, who had charge of the Spanish Netherlands and on whom William had counted, openly joined the French side from the first and proclaimed the Duke of Anjou as King in Brussels. In England the new Parliament was crowded with Tories who were resolute against war. The Tory Ministry pressed him to acknowledge the new King of Spain; and as even Holland did this, William was forced to submit. He could only count on the greed of Lewis to help him, and he did not count in vain. The approval of the French King's action had sprung from the belief that he intended to leave Spain to the Spaniards under their new King. Bitter too as the strife of Whig and Tory might be in England, there were two things on which Whig and Tory were agreed. Neither would suffer France to occupy the Netherlands. Neither would endure a French attack on the Protestant succession which the Revolution of 1688 had established. But the arrogance of Lewis blinded him to the need of moderation in his hour of good-luck. In the name of his grandson he introduced French troops into the seven fortresses known as the Dutch barrier, and into Ostend and the coast towns of Flanders. Even the Peace-Parliament at once acquiesced in William's demand for their withdrawal, and authorized him to conclude a defensive alliance with Holland. The King's policy indeed was bitterly blamed, while the late ministers, Somers, Russell, and Montague (now become peers), were impeached for their share in the treaties. But outside the House of Commons the tide of national feeling rose as the designs of Lewis grew clearer. He refused to allow the Dutch barrier to be re-established; and a great French fleet gathered in the Channel to support, it was believed, a fresh Jacobite descent, which was proposed by the ministers of James in a letter intercepted and laid before Parliament. Even the House of Commons took fire at this, and the fleet was raised to thirty thousand men, the army to ten thousand. Kent sent up a remonstrance against the factious measures by which the Tories still struggled against the King's policy, with a prayer that addresses might be turned into Bills of Supply; and William was encouraged by these signs of a change of temper to despatch an English force to Holland, and to conclude a secret treaty with the United Provinces for the recovery of the Netherlands from Lewis, and for their transfer with the Milanese to the house of Austria as a means of counter-balancing the new power added to France. But England was still clinging desperately to a hope of peace, when Lewis by a sudden act forced it into war. He had acknowledged William as King in the Peace of Ryswick, and pledged himself to oppose all attacks on his throne. He now entered the bed-chamber at St. Germain where James was breath-

ing his last, and promised to acknowledge his son at his death as King of England, Scotland, and Ireland. The promise was in fact a declaration of war, and in a moment all England was at one in accepting the challenge. The issue Lewis had raised was no longer a matter of European politics, but the question whether the work of the Revolution should be undone, and whether Catholicism and despotism should be replaced on the throne of England by the arms of France. On such a question as this there was no difference between Tory and Whig. When the death, in 1700, of the last child of the Princess Anne had been followed by a new Act of Succession, not a voice had been raised for James or his son; and the descendants of the daughter of Charles the First, Henrietta of Orleans, whose only child had married the Catholic Duke of Savoy, were passed over in the same silence. The Parliament fell back on the line of James the First. His daughter Elizabeth had married the Elector Palatine, and her only surviving child, Sophia, was the wife of the late and the mother of the present Elector of Hanover. It was in Sophia and her heirs, being Protestants, that the Act of Settlement vested the Crown. It was enacted that every English sovereign must be in communion with the Church of England as by law established. All future kings were forbidden to leave England without consent of Parliament, and foreigners were excluded from all public posts. The independence of justice was established by a clause which provided that no judge should be removed from office save on an address from Parliament to the Crown. The two principles that the King acts only through his ministers, and that these ministers are responsible to Parliament, were asserted by a requirement that all public business should be formally done in the Privy Council, and all its decisions signed by its members—provisions which went far to complete the parliamentary Constitution which had been drawn up by the Bill of Rights. The national union which had already been shown in this action of the Tory Parliament, now showed itself in the King's welcome on his return from the Hague, where the conclusion of a new Grand Alliance between the Empire, Holland, and the United Provinces, had rewarded William's patience and skill. The Alliance was soon joined by Denmark, Sweden, the Palatinate, and the bulk of the German States. The Parliament of 1702, though still Tory in the main, replied to William's stirring appeal by voting forty thousand soldiers and as many sailors for the coming struggle. A Bill of Attainder was passed against the new Pretender; and all members of either House and all public officials were sworn to uphold the succession of the House of Hanover.

But the King's weakness was already too great to allow of his taking the field; and he was forced to entrust the war in the Netherlands to the one Englishman who had shown himself capable of a great command. John Churchill, Earl of Marlborough, was born in 1650, the

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son of a Devonshire Cavalier, whose daughter became at the Restoration mistress of the Duke of York. The shame of Arabella did more perhaps than her father's loyalty to win for her brother a commission in the royal Guards; and, after five years' service abroad under Turenne, the young captain became colonel of an English regiment which was retained in the service of France. He had already shown some of the qualities of a great soldier, an unruffled courage, a bold and venturous temper held in check by a cool and serene judgment, a vigilance and capacity for enduring fatigue which never forsook him. In later years he was known to spend a whole day in reconnoitring, and at Blenheim he remained on horseback for fifteen hours. But courage and skill in arms did less for Churchill on his return to the English court than his personal beauty. In the French camp he had been known as "the handsome Englishman;" and his manners were as winning as his person. Even in age his address was almost irresistible: "he engrossed the graces," says Chesterfield; and his air never lost the careless sweetness which won the favour of Lady Castlemaine. A present of £5,000 from the King's mistress laid the foundation of a fortune which grew rapidly to greatness, as the prudent forethought of the handsome young soldier hardened into the avarice of age. But it was to the Duke of York that Churchill looked mainly for advancement, and he earned it by the fidelity with which as a member of his household he clung to the Duke's fortunes during the dark days of the Popish Plot. He followed James to the Hague and to Edinburgh, and on his master's return he was rewarded with a peerage and the colonelcy of the Life Guards. The service he rendered James after his accession by saving the royal army from a surprise at Sedgemoor would have been yet more splendidly acknowledged but for the King's bigotry. In spite of his master's personal solicitations Churchill remained true to Protestantism; but he knew James too well to count on further favour. Luckily he had now found a new groundwork for his fortunes in the growing influence of his wife over the King's second daughter, Anne; and at the crisis of the Revolution the adherence of Anne to the cause of Protestantism was of the highest value. No sentiment of gratitude to his older patron hindered Marlborough from corresponding with the Prince of Orange, from promising Anne's sympathy to William's effort, or from deserting the ranks of the King's army when it faced William in the field. His desertion proved fatal to the royal cause; but great as this service was it was eclipsed by a second. It was by his wife's persuasion that Anne was induced to forsake her father and take refuge in Danby's camp. Unscrupulous as his conduct had been, the services which he rendered to William were too great to miss their reward. He became Earl of Marlborough; he was put at the head of a force during the Irish war where his rapid successes won William's regard; and he was given

high command in the army of Flanders. But the sense of his power over Anne soon turned Marlborough from plotting treason against James to plot treason against William. Great as was his greed of gold, he had married Sarah Jennings, a penniless beauty of Charles's court, in whom a violent and malignant temper was strangely combined with a power of winning and retaining love. Churchill's affection for her ran like a thread of gold through the dark web of his career. In the midst of his marches and from the very battle-field he writes to his wife with the same passionate tenderness. The composure which no danger or hatred could ruffle broke down into almost womanish depression at the thought of her coldness or at any burst of her violent humour. He never left her without a pang. "I did for a great while with a perspective glass look upon the cliffs," he once wrote to her after setting out on a campaign, "in hopes that I might have had one sight of you." It was no wonder that the woman who inspired Marlborough with a love like this bound to her the weak and feeble nature of the Princess Anne. The two friends threw off the restraints of state, and addressed each other as "Mrs. Freeman" and "Mrs. Morley." It was on his wife's influence over her friend that the Earl's ambition counted in its designs against William. His plan was to drive the King from the throne by backing the Tories in their opposition to the war as well as by stirring to frenzy the English hatred of foreigners, and to seat Anne in his place. The discovery of his designs roused the King to a burst of unusual resentment. "Were I and my Lord Marlborough private persons," William exclaimed, "the sword would have to settle between us." As it was, he could only strip the Earl of his offices and command, and drive his wife from St. James's. Anne followed her favourite, and the court of the Princess became the centre of the Tory opposition; while Marlborough opened a correspondence with James. So notorious was his treason that on the eve of the French invasion of 1692 he was one of the first of the suspected persons sent to the Tower.

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The death of Mary forced William to recall Anne, who became by this event his successor; and with Anne the Marlboroughs returned to court. The King could not bend himself to trust the Earl again; but as death drew near he saw in him the one man whose splendid talents fitted him, in spite of the baseness and treason of his life, to rule England and direct the Grand Alliance in his stead. He employed Marlborough therefore to negotiate the treaty of alliance with the Emperor, and put him at the head of the army in Flanders. But the Earl had only just taken the command when a fall from his horse proved fatal to the broken frame of the King. "There was a time when I should have been glad to have been delivered out of my troubles," the dying man whispered to Portland, "but I own I see another scene, and could wish to live a little longer." He knew,

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however, that the wish was vain, and commended Marlborough to Anne as the fittest person to lead her armies and guide her counsels. Anne's zeal needed no quickening. Three days after her accession the Earl was named Captain-General of the English forces at home and abroad, and entrusted with the entire direction of the war. His supremacy over home affairs was secured by the construction of a purely Tory administration with Lord Godolphin, a close friend of Marlborough's, as Lord Treasurer at its head. The Queen's affection for his wife ensured him the support of the Crown at a moment when Anne's personal popularity gave the Crown a new weight with the nation. In England, indeed, party feeling for the moment died away. All save the extreme Tories were won over to the war now that it was waged on behalf of a Tory queen by a Tory general, while the most extreme of the Whigs were ready to back even a Tory general in waging a Whig war. Abroad, however, William's death shook the Alliance to its base; and even Holland wavered in dread of being deserted by England in the coming struggle. But the decision of Marlborough soon did away with this distrust. Anne was made to declare from the throne her resolve to pursue with energy the policy of her predecessor. The Parliament was brought to sanction vigorous measures for the prosecution of the war. The new general hastened to the Hague, received the command of the Dutch as well as of the English forces, and drew the German powers into the Confederacy with a skill and adroitness which even William might have envied. Never was greatness more quickly recognized than in the case of Marlborough. In a few months he was regarded by all as the guiding spirit of the Alliance, and princes whose jealousy had worn out the patience of the King yielded without a struggle to the counsels of his successor. His temper fitted him in an especial way to be the head of a great confederacy. Like William, he owed little of his power to any early training. The trace of his neglected education was seen to the last in his reluctance to write. "Of all things," he said to his wife, "I do not love writing." To pen a despatch indeed was a far greater trouble to him than to plan a campaign. But nature had given him qualities which in other men spring specially from culture. His capacity for business was immense. During the next ten years he assumed the general direction of the war in Flanders and in Spain. He managed every negotiation with the courts of the allies. He watched over the shifting phases of English politics. He crossed the Channel to win over Anne to a change in the Cabinet, or hurried to Berlin to secure the due contingent of Electoral troops from Brandenburg. At one and the same moment men saw him reconciling the Emperor with the Protestants of Hungary, stirring the Calvinists of the Cévennes into revolt, arranging the affairs of Portugal, and providing for the protection of the Duke of Savoy. But his air showed

no trace of fatigue or haste or vexation. He retained to the last the indolent grace of his youth. His natural dignity was never ruffled by an outbreak of temper. Amidst the storm of battle his soldiers saw their leader "without fear of danger or in the least hurry, giving his orders with all the calmness imaginable." In the cabinet he was as cool as on the battle-field. He met with the same equable serenity the pettiness of the German princes, the phlegm of the Dutch, the ignorant opposition of his officers, the libels of his political opponents. There was a touch of irony in the simple expedients by which he sometimes solved problems which had baffled Cabinets. The touchy pride of the King of Prussia made him one of the most vexatious among the allies, but all difficulty with him ceased when Marlborough rose at a state banquet and handed him a napkin. Churchill's composure rested partly indeed on a pride which could not stoop to bare the real self within to the eyes of meaner men. In the bitter moments before his fall he bade Godolphin burn some querulous letters which the persecution of his opponents had wrung from him. "My desire is that the world may continue in their error of thinking me a happy man, for I think it better to be envied than pitied." But in great measure it sprang from the purely intellectual temper of his mind. His passion for his wife was the one sentiment which tinged the colourless light in which his understanding moved. In all else he was without love or hate, he knew neither doubt nor regret. In private life he was a humane and compassionate man; but if his position required it he could betray Englishmen to death, or lead his army to a butchery such as that of Malplaquet. Of honour or the finer sentiments of mankind he knew nothing; and he turned without a shock from guiding Europe and winning great victories to heap up a matchless fortune by speculation and greed. He is perhaps the only instance of a man of real greatness who loved money for money's sake. The passions which stirred the men around him, whether noble or ignoble, were to him simply elements in an intellectual problem which had to be solved by patience. "Patience will overcome all things," he writes again and again. "As I think most things are governed by destiny, having done all things we should submit with patience."

As a statesman the high qualities of Marlborough were owned by his bitterest foes. "Over the Confederacy," says Bolingbroke, "he, a new, a private man, acquired by merit and management a more decided influence than high birth, confirmed authority, and even the crown of Great Britain, had given to King William." But great as he was in the council, he was even greater in the field. He stands alone amongst the masters of the art of war as a captain whose victories began at an age when the work of most men is done. Though he served as a young officer under Turenne and for a few months in Ireland and the Netherlands, he had held no great command till he took the field in

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Flanders at the age of fifty-two. He stands alone, too, in his unbroken good fortune. Voltaire notes that he never besieged a fortress which he did not take, or fought a battle which he did not win. His difficulties came not so much from the enemy, as from the ignorance and timidity of his own allies. He was never defeated in the field, but victory after victory was snatched from him by the incapacity of his officers or the stubbornness of the Dutch. What startled the cautious strategists of his day was the vigour and audacity of his plans. Old as he was, Marlborough's designs had from the first all the dash and boldness of youth. On taking the field in 1702 he at once resolved to force a battle in the heart of Brabant. The plan was foiled by the timidity of the Dutch deputies. But his resolute advance across the Meuse drew the French forces from that river, and enabled him to reduce fortress after fortress in a series of sieges, till the surrender of Liége closed a campaign which cut off the French from the Lower Rhine, and freed Holland from all danger of an invasion. The successes of Marlborough had been brought into bolder relief by the fortunes of the war in other quarters. Though the Imperialist general, Prince Eugene of Savoy, showed his powers by a surprise of the French army at Cremona, no real successes had been won in Italy. An English descent on the Spanish coast ended in failure. In Germany the Bavarians joined the French, and the united armies defeated the forces of the Empire. It was in this quarter that Lewis resolved to push his fortunes. In the spring of 1703 a fresh army under Marshal Villars again relieved the Bavarian Elector from the pressure of the Imperial forces, and only a strife which arose between the two commanders hindered the joint armies from marching on Vienna. Meanwhile the timidity of the Dutch deputies served Lewis well in the Low Countries. The hopes of Marlborough, who had been raised to a Dukedom for his services in the previous year, were again foiled by the deputies of the States-General. Serene as his temper was, it broke down before their refusal to co-operate in an attack on Antwerp and French Flanders; and the prayers of Godolphin and of the pensionary Heinsius alone induced him to withdraw his offer of resignation. But in spite of his victories on the Danube, of the blunders of his adversaries on the Rhine, and the sudden aid of an insurrection which broke out in Hungary, the difficulties of Lewis were hourly increasing. The accession of Savoy to the Grand Alliance threatened his armies in Italy with destruction. That of Portugal gave the allies a base of operations against Spain. The French King's energy however rose with the pressure; and while the Duke of Berwick, a natural son of James the Second, was despatched against Portugal, and three small armies closed round Savoy, the flower of the French troops joined the army of Bavaria on the Danube; for the bold plan of Lewis was to decide the fortunes of the

war by a victory which would wrest peace from the Empire under the walls of Vienna.

The master-stroke of Lewis roused Marlborough at the opening of 1704 to a master-stroke in return ; but the secrecy and boldness of the Duke's plans deceived both his enemies and his allies. The French army in Flanders saw in his march upon Maintz only a design to transfer the war into Elsass. The Dutch were lured into suffering their troops to be drawn as far from Flanders as Coblenz by proposals for an imaginary campaign on the Moselle. It was only when Marlborough crossed the Neckar and struck through the centre of Germany for the Danube that the true aim of his operations was revealed. After struggling through the hill country of Würtemberg, he joined the Imperial army under the Prince of Baden, stormed the heights of Donauwerth, crossed the Danube and the Lech, and penetrated into the heart of Bavaria. The crisis drew the two armies which were facing one another on the Upper Rhine to the scene. The arrival of Marshal Tallard with thirty thousand French troops saved the Elector of Bavaria for the moment from the need of submission ; but the junction of his opponent, Prince Eugene, with Marlborough raised the contending forces again to an equality. After a few marches the armies met on the north bank of the Danube, near the little town of Hochstadt and the village of Blindheim or Blenheim, which have given their names to one of the most memorable battles in the history of the world. In one respect the struggle which followed stands almost unrivalled, for the whole of the Teutonic race was represented in the strange medley of Englishmen, Dutchmen, Hanoverians, Danes, Wurtembergers and Austrians who followed Marlborough and Eugene. The French and Bavarians, who numbered like their opponents some fifty thousand men, lay behind a little stream which ran through swampy ground to the Danube. Their position was a strong one, for its front was covered by the swamp, its right by the Danube, its left by the hill-country in which the stream rose ; and Tallard had not only entrenched himself, but was far superior to his rival in artillery. But for once Marlborough's hands were free. "I have great reason," he wrote calmly home, "to hope that everything will go well, for I have the pleasure to find all the officers willing to obey without knowing any other reason than that it is my desire, which is very different from what it was in Flanders, where I was obliged to have the consent of a council of war for everything I undertook." So formidable were the obstacles, however, that though the allies were in motion at sunrise, it was not till midday that Eugene, who commanded on the right, succeeded in crossing the stream. The English foot at once forded it on the left and attacked the village of Blindheim in which the bulk of the French infantry were entrenched ; but after a furious struggle the attack was repulsed, while as gallant a resistance at the other end of

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the line held Eugene in check. The centre, however, which the French believed to be unassailable, had been chosen by Marlborough for the chief point of attack; and by making an artificial road across the morass he was at last enabled to throw his eight thousand horsemen on the French cavalry which occupied this position. Two desperate charges which the Duke headed in person decided the day. The French centre was flung back on the Danube and forced to surrender. Their left fell back in confusion on Hochstadt: while their right, cooped up in Blindheim and cut off from retreat, became prisoners of war. Of the defeated army only twenty thousand escaped. Twelve thousand were slain, fourteen thousand were captured. Germany was finally freed from the French; and Marlborough, who followed the wreck of the French host in its flight to Elsass, soon made himself master of the Lower Moselle. But the loss of France could not be measured by men or fortresses. A hundred victories since Rocroi had taught the world to regard the French army as invincible, when Blenheim and the surrender of the flower of the French soldiery broke the spell. From that moment the terror of victory passed to the side of the allies, and "Malbrook" became a name of fear to every child in France.

Ramillies

In England itself the victory of Blenheim aided to bring about a great change in the political aspect of affairs. The Tories were resolved to create a permanent Tory majority in the Commons by excluding Nonconformists from the municipal corporations, which returned the bulk of the borough members. The Protestant Dissenters, while adhering to their separate congregations, in which they were now protected by the Toleration Act, "qualified for office" by the "occasional conformity" of receiving the sacrament at Church once in the year. It was against this "occasional conformity" that the Tories introduced a test to exclude the Nonconformists; and this test at first received Marlborough's support. But it was steadily rejected by the Lords as often as it was sent up to them, and it was soon guessed that their resistance was secretly backed by both Marlborough and Godolphin. Tory as he was, in fact, Marlborough had no mind for an unchecked Tory rule, or for a revival of religious strife which would be fatal to the war. But he strove in vain to propitiate his party by inducing the Queen to set aside the tenths and first-fruits hitherto paid by the clergy to the Crown as a fund for the augmentation of small benefices, a fund which still bears the name of Queen Anne's Bounty. The Commons showed their resentment by refusing to add a grant of money to the grant of a Dukedom after his first campaign; and the higher Tories, with Lord Nottingham at their head, began to throw every obstacle they could in the way of the continuance of the war. At last they quitted office in 1704, and Marlborough replaced them by Tories of a more

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moderate stamp who were still in favour of the war: by Robert Harley, who became Secretary of State, and Henry St. John, a man of splendid talents, who was named Secretary at War. The Duke's march into Germany, which pledged England to a struggle in the heart of the Continent, embittered the political strife. The high Tories and Jacobites threatened, if Marlborough failed, to bring his head to the block, and only the victory of Blenheim saved him from political ruin. Slowly and against his will the Duke drifted from his own party to the party which really backed his policy. He availed himself of the national triumph over Blenheim to dissolve Parliament; and when the election of 1705, as he hoped, returned a majority in favour of the war, his efforts brought about a coalition between the moderate Tories who still clung to him and the Whig Junto, whose support was purchased by making a Whig, William Cowper, Lord Keeper, and by sending Lord Sunderland as envoy to Vienna. The bitter attacks of the peace party were entirely foiled by this union, and Marlborough at last felt secure at home. But he had to bear disappointment abroad. His plan of attack along the line of the Moselle was defeated by the refusal of the Imperial army to join him. When he entered the French lines across the Dyle, the Dutch generals withdrew their troops; and his proposal to attack the Duke of Villeroy in the field of Waterloo was rejected in full council of war by the deputies of the States with cries of "murder" and "massacre." Even Marlborough's composure broke into bitterness at the blow. "Had I had the same power I had last year," he wrote home, "I could have won a greater victory than that of Blenheim." On his complaint the States recalled their commissaries, but the year was lost; nor had greater results been brought about in Italy or on the Rhine. The spirits of the allies were only sustained by the romantic exploits of Lord Peterborough in Spain. Profligate, unprincipled, flighty as he was, Peterborough had a genius for war, and his seizure of Barcelona with a handful of men, his recognition of the old liberties of Aragon, roused that province to support the cause of the second son of the Emperor, who had been acknowledged as King of Spain by the allies under the title of Charles the Third. Catalonia and Valencia soon joined Aragon in declaring for Charles: while Marlborough spent the winter of 1705 in negotiations at Vienna, Berlin, Hanover, and the Hague, and in preparations for the coming campaign. Eager for freedom of action, and sick of the Imperial generals as of the Dutch, he planned a march over the Alps and a campaign in Italy; and though his designs were defeated by the opposition of the allies, he found himself unfettered when he again appeared in Flanders in 1706. The French marshal Villeroy was as eager as Marlborough for an engagement; and the two armies met on the 23rd of May at the village of Ramillies on the undulating plain which forms the highest ground in Brabant. The French were

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drawn up in a wide curve with morasses covering their front. After a feint on their left, Marlborough flung himself on their right wing at Ramillies, crushed it in a brilliant charge that he led in person, and swept along their whole line till it broke in a rout which only ended beneath the walls of Louvain. In an hour and a half the French had lost fifteen thousand men, their baggage, and their guns; and the line of the Scheldt, Brussels, Antwerp and Bruges became the prize of the victors. It only needed four successful sieges which followed the battle of Ramillies to complete the deliverance of Flanders.

The year which witnessed the victory of Ramillies remains yet more memorable as the year which witnessed the final Union of England with Scotland. As the undoing of the earlier union had been the first work of the Government of the Restoration, its revival was one of the first aims of the Government which followed the Revolution. But the project was long held in check by religious and commercial jealousies. Scotland refused to bear any part of the English debt. England would not yield any share in her monopoly of trade with the colonies. The English Churchmen longed for a restoration of Episcopacy north of the border, while the Scotch Presbyterians would not hear even of the legal toleration of Episcopalians. In 1703, however, an Act of Settlement which passed through the Scotch Parliament at last brought home to English statesmen the dangers of further delay. In dealing with this measure the Scotch Whigs, who cared only for the independence of their country, joined hand in hand with the Scotch Jacobites, who looked only to the interests of the Pretender. The Jacobites excluded from the Act the name of the Princess Sophia; the Whigs introduced a provision that no sovereign of England should be recognized as sovereign of Scotland save upon security given to the religion, freedom, and trade of the Scottish people. Great as the danger arising from such a measure undoubtedly was, for it pointed to a recognition of the Pretender in Scotland on the Queen's death, and such a recognition meant war between Scotland and England, it was only after three years' delay that the wisdom and resolution of Lord Somers brought the question to an issue. The Scotch proposals of a federative rather than a legislative union were set aside by his firmness; the commercial jealousies of the English trader were put by; and the Act of Union provided that the two kingdoms should be united into one under the name of Great Britain, and that the succession to the crown of this United Kingdom should be ruled by the provisions of the English Act of Settlement. The Scotch Church and the Scotch Law were left untouched: but all rights of trade were thrown open, and a uniform system of coinage adopted. A single Parliament was henceforth to represent the United Kingdom, and for this purpose forty-five Scotch members were added to the five hundred and thirteen English members of the House of Commons, and sixteen

representative peers to the one hundred and eight who formed the English House of Lords. In Scotland the opposition was bitter and almost universal. The terror of the Presbyterians indeed was met by an Act of Security which became part of the Treaty of Union, and which required an oath to support the Presbyterian Church from every sovereign on his accession. But no securities could satisfy the enthusiastic patriots or the fanatical Cameronians. The Jacobites sought troops from France, and plotted a Stuart restoration. The nationalists talked of seceding from the Houses which voted for the Union, and of establishing a rival Parliament. In the end, however, good sense and the loyalty of the trading classes to the cause of the Protestant succession won their way. The measure was adopted by the Scotch Parliament, and the Treaty of Union became in 1707 a legislative Act to which Anne gave her assent in noble words. "I desire," said the Queen, "and expect from my subjects of both nations that from henceforth they act with all possible respect and kindness to one another, that so it may appear to all the world they have hearts disposed to become one people." Time has more than answered these hopes. The two nations whom the Union brought together have ever since remained one. England gained in the removal of a constant danger of treason and war. To Scotland the Union opened up new avenues of wealth which the energy of its people turned to wonderful account. The farms of Lothian have become models of agricultural skill. A fishing town on the Clyde has grown into the rich and populous Glasgow. Peace and culture have changed the wild clansmen of the Highlands into herdsmen and farmers. Nor was the change followed by any loss of national spirit. The world has hardly seen a mightier and more rapid development of national energy than that of Scotland after the Union. All that passed away was the jealousy which had parted since the days of Edward the First two peoples whom a common blood and common speech proclaimed to be one. The Union between Scotland and England has been real and stable simply because it was the legislative acknowledgment and enforcement of a national fact.

With the defeat of Ramillies the fortunes of France reached their lowest ebb. The loss of Flanders was followed by the loss of Italy after a victory by which Eugene relieved Turin; and not only did Peterborough hold his ground in Spain, but Charles the Third with an army of English and Portuguese entered Madrid. Marlborough was at the height of his renown. Ramillies gave him strength enough to force Anne, in spite of her hatred of the Whigs, to fulfil his compact with them by admitting Lord Sunderland, the bitterest leader of their party, to office. But the system of political balance which he had maintained till now began at once to break down. Constitutionally, Marlborough's was the last attempt to govern England on other terms

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than those of party government, and the union of parties to which he had clung ever since his severance from the extreme Tories soon became impossible. The growing opposition of the Tories to the war threw the Duke more and more on the support of the Whigs, and the Whigs sold their support dearly. Sunderland, who had inherited his father's conceptions of party government, was resolved to restore a strict party administration on a purely Whig basis, and to drive the moderate Tories from office in spite of Marlborough's desire to retain them. The Duke wrote hotly home at the news of the pressure which the Whigs were putting on him. "England," he said, "will not be ruined because a few men are not pleased." Nor was Marlborough alone in his resentment. Harley foresaw the danger of his expulsion from office, and began to intrigue at court, through Mrs. Masham, a bedchamber woman of the Queen, who was supplanting the Duchess in Anne's favour, against the Whigs and against Marlborough. St. John, who owed his early promotion to office to the Duke's favour, was driven by the same fear to share Harley's schemes. Marlborough strove to win both of them back, but he was helpless in the hands of the only party that steadily supported the war. A factious union of the Whigs with their opponents, though it roused the Duke to a burst of unusual passion in Parliament, effected its end by convincing him of the impossibility of further resistance. The opposition of the Queen indeed was stubborn and bitter. Anne was at heart a Tory, and her old trust in Marlborough died with his submission to the Whig demands. It was only by the threat of resignation that he had forced her to admit Sunderland to office; and the violent outbreak of temper with which the Duchess enforced her husband's will changed the Queen's friendship for her into a bitter resentment. Marlborough was driven to increase this resentment by fresh compliances with the conditions which the Whigs imposed on him, by removing Peterborough from his command as a Tory general, and by wresting from Anne her consent to the dismissal from office of Harley and St. John with the moderate Tories whom they headed. Their removal was followed by the complete triumph of the Whigs. Somers became President of the Council, Wharton Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, while lower posts were occupied by men destined to play a great part in our later history, such as the young Duke of Newcastle and Robert Walpole. Meanwhile, the great struggle abroad went on, with striking alternations of success. France rose with singular rapidity from the crushing blow of Ramillies. Spain was recovered for Philip by a victory of Marshal Berwick at Almanza. Villars won fresh triumphs on the Rhine, while Eugene, who had penetrated into Provence, was driven back into Italy. In Flanders, Marlborough's designs for taking advantage of his great victory were foiled by the strategy of the Duke of Vendôme and by the reluctance of the Dutch, who were now

wavering towards peace. In the campaign of 1708, however, Vendôme, in spite of his superiority in force, was attacked and defeated at Oudenarde; and though Marlborough was hindered from striking at the heart of France by the timidity of the English and Dutch statesmen, he reduced Lille, the strongest of its frontier fortresses, in the face of an army of relief which numbered a hundred thousand men. The pride of Lewis was at last broken by defeat and by the terrible suffering of France. He offered terms of peace which yielded all that the allies had fought for. He consented to withdraw his aid from Philip of Spain, to give up ten Flemish fortresses to the Dutch, and to surrender to the Empire all that France had gained since the Treaty of Westphalia. He offered to acknowledge Anne, to banish the Pretender from his dominions, and to demolish the fortifications of Dunkirk, a port hateful to England as the home of the French privateers.

To Marlborough peace now seemed secure; but in spite of his counsels, the allies and the Whig Ministers in England demanded that Lewis should with his own troops compel his grandson to give up the crown of Spain. "If I must wage war," replied the King, "I had rather wage it against my enemies than against my children." In a bitter despair he appealed to France; and exhausted as it was, the campaign of 1709 proved how nobly France answered his appeal. The terrible slaughter which bears the name of the battle of Malplaquet showed a new temper in the French soldiers. Starving as they were, they flung away their rations in their eagerness for the fight, and fell back at its close in serried masses that no efforts of Marlborough could break. They had lost twelve thousand men, but the forcing their lines of entrenchment had cost the allies a loss of double that number. Horror at such a "deluge of blood" increased the growing weariness of the war; and the rejection of the French offers was unjustly attributed to a desire on the part of Marlborough of lengthening out a contest which brought him profit and power. A storm of popular passion burst suddenly on the Whigs. Its occasion was a dull and silly sermon in which a High Church divine, Dr. Sacheverell, maintained the doctrine of non-resistance at St. Paul's. His boldness challenged prosecution; but in spite of the warning of Marlborough and of Somers the Whig Ministers resolved on his impeachment before the Lords, and the trial at once widened into a great party struggle. An outburst of popular enthusiasm in Sacheverell's favour showed what a storm of hatred had gathered against the Whigs and the war. The most eminent of the Tory Churchmen stood by his side at the bar, crowds escorted him to the court and back again, while the streets rang with cries of "The Church and Dr. Sacheverell." A small majority of the peers found the preacher guilty, but the light sentence they inflicted was in effect an acquittal, and bonfires and illuminations over the whole country welcomed it as a Tory triumph.

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The party whom the Whigs had striven to crush were roused to new life. The expulsion of Harley and St. John from the Ministry had given the Tories leaders of a more subtle and vigorous stamp than the High Churchmen who had quitted office in the first years of the war, and St. John brought into play a new engine of political attack whose powers soon made themselves felt. In the *Examiner* and in a crowd of pamphlets and periodicals which followed in its train, the humour of Prior, the bitter irony of Swift, and St. John's own brilliant sophistry spent themselves on the abuse of the war and of its general. "Six millions of supplies and almost fifty millions of debt!" Swift wrote bitterly; "the High Allies have been the ruin of us!" Marlborough was ridiculed and reviled, he was accused of insolence, cruelty and ambition, of corruption and greed. Even his courage was called in question. The turn of popular feeling freed Anne at once from the pressure beneath which she had bent: and the subtle intrigue of Harley was busy in undermining the Ministry. The Whigs, who knew the Duke's alliance with them had simply been forced on him by the war, were easily persuaded that the Queen had no aim but to humble him, and looked coolly on at the dismissal of his son-in-law, Sunderland, and his friend, Godolphin. Marlborough on his part was lured by hopes of reconciliation with his old party, and looked on as coolly while Anne dismissed the Whig Ministers and appointed a Tory Ministry in their place, with Harley and St. John at its head. But the intrigues of Harley paled before the subtle treason of St. John. Resolute to drive Marlborough from his command, he fed the Duke's hopes of reconciliation with the Tories, till he led him to acquiesce in his wife's dismissal, and to pledge himself to a co-operation with the Tory policy. It was the Duke's belief that a reconciliation with the Tories was effected that led him to sanction the despatch of troops which should have strengthened his army in Flanders on a fruitless expedition against Canada, though this left him too weak to carry out a masterly plan which he had formed for a march into the heart of France in the opening of 1711. He was unable even to risk a battle or to do more than to pick up a few seaboard towns, and St. John at once turned the small results of the campaign into an argument for the conclusion of peace. In defiance of an article of the Grand Alliance which pledged its members not to carry on separate negotiations with France, St. John, who now became Lord Bolingbroke, pushed forward a secret accommodation between England and France. It was for this negotiation that he had crippled Marlborough's campaign; and it was the discovery of his perfidy which revealed to the Duke how utterly he had been betrayed, and forced him at last to break with the Tory Ministry. He returned to England; and his efforts induced the House of Lords to denounce the contemplated peace; but the support of the Commons and the Queen, and the general hatred of the war among the

people, enabled Harley to ride down all resistance. At the opening of 1712 the Whig majority in the House of Lords was swamped by the creation of twelve Tory peers. Marlborough was dismissed from his command, charged with peculation, and condemned as guilty by a vote of the House of Commons. The Duke at once withdrew from England, and with his withdrawal all opposition to the peace was at an end.

Marlborough's flight was followed by the conclusion of a Treaty at Utrecht between France, England, and the Dutch ; and the desertion of his allies forced the Emperor at last to make peace at Rastadt. By these treaties the original aim of the war, that of preventing the possession of France and Spain by the House of Bourbon, was abandoned. No precaution was taken against the dangers it involved to the "balance of power," save by a provision that the two crowns should never be united on a single head, and by Philip's renunciation of all right of succession to the throne of France. The principle on which the Treaties were based was in fact that of the earlier Treaties of Partition. Philip retained Spain and the Indies : but he ceded his possessions in Italy and the Netherlands with the island of Sardinia to Charles of Austria, who had now become Emperor, in satisfaction of his claims ; while he handed over Sicily to the Duke of Savoy. To England he gave up not only Minorca but Gibraltar, two positions which secured her the command of the Mediterranean. France had to consent to the re-establishment of the Dutch barrier on a greater scale than before ; to pacify the English resentment against the French privateers by the dismantling of Dunkirk ; and not only to recognize the right of Anne to the crown, and the Protestant succession in the House of Hanover, but to consent to the expulsion of the Pretender from her soil. The failure of the Queen's health made the succession the real question of the day, and it was a question which turned all politics into faction and intrigue. The Whigs, who were still formidable in the Commons, and who showed the strength of their party in the Lords by defeating a Treaty of Commerce, in which Bolingbroke anticipated the greatest financial triumph of William Pitt and secured freedom of trade between England and France, were zealous for the succession of the Elector ; nor did the Tories really contemplate any other plan. But on the means of providing for his succession Harley and Bolingbroke differed widely. Harley inclined to an alliance between the moderate Tories and the Whigs. The policy of Bolingbroke, on the other hand, was so to strengthen the Tories by the utter overthrow of their opponents, that whatever might be the Elector's sympathies they could force their policy on him as King. To ruin his rival's influence he introduced a Schism Bill, which hindered any Nonconformist from acting as a schoolmaster or a tutor ; and which broke Harley's plans by creating a more bitter division than ever between Tory and

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Whig. But its success went beyond his intentions. The Whigs regarded the Bill as the first step in a Jacobite restoration. The Electress Sophia was herself alarmed, and the Hanoverian ambassador demanded for the son of the Elector, the future George the Second, who had been created Duke of Cambridge, a summons as peer to the coming Parliament, with the aim of securing the presence in England of a Hanoverian Prince in case of the Queen's death. The Queen's anger, fanned by Bolingbroke, broke out in a letter to the Electress which warned her that "such conduct may imperil the succession itself;" and in July Anne was brought to dismiss Harley, now Earl of Oxford, and to construct a strong and united Tory Ministry which would back her in her resistance to the Elector's demand. As the crisis grew nearer, both parties prepared for civil war. In the beginning of 1714 the Whigs had made ready for a rising on the Queen's death, and invited Marlborough from Flanders to head them, in the hope that his name would rally the army to their cause. Bolingbroke, on the other hand, intent on building up a strong Tory party, made the Duke of Ormond, whose sympathies were known to be in favour of the Pretender's succession, Warden of the Cinque Ports, the district in which either claimant of the crown must land, while he gave Scotland in charge to the Jacobite Earl of Mar. But events moved faster than his plans. Anne was suddenly struck with apoplexy. The Privy Council at once assembled, and at the news the Whig Dukes of Argyll and Somerset entered the Council Chamber without summons and took their places at the board. The step had been taken in secret concert with the Duke of Shrewsbury, who was President of the Council in the Tory Ministry, but a rival of Bolingbroke and an adherent of the Hanoverian succession. The act was a decisive one. The right of the House of Hanover was at once acknowledged, Shrewsbury was nominated as Lord Treasurer by the Council, and the nomination was accepted by the dying Queen. Bolingbroke, though he remained Secretary of State, suddenly found himself powerless and neglected, while the Council took steps to provide for the emergency. Four regiments were summoned to the capital in the expectation of a civil war. But the Jacobites were hopeless and unprepared; and on the death of Anne the Elector George of Hanover, who had become heir to the throne by his mother's death, was proclaimed King of England without a show of opposition.

Section X.—Walpole, 1712—1742.

[*Authorities.*—Coxe's Life of Sir Robert Walpole, Horace Walpole's "Memoirs of the Reign of George II.," and Lord Hervey's amusing Memoirs from the accession of George II. to the death of Queen Caroline, give the main materials on one side; Bolingbroke's Letter to Sir William Wyndham,

his "Patriot King," and his correspondence afford some insight into the other. Horace Walpole's Letters to Sir Horace Mann give a minute account of his father's fall. A sober and judicious account of the whole period may be found in Lord Stanhope's "History of England from the Peace of Utrecht."]

The accession of George the First marked a change in the position of England in the European Commonwealth. From the age of the Plantagenets the country had stood apart from more than passing contact with the fortunes of the Continent. But the Revolution had forced her to join the Great Alliance of the European peoples; and shameful as were some of its incidents, the Peace of Utrecht left her the main barrier against the ambition of the House of Bourbon. And not only did the Revolution set England irrevocably among the powers of Europe, but it assigned her a special place among them. The result of the alliance and the war had been to establish what was then called a "balance of power" between the great European states; a balance which rested indeed not so much on any natural equilibrium of forces as on a compromise wrung from warring nations by the exhaustion of a great struggle; but which, once recognized and established, could be adapted and readjusted, it was hoped, to the varying political conditions of the time. Of this balance of power, as recognized and defined in the Treaty of Utrecht and its successors, England became the special guardian. The stubborn policy of the Georgian statesmen has left its mark on our policy ever since. In struggling for peace and for the sanctity of treaties, even though the struggle was one of selfish interest, England took a ply which she has never wholly lost. Warlike and imperious as is her national temper, she has never been able to free herself from a sense that her business in the world is to seek peace alike for herself and for the nations about her, and that the best security for peace lies in her recognition, amidst whatever difficulties and seductions, of the force of international engagements and the sanctity of treaties.

At home the new King's accession was followed by striking political results. Under Anne the throne had regained much of the older influence which it lost through William's unpopularity; but under the two sovereigns who followed Anne the power of the Crown lay absolutely dormant. They were strangers, to whom loyalty in its personal sense was impossible; and their character as nearly approached insignificance as it is possible for human character to approach it. Both were honest and straightforward men, who frankly accepted the irksome position of constitutional kings. But neither had any qualities which could make their honesty attractive to the people at large. The temper of George the First was that of a gentleman usher; and his one care was to get money for his favourites and himself. The temper of George the Second was that of a drill-

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sergeant, who believed himself master of his realm while he repeated the lessons he had learnt from his wife, and which his wife had learnt from the Minister. Their Court is familiar enough in the witty memoirs of the time; but as political figures the two Georges are almost absent from our history. William of Orange had not only used the power of rejecting bills passed by the two Houses, but had kept in his own hands the control of foreign affairs. Anne had never yielded even to Marlborough her exclusive right of dealing with Church preferment, and had presided to the last at the Cabinet Councils of her ministers. But with the accession of the Georges these reserves passed away. No sovereign since Anne's death has appeared at a Cabinet Council, or has ventured to refuse his assent to an Act of Parliament. As Elector of Hanover indeed the King still dealt with Continental affairs: but his personal interference roused an increasing jealousy, while it affected in a very slight degree the foreign policy of his English counsellors. England, in short, was governed not by the King, but by the Whig ministers of the Crown. Nor had the Whigs to fear any effective pressure from their political opponents. "The Tory party," Bolingbroke wrote after Anne's death, "is gone." In the first House of Commons indeed which was called by the new King, the Tories hardly numbered fifty members; while a fatal division broke their strength in the country at large. In their despair the more vehement among them turned to the Pretender. Lord Oxford was impeached and sent to the Tower; Bolingbroke and the Duke of Ormond fled from England to take office under the son of King James. At home Sir William Wyndham seconded their efforts by building up a Jacobite faction out of the wreck of the Tory party. The Jacobite secession gave little help to the Pretender, while it dealt a fatal blow to the Tory cause. England was still averse from a return of the Stuarts; and the suspicion of Jacobite designs not only alienated the trading classes, who shrank from the blow to public credit which a Jacobite repudiation of the debt would bring about, but deadened the zeal even of the parsons and squires; while it was known to have sown a deep distrust of the whole Tory party in the heart of the new sovereign. The Crown indeed now turned to the Whigs; while the Church, which up to this time had been the main stumbling-block of their party, was sinking into political insignificance, and was no longer a formidable enemy. For more than thirty years the Whigs ruled England. But the length of their rule was not wholly due to the support of the Crown or the secession of the Tories. It was in some measure due to the excellent organization of their party. While their adversaries were divided by differences of principle and without leaders of real eminence, the Whigs stood as one man on the principles of the Revolution and produced great leaders who carried them into effect. They submitted with admirable discipline to the

guidance of a knot of great nobles, to the houses of Bentinck, Manners, Campbell, and Cavendish, to the Fitzroys and Lennoxes, the Russells and Grenvilles, families whose resistance to the Stuarts, whose share in the Revolution, whose energy in setting the line of Hanover on the throne, gave them a claim to power. It was due yet more largely to the activity with which the Whigs devoted themselves to the gaining and preserving an ascendancy in the House of Commons. The support of the commercial classes and of the great towns was secured not only by a resolute maintenance of public credit, but by the special attention which each ministry paid to questions of trade and finance. Peace and the reduction of the land-tax conciliated the farmers and the landowners, while the Jacobite sympathies of the bulk of the squires, and their consequent withdrawal from all share in politics, threw even the representation of the shires for a time into Whig hands. Of the county members, who formed the less numerous but the weightier part of the lower House, nine-tenths were for some years relatives and dependents of the great Whig families. Nor were coarser means of controlling Parliament neglected. The wealth of the Whig houses was lavishly spent in securing a monopoly of the small and corrupt constituencies which made up a large part of the borough representation. It was spent yet more unscrupulously in parliamentary bribery. Corruption was older than Walpole or the Whig Ministry, for it sprang out of the very transfer of power to the House of Commons which had begun with the Restoration. The transfer was complete, and the House was supreme in the State; but while freeing itself from the control of the Crown, it was as yet imperfectly responsible to the people. It was only at election time that a member felt the pressure of public opinion. The secrecy of parliamentary proceedings, which had been needful as a safeguard against royal interference with debate, served as a safeguard against interference on the part of constituencies. This strange union of immense power with absolute freedom from responsibility brought about its natural results in the bulk of members. A vote was too valuable to be given without recompense; and parliamentary support had to be bought by places, pensions, and bribes in hard cash. But dexterous as was their management, and compact as was their organization, it was to nobler qualities than these that the Whigs owed their long rule over England. They were true throughout to the principles on which they had risen into power, and their unbroken administration converted those principles into national habits. Before their long rule was over, Englishmen had forgotten that it was possible to persecute for difference of opinion, or to put down the liberty of the press, or to tamper with the administration of justice, or to rule without a Parliament.

That this policy was so firmly grasped and so steadily carried out was due above all to the genius of Robert Walpole. Born in 1676, he entered

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Parliament two years before William's death as a young Norfolk land-owner of fair fortune, with the tastes and air of the class from which he sprang. His big square figure, his vulgar good-humoured face were those of a common country squire. And in Walpole the squire underlay the statesman to the last. He was ignorant of books, he "loved neither writing nor reading," and if he had a taste for art, his real love was for the table, the bottle, and the chase. He rode as hard as he drank. Even in moments of political peril, the first despatch he would open was the letter from his gamekeeper. There was the temper of the Norfolk fox-hunter in the "doggedness" which Marlborough noted as his characteristic, in the burly self-confidence which declared "If I had not been Prime Minister I should have been Archbishop of Canterbury," in the stubborn courage which conquered the awkwardness of his earlier efforts to speak, or met single-handed at the last the bitter attacks of a host of enemies. There was the same temper in the genial good-humour which became with him a new force in politics. No man was ever more fiercely attacked by speakers and writers, but he brought in no "gagging Act" for the press; and though the lives of most of his assailants were in his hands through their intrigues with the Pretender, he made little use of his power over them. Where his country breeding showed itself most, however, was in the shrewd, narrow, honest character of his mind. Though he saw very clearly, he could not see far, and he would not believe what he could not see. He was thoroughly straightforward and true to his own convictions, so far as they went. "Robin and I are two honest men," the Jacobite Shippen owned in later years, when contrasting him with his factious opponents: "he is for King George and I am for King James, but those men with long cravats only desire place either under King George or King James." He saw the value of the political results which the Revolution had won, and he carried out his "Revolution principles" with a rare fidelity through years of unquestioned power. But his prosaic good sense turned sceptically away from the poetic and passionate sides of human feeling. Appeals to the loftier or purer motives of action he laughed at as "school-boy flights." For young members who talked of public virtue or patriotism he had one good-natured answer: "You will soon come off that and grow wiser."

The
Jacobite
Revolt

How great a part Walpole was to play no one could as yet foresee. Though his vigour in the cause of his party had earned him the bitter hostility of the Tories in the later years of Anne, and a trumped-up charge of peculation had served in 1712 as a pretext for expelling him from the House and committing him to the Tower, at the accession of George the First Walpole was far from holding the commanding position he was soon to assume. The first Hanoverian Ministry was drawn wholly from the Whig party, but its leaders and Marlborough found themselves alike set aside. The direction of affairs was en-

The
Townshend
Ministry

trusted to the new Secretary of State, Lord Townshend ; his fellow Secretary was General Stanhope, who was raised to the peerage. It was as Townshend's brother-in-law, rather than from a sense of his actual ability, that Walpole successively occupied the posts of Paymaster of the Forces, Chancellor of the Exchequer, and First Lord of the Treasury, in the new administration. The first work of the Ministry was to meet a desperate attempt of the Pretender to gain the throne. There was no real prospect of success, for the active Jacobites in England were few, and the Tories were broken and dispirited by the fall of their leaders. The death of Lewis ruined all hope of aid from France ; the hope of Swedish aid proved as fruitless ; but in spite of Bolingbroke's counsels James Stuart resolved to act alone. Without informing his new minister, he ordered the Earl of Mar to give the signal for revolt in the North. In Scotland the triumph of the Whigs meant the continuance of the House of Argyll in power, and the rival Highland clans were as ready to fight the Campbells under Mar as they had been ready to fight them under Dundee or Montrose. But Mar was a leader of different stamp from these. Six thousand Highlanders joined him at Perth, but his cowardice or want of conduct kept his army idle, till Argyll had gathered forces to meet it in an indecisive engagement at Sheriffmuir. The Pretender, who arrived too late for the action, proved a yet more sluggish and incapable leader than Mar : and at the close of 1715 the advance of fresh forces drove James over-sea again and dispersed the clans to their hills. In England the danger passed away like a dream. The accession of the new King had been followed by some outbreaks of riotous discontent ; but at the talk of Highland risings and French invasions Tories and Whigs alike rallied round the throne ; while the army went hotly for King George. The suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act, and the arrest of their leader, Sir William Wyndham, cowed the Jacobites ; and not a man stirred in the west when Ormond appeared off the coast of Devon, and called on his party to rise. Oxford alone, where the University was a hotbed of Jacobitism, showed itself restless ; and a few of the Catholic gentry rose in Northumberland, under Lord Derwentwater and Mr. Forster. The arrival of two thousand Highlanders who had been sent to join them by Mar spurred them to a march into Lancashire, where the Catholic party was strongest ; but they were soon cooped up in Preston, and driven to a surrender. The Ministry availed itself of its triumph to gratify the Nonconformists by a repeal of the Schism and Occasional Conformity Acts, and to venture on a great constitutional change. Under the Triennial Bill in William's reign the duration of a Parliament was limited to three years. Now that the House of Commons however was become the ruling power in the State, a change was absolutely required to secure steadiness and fixity of political action ; and in

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WALPOLE

1712

TO

1742

*The Rising
of 1715**The
Septennial
Bill*

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1712

TO

1742

The
Whigs
and
Europe

Alliance
against
Spain

1716 this necessity coincided with the desire of the Whigs to maintain in power a thoroughly Whig Parliament. The duration of Parliament was therefore extended to seven years by the Septennial Bill. But the Jacobite rising brought about a yet more momentous change in English policy abroad. At the moment when the landing of James in Scotland had quickened the anxiety of King George that France should be wholly detached from his cause, the actual state of European politics aided to bring about a new triple alliance between France, England, and Holland.

Since the death of Lewis the Fourteenth in 1715 France had been ruled by the Duke of Orleans as Regent for the young King, Lewis the Fifteenth. The Duke stood next in the succession to the crown, if Philip of Spain observed the renunciation of his rights which he had made in the Treaty of Utrecht. It was well known, however, that Philip had no notion of observing this renunciation, and the constant dream of every Spaniard was to recover all that Spain had given up. To attempt this was to defy Europe; for Savoy had gained Sicily; the Emperor held the Netherlands, Naples, and the Milanese; Holland looked on the Barrier fortresses as vital to its own security; while England clung tenaciously to the American trade. But the boldness of Cardinal Alberoni, who was now the Spanish Minister, accepted the risk; and while his master was intriguing against the Regent in France, Alberoni promised aid to the Jacobite cause as a means of preventing the interference of England with his designs. His first attempt was to recover the Italian provinces which Philip had lost, and armaments greater than Spain had seen for a century reduced Sardinia in 1717. England and France at once drew together and entered into a compact by which France guaranteed the succession of the House of Hanover in England, and England the succession of the House of Orleans, should Lewis the Fifteenth die without heirs; and the two powers were joined, though unwillingly, by Holland. When in the summer of 1718 a strong Spanish force landed in Sicily, and made itself master of the island, the appearance of an English squadron in the Straits of Messina was followed by an engagement in which the Spanish fleet was all but destroyed. Alberoni strove to avenge the blow by fitting out an armament which the Duke of Ormond was to command for a revival of the Jacobite rising in Scotland. But the ships were wrecked in the Bay of Biscay; and the accession of Austria with Savoy to the Triple Alliance left Spain alone in the face of Europe. The progress of the French armies in the north of Spain forced Philip at last to give way. Alberoni was dismissed; and the Spanish forces were withdrawn from Sardinia and Sicily. The last of these islands now passed to the Emperor, Savoy being compensated for its loss by the acquisition of Sardinia, from which its Duke took the title of King; while the work of the

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TO

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The
Stanhope
Ministry

1718

*England
and
Hanover**The Peerage
Bill*

Treaty of Utrecht was completed by the Emperor's renunciation of his claims on the crown of Spain, and Philip's renunciation of his claims on the Milanese and the two Sicilies.

The struggle however had shown the difficulties which the double position of its sovereign was to bring on England. In his own mind George cared more for the interests of his Electorate of Hanover than of his kingdom; and these were now threatened by Charles XII. of Sweden, whose anger had been roused at the cession to Hanover of the Swedish possessions of Bremen and Verden by the King of Denmark, who had seized them while Charles was absent in Turkey. The despatch of a British fleet into the Baltic to overawe Sweden identified England with the policy of Hanover, and Charles retorted by joining with Alberoni, and by concluding an alliance with the Czar, Peter the Great, for a restoration of the Stuarts. Luckily for the new dynasty his plans were brought to an end by his death at the siege of Frederickshall; but the policy which provoked them had already brought about the dissolution of the Ministry. In assenting to a treaty of alliance with Hanover against Sweden, they had yielded to the fact that Bremen and Verden were not only of the highest importance to Hanover, which was thus brought into contact with the sea, but of hardly less value to England, as they secured the mouths of the Elbe and the Weser, the chief inlets for British commerce into Germany, in the hands of a friendly state. But they refused to go further in carrying out a Hanoverian policy; the anger of the King was seconded by intrigues among the ministers; and in 1717 Townshend and Walpole had been forced to resign their posts. In the reconstituted cabinet Lords Sunderland and Stanhope remained supreme; and their first aim was to secure the maintenance of the Whig power by a constitutional change. Harley's creation of twelve peers to ensure the sanction of the Lords to the Treaty of Utrecht showed that the Crown possessed a power of swamping the majority in the House of Peers. In 1720 therefore the Ministry introduced a bill, suggested as was believed by Sunderland, which professed to secure the liberty of the Upper House by limiting the power of the Crown in the creation of fresh Peers. The number of Peers was permanently fixed at the number then sitting in the House; and creations could only be made when vacancies occurred. Twenty-five hereditary Scotch Peers were substituted for the sixteen elected Peers for Scotland. The bill however was strenuously opposed by Walpole. It would in fact have rendered representative government impossible. For representative government was now coming day by day more completely to mean government by the will of the House of Commons, carried out by a Ministry which served as the mouthpiece of that will. But it was only through the prerogative of the Crown, as exercised under the advice of such a Ministry, that the Peers could be forced to bow to the

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WALPOLE

1712

TO

1742

*South Sea
Bubble**Walpole's
Ministry***Walpole's
Peace
Policy**

will of the Lower House in matters where their opinion was adverse to it ; and the proposal of Sunderland would have brought legislation and government to a dead lock. The Peerage Bill owed its defeat to Walpole's opposition ; and his rivals were forced to admit him, with Townshend, into the Ministry, though they held subordinate places. But this soon gave way to a more natural arrangement. The sudden increase of English commerce begot at this moment the mania of speculation. Ever since the age of Elizabeth the unknown wealth of Spanish America had acted like a spell upon the imagination of Englishmen ; and Harley gave countenance to a South Sea Company, which promised a reduction of the public debt as the price of a monopoly of the Spanish trade. Spain however clung jealously to her old prohibitions of all foreign commerce ; and the Treaty of Utrecht only won for England the right of engaging in the negro slave-trade, and of despatching a single ship to the coast of Spanish America. But in spite of all this, the Company again came forward, offering in exchange for new privileges to pay off national burdens which amounted to nearly a million a year. It was in vain that Walpole warned the Ministry and the country against this "dream." Both went mad ; and in 1720 bubble Company followed bubble Company, till the inevitable reaction brought a general ruin in its train. The crash brought Stanhope to the grave. Of his colleagues, many were found to have received bribes from the South Sea Company to back its frauds. Craggs, the Secretary of State, died of terror at the investigation ; Aislabie, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, was sent to the Tower ; and in the general wreck of his rivals Walpole mounted again in power. In 1721 he became First Lord of the Treasury, while Townshend returned to his post of Secretary of State. But their relative position was now reversed. Townshend had been the head in their earlier administration : in this Walpole was resolved, to use his own characteristic phrase, that "the firm should be Walpole and Townshend and not Townshend and Walpole."

If no Minister has fared worse at the hands of poets and historians, there are few whose greatness has been more impartially recognized by practical statesmen. The years of his power indeed are years without parallel in our history for political stagnation. His long administration of more than twenty years is almost without a history. All legislative and political activity seemed to cease with his entry into office. Year after year passed by without a change. In the third year of his Ministry there was but one division in the House of Commons. The Tory members were so few that for a time they hardly cared to attend its sittings ; and in 1722 the loss of Bishop Atterbury of Rochester, who was convicted of correspondence with the Pretender, deprived of his bishopric, and banished by Act of Parliament, deprived the Jacobites of their only remaining leader. Walpole's one care was to maintain the quiet

which was reconciling the country to the system of the Revolution. But this inaction fell in with the temper of the nation at large. It was popular with the class which commonly presses for political activity. The energy of the trading class was absorbed in the rapid extension of commerce and accumulation of wealth. So long as the country was justly and temperately governed the merchant and shopkeeper were content to leave government in the hands that held it. All they asked was to be let alone to enjoy their new freedom, and develop their new industries. And Walpole let them alone. Progress became material rather than political, but the material progress of the country was such as England had never seen before. The work of keeping England quiet and of giving quiet to Europe, was in itself a noble one ; and it is the temper with which he carried on this work which gives Walpole his place among English statesmen. He was the first and he was the most successful of our Peace Ministers. "The most pernicious circumstances," he said, "in which this country can be are those of war ; as we must be losers while it lasts, and cannot be great gainers when it ends." It was not that the honour or influence of England suffered in his hands, for he won victories by the firmness of his policy and the skill of his negotiations as effectual as any which are won by arms. But in spite of the complications of foreign affairs, and the pressure from the Court and the Opposition, it is the glory of Walpole that he resolutely kept England at peace. Peace indeed was hard to maintain. The Emperor Charles the Sixth had issued a Pragmatic Sanction, by which he provided that his hereditary dominions should descend unbroken to his daughter, Maria Theresa ; but no European State had yet consented to guarantee her succession. Spain, still resolute to regain her lost possessions, and her old monopoly of trade with her American colonies, seized the opportunity of detaching the Emperor from the alliance of the Four Powers, which left her isolated in Europe. She promised to support the Pragmatic Sanction in return for a pledge from Charles to aid in wresting Gibraltar and Minorca from England, and in securing to a Spanish prince the succession to Parma, Piacenza, and Tuscany. A grant of the highest trading privileges in her American dominions to a commercial company which the Emperor had established at Ostend, in defiance of the Treaty of Westphalia and the remonstrances of England and Holland, revealed this secret alliance ; and there were fears of the adhesion of Russia. The danger was met for a while by an alliance of England, France, and Prussia ; but the withdrawal of the last Power again gave courage to the confederates, and in 1727 the Spaniards besieged Gibraltar, while Charles threatened an invasion of Holland. The moderation of Walpole alone averted a European war. While sending British squadrons to the Baltic, the Spanish coast, and America, he succeeded by diplomatic pressure in again forcing the Emperor to inaction ; Spain was at last brought to sign

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WALPOLE

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TO

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*Fresh efforts
of Spain*

1725

1729

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1712

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1742

Walpole's
Finance

the Treaty of Seville, and to content herself with a promise of the succession of a Spanish prince to the Duchies of Parma and Tuscany; and the discontent of Charles at this concession was allayed in 1731 by giving the guarantee of England to the Pragmatic Sanction.

As Walpole was the first of our Peace Ministers, so he was the first of our Financiers. He was far indeed from discerning the powers which later statesmen have shown to exist in a sound finance, but he had the sense to see, what no minister had till then seen, that the wisest course a statesman can take in presence of a great increase in national industry and national wealth is to look quietly on and let it alone. At the outset of his rule he declared in a speech from the Throne that nothing would more conduce to the extension of commerce "than to make the exportation of our own manufactures, and the importation of the commodities used in the manufacturing of them, as practicable and easy as may be." The first act of his financial administration was to take off the duties from more than a hundred British exports, and nearly forty articles of importation. In 1730 he broke in the same enlightened spirit through the prejudice which restricted the commerce of the colonies to the mother-country alone, by allowing Georgia and the Carolinas to export their rice directly to any part of Europe. The result was that the rice of America soon drove that of Italy and Egypt from the market. His Excise Bill, defective as it was, was the first measure in which an English Minister showed any real grasp of the principles of taxation. The wisdom of Walpole was rewarded by a quick up-growth of prosperity. Our exports, which were six millions in value at the beginning of the century, had doubled by the middle of it. The rapid developement of the Colonial trade gave England a new wealth. In Manchester and Birmingham, whose manufactures were now becoming of importance, population doubled in thirty years. Bristol, the chief seat of the West Indian trade, rose into new prosperity. Liverpool, which owes its creation to the new trade with the West, sprang up from a little country town into the third port in the kingdom. With peace and security, and the wealth that they brought with them, the value of land, and with it the rental of every country gentleman, rose fast. But this up-growth of wealth around him never made Walpole swerve from a rigid economy, from the steady reduction of the debt, or the diminution of fiscal duties. Even before the death of George the First the public burdens were reduced by twenty millions.

The accession of George the Second in 1727 seemed to give a fatal shock to Walpole's power; for the new King was known to have hated his father's Minister hardly less than he had hated his father. But hate Walpole as he might, the King was absolutely guided by the adroitness of his wife, Caroline of Anspach; and Caroline had resolved that there should be no change in the Ministry. The years which

Walpole
and the
Parlia-
mentGeorge the
Second

followed were in fact those in which Walpole's power reached its height. He gained as great an influence over George the Second as he had gained over his father. His hold over the House of Commons remained unshaken. The country was tranquil and prosperous. The prejudices of the landed gentry were met by a steady effort to reduce the land-tax. The Church was quiet. The Jacobites were too hopeless to stir. A few trade measures and social reforms crept quietly through the Houses. An inquiry into the state of the gaols showed that social thought was not utterly dead. A bill of great value enacted that all proceedings in courts of justice should henceforth be in the English language. Only once did Walpole break this tranquillity by an attempt at a great measure of statesmanship. No tax had from the first moment of its introduction been more unpopular than the Excise. Its origin was due to Pym and the Long Parliament, who imposed duties on beer, cyder, and perry, which at the Restoration produced an annual income of more than six hundred thousand pounds. The war with France brought with it the malt-tax, and additional duties on spirits, wine, tobacco, and other articles. So great had been the increase in the public wealth that the return from the Excise amounted at the death of George the First to nearly two millions and a half a year. But its unpopularity remained unabated, and even philosophers like Locke contended that the whole public revenue should be drawn from direct taxes upon the land. Walpole, on the other hand, saw in the growth of indirect taxation a means of winning over the country gentry to the new dynasty of the Revolution by freeing the land from all burdens whatever. Smuggling and fraud diminished the revenue by immense sums. The loss on tobacco alone amounted to a third of the whole duty. The Excise Bill of 1733 met this evil by the establishment of bonded warehouses, and by the collection of the duties from the inland dealers in the form of Excise and not of Customs. The first measure would have made London a free port, and doubled English trade. The second would have so largely increased the revenue, without any loss to the consumer, as to enable Walpole to repeal the land-tax. In the case of tea and coffee alone, the change in the mode of levying the duty was estimated to bring in an additional hundred thousand pounds a year. The necessities of life and the raw materials of manufacture were in Walpole's plan to remain absolutely untaxed. The scheme was an anticipation of the principles which have guided English finance since the triumph of free trade; but in 1733 Walpole stood ahead of his time. A violent agitation broke out; riots almost grew into revolt; and in spite of the Queen's wish to put down resistance by force, Walpole withdrew the bill. "I will not be the Minister," he said with noble self-command, "to enforce taxes at the expense of blood." What had fanned popular prejudice into a flame during the uproar was the violence of the

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*Excise Bill**The Patriots*

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The
Spanish
War

The Family
Compact

so-called "Patriots." In the absence of a strong opposition and of great impulses to enthusiasm a party breaks readily into factions : and the weakness of the Tories joined with the stagnation of public affairs to breed faction among the Whigs. Walpole too was jealous of power ; and as his jealousy drove colleague after colleague out of office, they became leaders of a party whose sole aim was to thrust him from his post. Greed of power indeed was the one passion which mastered his robust common-sense. Townshend was turned out of office in 1730, Lord Chesterfield in 1733 ; and though he started with the ablest administration the country had known, Walpole was left after twenty years of supremacy with but one man of ability in his cabinet, the Chancellor, Lord Hardwicke. With the single exception of Townshend, the colleagues whom his jealousy dismissed plunged into an opposition more factious and unprincipled than has ever disgraced English politics. The "Patriots," as they called themselves, owned Pulteney as their head ; they were reinforced by a band of younger Whigs—the "Boys," as Walpole named them—whose temper revolted alike against the inaction and cynicism of his policy, and whose spokesman was a young cornet of horse, William Pitt ; and they rallied to these the fragment of the Tory party which still took part in politics, and which was guided for a while by the virulent ability of Bolingbroke, whom Walpole had suffered to return from exile, but to whom he had refused the restoration of his seat in the House of Lords. But Walpole's defeat on the Excise Bill had done little to shake his power, and Bolingbroke withdrew to France in despair at the failure of his efforts.

Abroad the first signs of a new danger showed themselves in 1733, when the peace of Europe was broken afresh by disputes which rose out of a contested election to the throne of Poland. Austria and France were alike drawn into the strife ; and in England the awakening jealousy of French designs roused a new pressure for war. The new King too was eager to fight, and her German sympathies inclined even Caroline to join in the fray. But Walpole stood firm for the observance of neutrality. "There are fifty thousand men slain this year in Europe," he boasted as the strife went on, "and not one Englishman." The intervention of England and Holland succeeded in 1736 in restoring peace ; but the country noted bitterly that peace was bought by the triumph of both branches of the House of Bourbon. A new Bourbon monarchy was established at the cost of the House of Austria by the cession of the Two Sicilies to a Spanish Prince, in exchange for his right of succession to Parma and Tuscany. On the other hand, Lorraine passed finally into the hands of France. The birth of children to Lewis the Fifteenth had settled all questions of succession in France, and no obstacle remained to hinder their family sympathies from uniting the Bourbon Courts in a common action. As early as 1733

a Family Compact had been secretly concluded between France and Spain, the main object of which was the ruin of the maritime supremacy of Britain. Spain bound herself to deprive England gradually of its commercial privileges in her American dominions, and to transfer them to France. France in return engaged to support Spain at sea, and to aid her in the recovery of Gibraltar. The caution with which Walpole held aloof from the Polish war rendered this compact inoperative for the time ; but neither of the Bourbon courts ceased to look forward to its future execution. No sooner was the war ended than France strained every nerve to increase her fleet ; while Spain steadily tightened the restrictions on British commerce with her American colonies. The trade with Spanish America, which, illegal as it was, had grown largely through the connivance of Spanish port-officers during the long alliance of England and Spain in the wars against France, had at last received a legal recognition in the Peace of Utrecht. It was indeed left under narrow restrictions ; but these were evaded by a vast system of smuggling which rendered what remained of the Spanish monopoly all but valueless. The efforts of Philip however to bring down English intercourse with his colonies to the importation of negroes and the despatch of a single ship, as stipulated by the Treaty of Utrecht, brought about collisions which made it hard to keep the peace. The ill-humour of the trading classes rose to madness in 1738 when a merchant captain named Jenkins told at the bar of the House of Commons the tale of his torture by the Spaniards, and produced an ear which, he said, they had cut off with taunts at the English king. It was in vain that Walpole strove to do justice to both parties, and that he battled stubbornly against the cry for an unjust and impolitic war. The Emperor's death was now close at hand ; and at such a juncture it was of the highest importance that England should be free to avail herself of every means to guard the European settlement. But his efforts were in vain. His negotiations were foiled by the frenzy of the one country and the pride of the other. At home his enemies assailed him with a storm of abuse. Ballad-singers trolled out their rimes to the crowd on "the cur-dog of Britain and spaniel of Spain." His position had been weakened by the death of the Queen ; and it was now weakened yet more by the open hostility of the Prince of Wales. His mastery of the House of Commons too was no longer unquestioned. The Tories were slowly returning to Parliament. The numbers and the violence of the "Patriots" had grown with the open patronage of Prince Frederick. The country was slowly turning against him. With the cry for a commercial war the support of the trading class failed him. But it was not till he stood utterly alone that Walpole gave way and that he consented in 1739 to a war against Spain.

"They may ring their bells now," the great minister said bitterly, as

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*England
and Spain***Fall of
Walpole**

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*The
Austrian
Succession*
1740

*Resignation
of Walpole*

peals and bonfires welcomed his surrender ; “but they will soon be wringing their hands.” His foresight was at once justified. No sooner had Admiral Vernon appeared off the coast of South America with an English fleet, and captured Porto Bello, than France formally declared that she would not consent to any English settlement on the mainland of South America, and despatched two squadrons to the West Indies. At this crisis the death of Charles the Sixth forced on the European struggle which Walpole had dreaded. France saw her opportunity for finishing the work which Henry the Second had begun of breaking up the Empire into a group of powers too weak to resist French aggression. While the new King of Prussia, Frederick the Second, claimed Silesia, Bavaria claimed the Austrian Duchies, which passed with the other hereditary dominions, according to the Pragmatic Sanction, to the Queen of Hungary, Maria Theresa. In union therefore with Spain, which aimed at the annexation of the Milanese, France promised her aid to Prussia and Bavaria ; while Sweden and Sardinia allied themselves to France. In the summer of 1741 two French armies entered Germany, and the Elector of Bavaria appeared unopposed before Vienna. Never had the House of Austria stood in such peril. Its opponents counted on a division of its dominions. France claimed the Netherlands, Spain the Milanese, Bavaria the kingdom of Bohemia, Frederick the Second Silesia. Hungary and the Duchy of Austria alone were left to Maria Theresa. Walpole, though still true to her cause, advised her to purchase Frederick’s aid against France and her allies by the cession of part of Silesia ; but the “Patriots” spurred her to refusal by promising her the aid of England. Walpole’s last hope of rescuing Austria was broken, and Frederick was driven to conclude an alliance with France. But the Queen refused to despair. She won the support of Hungary by restoring its constitutional rights ; and British subsidies enabled her to march at the head of a Hungarian army to the rescue of Vienna, to overrun Bavaria, and repulse an attack of Frederick on Moravia in the spring of 1742. On England’s part, however, the war was waged feebly and ineffectively. Admiral Vernon was beaten before Carthage ; and Walpole was charged with thwarting and starving the war. He still repelled the attacks of the “Patriots” with wonderful spirit ; but in a new Parliament his majority dropped to sixteen, and in his own cabinet he became almost powerless. The buoyant temper which had carried him through so many storms broke down at last. “He who was asleep as soon as his head touched the pillow,” writes his son, “now never sleeps above an hour without waking : and he who at dinner always forgot his own anxieties, and was more gay and thoughtless than all the company, now sits without speaking, and with his eyes fixed for an hour together.” The end was in fact near ; and in the opening of 1742 the dwindling of his majority to three forced Walpole to resign.

CHAPTER X.

MODERN ENGLAND.

Section I.—William Pitt, 1742–1762.

[*Authorities.*—Lord Stanhope and Horace Walpole, as before. Southey's biography, or the more elaborate life by Mr. Tyerman, gives an account of Wesley. For Pitt himself, the Chatham correspondence, his life by Thackeray, and Lord Macaulay's two essays on him. The Annual Register begins with 1758; its earlier portion has been attributed to Burke. Carlyle's "Frederick the Great" gives a picturesque account of the Seven Years' War. For Clive, see the biography by Sir John Malcolm, and Lord Macaulay's essay.]

THE fall of Walpole revealed a change in the temper of England which was to influence from that time to this its social and political history. New forces, new cravings, new aims, which had been silently gathering beneath the crust of inaction, began at last to tell on the national life. The stir showed itself markedly in a religious revival which dates from the later years of Walpole's ministry. Never had religion seemed at a lower ebb. The progress of free inquiry, the aversion from theological strife which had been left by the Civil Wars, the new political and material channels opened to human energy, had produced a general indifference to all questions of religious speculation or religious life. The Church, predominant as its influence seemed at the close of the Revolution, had sunk into political insignificance. The bishops, who were now chosen exclusively from among the small number of Whig ecclesiastics, were left politically powerless by the estrangement and hatred of their clergy; while the clergy themselves, drawn by their secret tendencies to Jacobitism, stood sulkily apart from any active interference with public affairs. The prudence of the Whig statesmen aided to maintain this ecclesiastical immobility. They were careful to avoid all that could rouse into life the slumbering forces of bigotry and fanaticism. When the Dissenters pressed for a repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts, Walpole openly avowed his dread of awaking the passions of religious hate by such a measure, and satisfied them by an annual act of indemnity for any breach of these penal statutes; while a suspension of the meetings of Convocation deprived the clergy of their natural centre of agitation and opposition. Nor was this political inaction compensated by any religious activity. A large number of prelates were mere Whig partisans with no higher aim than that of promotion. The levees of the

The
Church
and the
Georges

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1762

*Religious
indifference*

Ministers were crowded with lawn sleeves. A Welsh bishop avowed that he had seen his diocese but once, and habitually resided at the lakes of Westmoreland. The system of pluralities turned the wealthier and more learned of the priesthood into absentees, while the bulk of them were indolent, poor, and without social consideration. A shrewd, if prejudiced, observer brands the English clergy of the day as the most lifeless in Europe, "the most remiss of their labours in private, and the least severe in their lives." There was a revolt against religion and against churches in both the extremes of English society. In the higher circles of society "every one laughs," said Montesquieu on his visit to England, "if one talks of religion." Of the prominent statesmen of the time the greater part were unbelievers in any form of Christianity, and distinguished for the grossness and immorality of their lives. Drunkenness and foul talk were thought no discredit to Walpole. A later prime minister, the Duke of Grafton, was in the habit of appearing with his mistress at the play. Purity and fidelity to the marriage vow were sneered out of fashion; and Lord Chesterfield, in his letters to his son, instructs him in the art of seduction as part of a polite education. At the other end of the social scale lay the masses of the poor. They were ignorant and brutal to a degree which it is hard to conceive, for the increase of population which followed on the growth of towns and the developement of commerce had been met by no effort for their religious or educational improvement. Not a new parish had been created. Schools there were none, save the grammar schools of Edward and Elizabeth, and some newly established "circulating schools" in Wales, for religious education. The rural peasantry, who were fast being reduced to pauperism by the abuse of the poor-laws, were left without much moral or religious training of any sort. "We saw but one Bible in the parish of Cheddar," said Hannah More at a far later time, "and that was used to prop a flower-pot." Within the towns things were worse. There was no effective police; and in great outbreaks the mob of London or Birmingham burnt houses, flung open prisons, and sacked and pillaged at their will. The criminal class gathered boldness and numbers in the face of ruthless laws which only testified to the terror of society, laws which made it a capital crime to cut down a cherry tree, and which strung up twenty young thieves of a morning in front of Newgate; while the introduction of gin gave a new impetus to drunkenness. In the streets of London at one time gin-shops invited every passer-by to get drunk for a penny, or dead drunk for twopence.

**The
Religious
Revival**

In spite however of scenes such as this, England remained at heart religious. In the middle class the old Puritan spirit lived on unchanged, and it was from this class that a religious revival burst forth at the close of Walpole's administration, which changed after a time the whole tone of English society. The Church was restored to life and activity.

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PITT

1742

TO

1762

*The
Methodists*

Whitefield

*Charles
Wesley*

Religion carried to the hearts of the people a fresh spirit of moral zeal, while it purified our literature and our manners. A new philanthropy reformed our prisons, infused clemency and wisdom into our penal laws, abolished the slave trade, and gave the first impulse to popular education. The revival began in a small knot of Oxford students, whose revolt against the religious deadness of their times showed itself in ascetic observances, an enthusiastic devotion, and a methodical regularity of life which gained them the nickname of "Methodists." Three figures detached themselves from the group as soon as, on its transfer to London in 1738, it attracted public attention by the fervour and even extravagance of its piety: and each found his special work in the task to which the instinct of the new movement led it from the first, that of carrying religion and morality to the vast masses of population which lay concentrated in the towns, or around the mines and collieries of Cornwall and the north. Whitefield, a servitor of Pembroke College, was above all the preacher of the revival. Speech was governing English politics; and the religious power of speech was shown when a dread of "enthusiasm" closed against the new apostles the pulpits of the Established Church, and forced them to preach in the fields. Their voice was soon heard in the wildest and most barbarous corners of the land, among the bleak moors of Northumberland, or in the dens of London, or in the long galleries where in the pauses of his labour the Cornish miner listens to the sobbing of the sea. Whitefield's preaching was such as England had never heard before, theatrical, extravagant, often commonplace, but hushing all criticism by its intense reality, its earnestness of belief, its deep tremulous sympathy with the sin and sorrow of mankind. It was no common enthusiast who could wring gold from the close-fisted Franklin and admiration from the fastidious Horace Walpole, or who could look down from the top of a green knoll at Kingswood on twenty thousand colliers, grimy from the Bristol coal-pits, and see as he preached the tears "making white channels down their blackened cheeks." On the rough and ignorant masses to whom they spoke the effect of Whitefield and his fellow Methodists was mighty both for good and ill. Their preaching stirred a passionate hatred in their opponents. Their lives were often in danger, they were mobbed, they were ducked, they were stoned, they were smothered with filth. But the enthusiasm they aroused was equally passionate. Women fell down in convulsions; strong men were smitten suddenly to the earth; the preacher was interrupted by bursts of hysteric laughter or of hysteric sobbing. All the phenomena of strong spiritual excitement, so familiar now, but at that time strange and unknown, followed on their sermons; and the terrible sense of a conviction of sin, a new dread of hell, a new hope of heaven, took forms at once grotesque and sublime. Charles Wesley, a Christ Church student, came to add sweetness to this sudden and startling

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light. He was the "sweet singer" of the movement. His hymns expressed the fiery conviction of its converts in lines so chaste and beautiful that its more extravagant features disappeared. The wild throes of hysteric enthusiasm passed into a passion for hymn-singing, and a new musical impulse was aroused in the people which gradually changed the face of public devotion throughout England.

But it was his elder brother, John Wesley, who embodied in himself not this or that side of the new movement, but the movement itself. Even at Oxford, where he resided as a fellow of Lincoln, he had been looked upon as head of the group of Methodists, and after his return from a quixotic mission to the Indians of Georgia he again took the lead of the little society, which had removed in the interval to London. In power as a preacher he stood next to Whitefield; as a hymn-writer he stood second to his brother Charles. But while combining in some degree the excellences of either, he possessed qualities in which both were utterly deficient; an indefatigable industry, a cool judgement, a command over others, a faculty of organization, a singular union of patience and moderation with an imperious ambition, which marked him as a ruler of men. He had besides a learning and skill in writing which no other of the Methodists possessed; he was older than any of his colleagues at the start of the movement, and he outlived them all. His life indeed almost covers the century, and the Methodist body had passed through every phase of its history before he sank into the grave at the age of eighty-eight. It would have been impossible for Wesley to have wielded the power he did had he not shared the follies and extravagance as well as the enthusiasm of his disciples. Throughout his life his asceticism was that of a monk. At times he lived on bread only, and he often slept on the bare boards. He lived in a world of wonders and divine interpositions. It was a miracle if the rain stopped and allowed him to set forward on a journey. It was a judgement of Heaven if a hailstorm burst over a town which had been deaf to his preaching. One day, he tells us, when he was tired and his horse fell lame, "I thought—cannot God heal either man or beast by any means or without any?—immediately my headache ceased and my horse's lameness in the same instant." With a still more childish fanaticism he guided his conduct, whether in ordinary events or in the great crises of his life, by drawing lots or watching the particular texts at which his Bible opened. But with all this extravagance and superstition, Wesley's mind was essentially practical, orderly, and conservative. No man ever stood at the head of a great revolution whose temper was so anti-revolutionary. In his earlier days the bishops had been forced to rebuke him for the narrowness and intolerance of his churchmanship. When Whitefield began his sermons in the fields, Wesley "could not at first reconcile himself to that strange way." He condemned and fought against the admission of laymen as preachers till he found himself left

with none but laymen to preach. To the last he clung passionately to the Church of England, and looked on the body he had formed as but a lay society in full communion with it. He broke with the Moravians, who had been the earliest friends of the new movement, when they endangered its safe conduct by their contempt of religious forms. He broke with Whitefield when the great preacher plunged into an extravagant Calvinism. But the same practical temper of mind which led him to reject what was unmeasured, and to be the last to adopt what was new, enabled him at once to grasp and organize the novelties he adopted. He became himself the most unwearied of field preachers, and his journal for half a century is little more than a record of fresh journeys and fresh sermons. When once driven to employ lay helpers in his ministry he made their work a new and attractive feature in his system. His earlier asceticism only lingered in a dread of social enjoyments and an aversion from the gayer and sunnier side of life which links the Methodist movement with that of the Puritans. As the fervour of his superstition died down into the calm of age, his cool common sense discouraged in his followers the enthusiastic outbursts which marked the opening of the revival. His powers were bent to the building up of a great religious society which might give to the new enthusiasm a lasting and practical form. The Methodists were grouped into classes, gathered in love-feasts, purified by the expulsion of unworthy members, and furnished with an alternation of settled ministers and wandering preachers; while the whole body was placed under the absolute government of a Conference of ministers. But so long as he lived, the direction of the new religious society remained with Wesley alone. "If by arbitrary power," he replied with charming simplicity to objectors, "you mean a power which I exercise simply without any colleagues therein, this is certainly true, but I see no hurt in it."

The great body which he thus founded numbered a hundred thousand members at his death, and now counts its members in England and America by millions. But the Methodists themselves were the least result of the Methodist revival. Its action upon the Church broke the lethargy of the clergy; and the "Evangelical" movement, which found representatives like Newton and Cecil within the pale of the Establishment, made the fox-hunting parson and the absentee rector at last impossible. In Walpole's day the English clergy were the idlest and most lifeless in the world. In our own time no body of religious ministers surpasses them in piety, in philanthropic energy, or in popular regard. In the nation at large appeared a new moral enthusiasm which, rigid and pedantic as it often seemed, was still healthy in its social tone, and whose power was seen in the disappearance of the profligacy which had disgraced the upper classes, and the foulness which had infested literature, ever since the Restoration. A

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*John
Howard*

yet nobler result of the religious revival was the steady attempt, which has never ceased from that day to this, to remedy the guilt, the ignorance, the physical suffering, the social degradation of the profligate and the poor. It was not till the Wesleyan impulse had done its work that this philanthropic impulse began. The Sunday Schools established by Mr. Raikes of Gloucester at the close of the century were the beginnings of popular education. By writings and by her own personal example Hannah More drew the sympathy of England to the poverty and crime of the agricultural labourer. A passionate impulse of human sympathy with the wronged and afflicted raised hospitals, endowed charities, built churches, sent missionaries to the heathen, supported Burke in his plea for the Hindoo, and Clarkson and Wilberforce in their crusade against the iniquity of the slave-trade. It is only the moral chivalry of his labours that amongst a crowd of philanthropists draws us most, perhaps, to the work and character of John Howard. The sympathy which all were feeling for the sufferings of mankind he felt for the sufferings of the worst and most hapless of men. With wonderful ardour and perseverance he devoted himself to the cause of the debtor, the felon, and the murderer. An appointment to the office of High Sheriff of Bedfordshire in 1774 drew his attention to the state of the prisons which were placed under his care; and from that time the quiet country gentleman, whose only occupation had been reading his Bible and studying his thermometer, became the most energetic and zealous of reformers. Before a year was over he had personally visited almost every English gaol, and he found in nearly all of them frightful abuses which had been noticed half a century before, but left unredressed by Parliament. Gaolers who bought their places were paid by fees, and suffered to extort what they could. Even when acquitted, men were dragged back to their cells for want of funds to discharge the sums they owed to their keepers. Debtors and felons were huddled together in the prisons which Howard found crowded by the cruel legislation of the day. No separation was preserved between different sexes, no criminal discipline enforced. Every gaol was a chaos of cruelty and the foulest immorality, from which the prisoner could only escape by sheer starvation, or through the gaol-fever that festered without ceasing in these haunts of wretchedness. Howard saw everything with his own eyes, he tested every suffering by his own experience. In one gaol he found a cell so narrow and noisome that the poor wretch who inhabited it begged as a mercy for hanging. Howard shut himself up in the cell and bore its darkness and foulness till nature could bear no more. It was by work of this sort, and by the faithful pictures of such scenes which it enabled him to give, that he brought about their reform. The book in which he recorded his terrible experience, and the plans which he submitted for the reformation of criminals made him the father, so far as England is concerned,

of prison discipline. But his labours were far from being confined to England. In journey after journey he visited the gaols of Holland and Germany, till his longing to discover some means of checking the fatal progress of the plague led him to examine the lazarettos of Europe and the East. He was still engaged in this work of charity when he was seized by a malignant fever at Cherson in Southern Russia, and "laid quietly in the earth," as he desired.

While the revival of the Wesleys was stirring the very heart of England, its political stagnation was unbroken. The fall of Walpole made no change in English policy, at home or abroad. The bulk of his ministry, who had opposed him in his later years of office, resumed their posts, simply admitting some of the more prominent members of opposition, and giving the control of foreign affairs to Lord Carteret, a man of great power, and skilled in continental affairs. Carteret mainly followed the system of his predecessor. It was in the union of Austria and Prussia that he looked for the means of destroying the hold France had now established in Germany by the election of her puppet, Charles of Bavaria, as Emperor; and the pressure of England, aided by a victory of Frederick at Chotusitz, forced Maria Theresa to consent to Walpole's plan of a peace with Prussia at Breslau on the terms of the cession of Silesia. The peace enabled the Austrian army to drive the French from Bohemia at the close of 1742; an English fleet blockaded Cadiz, and another anchored in the bay of Naples and forced Don Carlos by a threat of bombarding his capital to conclude a treaty of neutrality, while English subsidies detached Sardinia from the French alliance. Unfortunately Carteret and the Court of Vienna now determined not only to set up the Pragmatic Sanction, but to undo the French encroachments of 1736. Naples and Sicily were to be taken back from their Spanish King, Elsass and Lorraine from France; and the imperial dignity was to be restored to the Austrian House. To carry out these schemes an Austrian army drove the Emperor from Bavaria in the spring of 1743; while George the Second, who warmly supported Carteret's policy, put himself at the head of a force of 40,000 men, the bulk of whom were English and Hanoverians, and marched from the Netherlands to the Main. His advance was checked and finally turned into a retreat by the Duc de Noailles, who appeared with a superior army on the south bank of the river, and finally throwing 31,000 men across it, threatened to compel the King to surrender. In the battle of Dettingen which followed, however, not only was the allied army saved from destruction by the impetuosity of the French horse and the dogged obstinacy with which the English held their ground, but their opponents were forced to recross the Main. Small as was the victory, it produced amazing results. The French evacuated Germany. The English and Austrian armies appeared on the Rhine; and a league between England, Prussia, and the Queen of

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Hungary, seemed all that was needed to secure the results already gained.

But the prospect of peace was overthrown by the ambition of the House of Austria. In the spring of 1744 an Austrian army marched upon Naples, with the purpose of transferring it after its conquest to the Bavarian Emperor, whose hereditary dominions in Bavaria were to pass in return to Maria Theresa. If however Frederick had withdrawn from the war on the cession of Silesia, he was resolute to take up arms again rather than suffer so great an aggrandisement of the House of Austria in Germany. His sudden alliance with France failed at first to change the course of the war; for though he was successful in seizing Prague and drawing the Austrian army from the Rhine, Frederick was driven from Bohemia, while the death of the Emperor forced Bavaria to lay down its arms and to ally itself with Maria Theresa. So high were the Queen's hopes at this moment that she formed a secret alliance with Russia for the division of the Prussian monarchy. But in 1745 the tide turned, and the fatal results of Carteret's weakness in assenting to the change from a war of defence into one of attack became manifest. The French King, Lewis the Fifteenth, led an army into the Netherlands; and the refusal of Holland to act against him left their defence wholly in the hands of England. The general anger at this widening of the war proved fatal to Carteret, or, as he now became, Earl Granville. His imperious temper had rendered him odious to his colleagues, and he was driven from office by the Duke of Newcastle and his brother Henry Pelham. Of the reconstituted ministry which followed Henry Pelham became the head. His temper, as well as a consciousness of his own mediocrity, disposed him to a policy of conciliation which reunited the Whigs. Chesterfield and the Whigs in opposition, with Pitt and "the Boys," all found room in the new administration; and even a few Tories found admittance. The bulk of the Whigs were true to Walpole's policy; and it was to pave the way to an accommodation with Frederick and a close of the war that the Pelhams forced Carteret to resign. But their attention had first to be given to the war in Flanders, where Marshal Saxe had established the superiority of the French army by his defeat of the Duke of Cumberland. Advancing to the relief of Tournay with a force of English, Hanoverians, and Dutch—for Holland had at last been dragged into the war—the Duke on the 31st of May 1745 found the French covered by a line of fortified villages and redoubts with but a single narrow gap near the hamlet of Fontenoy. Into this gap, however, the English troops, formed in a dense column, doggedly thrust themselves in spite of a terrible fire; but at the moment when the day seemed won the French guns, rapidly concentrated in their front, tore the column in pieces and drove it back in a slow and orderly retreat. The blow was quickly followed up in

June by a victory of Frederick at Hohenfriedburg which drove the Austrians from Silesia, and by a landing of a Stuart on the coast of Scotland at the close of July.

The war with France had at once revived the hopes of the Jacobites; and as early as 1744 Charles Edward, the grandson of James the Second, was placed by the French Government at the head of a formidable armament. But his plan of a descent on Scotland was defeated by a storm which wrecked his fleet, and by the march of the French troops which had sailed in it to the war in Flanders. In 1745, however, the young adventurer again embarked with but seven friends in a small vessel and landed on a little island of the Hebrides. For three weeks he stood almost alone; but on the 29th of August the clans rallied to his standard in Glenfinnan, and Charles found himself at the head of fifteen hundred men. His force swelled to an army as he marched through Blair Athol on Perth, entered Edinburgh in triumph, and proclaimed "James the Eighth" at the Town Cross: and two thousand English troops who marched against him under Sir John Cope were broken and cut to pieces on the 21st of September by a single charge of the clansmen at Preston Pans. Victory at once doubled the forces of the conqueror. The Prince was now at the head of six thousand men; but all were still Highlanders, for the people of the Lowlands held aloof from his standard, and it was with the utmost difficulty that he could induce them to follow him to the south. His tact and energy however at last conquered every obstacle, and after skilfully evading an army gathered at Newcastle he marched through Lancashire, and pushed on the 4th of December as far as Derby. But here all hope of success came to an end. Hardly a man had risen in his support as he passed through the districts where Jacobitism boasted of its strength. The people flocked to see his march as if to see a show. Catholics and Tories abounded in Lancashire, but only a single squire took up arms. Manchester was looked on as the most Jacobite of English towns, but all the aid it gave was an illumination and two thousand pounds. From Carlisle to Derby he had been joined by hardly two hundred men. The policy of Walpole had in fact secured England for the House of Hanover. The long peace, the prosperity of the country, and the clemency of the Government, had done their work. The recent admission of Tories into the administration had severed the Tory party finally from the mere Jacobites. Jacobitism as a fighting force was dead, and even Charles Edward saw that it was hopeless to conquer England with five thousand Highlanders. He soon learned too that forces of double his own strength were closing on either side of him, while a third army under the King and Lord Stair covered London. Scotland itself, now that the Highlanders were away, quietly renewed in all the districts of the Lowlands its allegiance to the House of Hanover. Even in the

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Highlands the Macleods rose in arms for King George, while the Gordons refused to stir, though roused by a small French force which landed at Montrose. To advance further south was impossible, and Charles fell rapidly back on Glasgow; but the reinforcements which he found there raised his army to nine thousand men, and on the 23rd January, 1746, he boldly attacked an English army under General Hawley which had followed his retreat and had encamped near Falkirk. Again the wild charge of his Highlanders won victory for the Prince, but victory was as fatal as defeat. The bulk of his forces dispersed with their booty to the mountains, and Charles fell sullenly back to the north before the Duke of Cumberland. On the 16th of April the armies faced one another on Culloden Moor, a few miles eastward of Inverness. The Highlanders still numbered six thousand men, but they were starving and dispirited, while Cumberland's force was nearly double that of the Prince. Torn by the Duke's guns, the clansmen flung themselves in their old fashion on the English front; but they were received with a terrible fire of musketry, and the few that broke through the first line found themselves fronted by a second. In a few moments all was over, and the Stuart force was a mass of hunted fugitives. Charles himself after strange adventures escaped to France. In England fifty of his followers were hanged; three Scotch lords, Lovat, Balmerino, and Kilmarnock, brought to the block; and forty persons of rank attainted by Act of Parliament. More extensive measures of repression were needful in the Highlands. The feudal tenures were abolished. The hereditary jurisdictions of the chiefs were bought up and transferred to the Crown. The tartan, or garb of the Highlanders, was forbidden by law. These measures, followed by a general Act of Indemnity, proved effective for their purpose. The dread of the clansmen passed away, and the Sheriff's writ soon ran through the Highlands with as little resistance as in the streets of Edinburgh.

Defeat abroad and danger at home only quickened the resolve of the Pelhams to bring the war with Prussia to an end. When England was threatened by a Catholic Pretender, it was no time for weakening the chief Protestant power in Germany. On the refusal of Maria Theresa to join in a general peace, England concluded the Convention of Hanover with Prussia, and withdrew so far as Germany was concerned from the war. Elsewhere however the contest lingered on. The victories of Maria Theresa in Italy were balanced by those of France in the Netherlands, where Marshal Saxe inflicted new defeats on the English and Dutch at Roucoux and Lauffeld. The danger of Holland and the financial exhaustion of France at last brought about the conclusion of a peace at Aix-la-Chapelle, by which England surrendered its gains at sea, and France its conquests on land. But the peace was a mere pause in the struggle, during which both parties hoped to gain strength for a mightier contest which they saw impend-

ing. The war was in fact widening far beyond the bounds of Germany or of Europe. It was becoming a world-wide duel which was to settle the destinies of mankind. Already France was claiming the valleys of the Ohio and the Mississippi, and mooted the great question whether the fortunes of the New World were to be moulded by Frenchmen or Englishmen. Already too French adventurers were driving English merchants from Madras, and building up, as they trusted, a power which was to add India to the dominions of France.

The early intercourse of England with India gave little promise of the great fortunes which awaited it. It was not till the close of Elizabeth's reign, a century after Vasco da Gama had crept round the Cape of Good Hope and founded the Portuguese settlement on the Goa coast, that an East India Company was established in London. The trade, profitable as it was, remained small in extent; and the three early factories of the Company were only gradually acquired during the century which followed. The first, that of Madras, consisted of but six fishermen's houses beneath Fort St. George; that of Bombay was ceded by the Portuguese as part of the dowry of Catharine of Braganza; while Fort William, with the mean village which has since grown into Calcutta, owes its origin to the reign of William the Third. Each of these forts was built simply for the protection of the Company's warehouses, and guarded by a few "sepahis," sepoys, or paid native soldiers; while the clerks and traders of each establishment were under the direction of a President and a Council. One of these clerks in the middle of the eighteenth century was Robert Clive, the son of a small proprietor near Market Drayton in Shropshire, an idle dare-devil of a boy whom his friends had been glad to get rid of by packing him off in the Company's service as a writer to Madras. His early days there were days of wretchedness and despair. He was poor and cut off from his fellows by the haughty shyness of his temper, weary of desk-work, and haunted by home-sickness. Twice he attempted suicide; and it was only on the failure of his second attempt that he flung down the pistol which baffled him with a conviction that he was reserved for higher things.

A change came at last in the shape of war and captivity. As soon as the war of the Austrian Succession broke out, the superiority of the French in power and influence tempted them to expel the English from India. Labourdonnais, the governor of the French colony of the Mauritius, besieged Madras, razed it to the ground, and carried its clerks and merchants prisoners to Pondicherry. Clive was among these captives, but he escaped in disguise, and returning to the settlement, threw aside his clerkship for an ensign's commission in the force which the Company was busily raising. For the capture of Madras had not only established the repute of the French arms, but had roused Dupleix, the governor of Pondicherry, to conceive plans for the

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American
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creation of a French empire in India. When the English merchants of Elizabeth's day brought their goods to Surat, all India, save the south, had just been brought for the first time under the rule of a single great power by the Mogul Emperors of the line of Akbar. But with the death of Aurungzebe, in the reign of Anne, the Mogul Empire fell fast into decay. A line of feudal princes raised themselves to independence in Rajpootana. The lieutenants of the Emperor founded separate sovereignties at Lucknow and Hyderabad, in the Carnatic, and in Bengal. The plain of the Upper Indus was occupied by a race of religious fanatics called the Sikhs. Persian and Affghan invaders crossed the Indus, and succeeded even in sacking Delhi, the capital of the Moguls. Clans of systematic plunderers, who were known under the name of Mahrattas, and who were in fact the natives whom conquest had long held in subjection, poured down from the highlands along the western coast, ravaged as far as Calcutta and Tanjore, and finally set up independent states at Poonah and Gwalior. Dupleix skilfully availed himself of the disorder around him. He offered his aid to the Emperor against the rebels and invaders who had reduced his power to a shadow; and it was in the Emperor's name that he meddled with the quarrels of the states of Central and Southern India, made himself virtually master of the Court of Hyderabad, and seated a creature of his own on the throne of the Carnatic. Trichinopoly, the one town which held out against this Nabob of the Carnatic, was all but brought to surrender when Clive, in 1751, came forward with a daring scheme for its relief. With a few hundred English and sepoy he pushed through a thunderstorm to the surprise of Arcot, the Nabob's capital, entrenched himself in its enormous fort, and held it for fifty days against thousands of assailants. Moved by his gallantry, the Mahrattas, who had never believed that Englishmen would fight before, advanced and broke up the siege; but Clive was no sooner freed than he showed equal vigour in the field. At the head of raw recruits who ran away at the first sound of a gun, and sepoy who hid themselves as soon as the cannon opened fire, he twice attacked and defeated the French and their Indian allies, foiled every effort of Dupleix, and razed to the ground a pompous pillar which the French governor had set up in honour of his earlier victories.

Clive was recalled by broken health to England, and the fortunes of the struggle in India were left for decision to a later day. But while France was struggling for the Empire of the East she was striving with even more apparent success for the command of the new world of the West. Populous as they had become, the English settlements in America still lay mainly along the sea-board of the Atlantic; for only a few exploring parties had penetrated into the Alleghanies before the Seven Years' War; and Indian tribes wandered unquestioned along the lakes. It was not till the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle

that the pretensions of France drew the eyes of the colonists and of English statesmen to the interior of the Western Continent. Planted firmly in Louisiana and Canada, France openly claimed the whole country west of the Alleghanies as its own, and its governors now ordered all English settlers or merchants to be driven from the valleys of Ohio or Mississippi which were still in the hands of Indian tribes. Even the inactive Pelham revolted from pretensions such as these. The original French settlers were driven from Acadia or Nova Scotia, and an English colony founded the settlement of Halifax. An Ohio Company was formed, and its agents made their way to the valleys of that river and the Kentucky; while envoys from Virginia and Pennsylvania drew closer the alliance between their colonies and the Indian tribes across the mountains. Nor were the French slow to accept the challenge. Fighting began in Acadia. A vessel of war appeared in Ontario, and Niagara was turned into a fort. A force of 1,200 men despatched to Erie drove the few English settlers from their little colony on the fork of the Ohio, and founded there a fort called Duquesne, on the site of the later Pittsburg. The fort at once gave this force command of the river valley. After a fruitless attack on it under George Washington, a young Virginian, the colonists were forced to withdraw over the mountains, and the whole of the west was left in the hands of France. The bulk of the Indian tribes from Canada as far as the Mississippi attached themselves to the French cause, and the value of their aid was shown in 1755, when General Braddock led a force of English soldiers and American militia to an attack upon Fort Duquesne. The force was utterly routed and Braddock slain. The Marquis of Montcalm, who in 1756 commanded the French forces in Canada, was gifted with singular powers of administration. He carried out with even more zeal than his predecessor the plans of annexation; and the three forts of Duquesne on the Ohio, of Niagara on the St. Lawrence, and of Ticonderoga on Lake Champlain, were linked together by a chain of lesser forts, which cut off the English colonists from all access to the west. The defeat of Braddock had already roused England to its danger, for it was certain that war in America would be followed by war in Europe. The ministers looked on a league with Prussia, as the only means of checking France; but Frederick held cautiously aloof, while the advances of England to Prussia only served to alienate Maria Theresa, whose one desire was to regain Silesia. The two powers of the House of Bourbon were still bound by the Family Compact; and as early as 1752 Maria Theresa by a startling change of policy drew to their alliance. The jealousy which Russia entertained of the growth of a strong power in North Germany brought the Czarina Elizabeth to promise aid to the schemes of the Queen of Hungary; and in 1755 the league of the four powers and of Saxony was practically completed. So secret were these nego-

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tations that they remained unknown to Henry Pelham and to his brother the Duke of Newcastle, who succeeded him on his death in 1754 as the head of the Ministry. But they were detected from the first by the keen eye of Frederick of Prussia, who saw himself fronted by a line of foes that stretched from Paris to St. Petersburg.

The danger to England was hardly less; for France appeared again on the stage with a vigour and audacity which recalled the days of Lewis the Fourteenth. The weakness and corruption of the French government were screened for a time by the daring and scope of its plans, as by the ability of the agents it found to carry them out. In England, on the contrary, all was vagueness and indecision. It was not till the close of the year that a treaty was at last concluded with the Prussian King. With this treaty between England and Frederick began the Seven Years' War. No war has had greater results on the history of the world or brought greater triumphs to England; but few have had more disastrous beginnings. Newcastle was too weak and ignorant to rule without aid, and yet too greedy of power to purchase aid by sharing it with more capable men. His preparations for the gigantic struggle before him may be guessed from the fact that there were but three regiments fit for service in England at the opening of 1756. France, on the other hand, was quick in her attack. Port Mahon in Minorca, the key of the Mediterranean, was besieged by the Duke of Richelieu and forced to capitulate. To complete the shame of England, a fleet sent to its relief under Admiral Byng retreated before the French. In Germany Frederick seized Dresden at the outset of the war and forced the Saxon army to surrender; and in 1757 a victory at Prague made him master for a while of Bohemia; but his success was transient, and a defeat at Kolin drove him to retreat again into Saxony. In the same year the Duke of Cumberland, who had taken post on the Weser with an army of fifty thousand men for the defence of Hanover, fell back before a French army to the mouth of the Elbe, and engaged by the Convention of Closter-Seven to disband his forces. In America things went even worse than in Germany. The inactivity of the English generals was contrasted with the genius and activity of Montcalm. Already masters of the Ohio by the defeat of Braddock, the French drove the English garrison from the forts which commanded Lake Ontario and Lake Champlain, and their empire stretched without a break over the vast territory from Louisiana to the St. Lawrence. A despondency without parallel in our history took possession of our coolest statesmen, and even the impassive Chesterfield cried in despair, "We are no longer a nation."

But the nation of which Chesterfield despaired was really on the eve of its greatest triumphs, and the miserable incapacity of the Duke of Newcastle only called to the front the genius of William Pitt. Pitt

was the grandson of a wealthy governor of Madras, who had entered Parliament in 1735 as member for one of his father's pocket boroughs, and had headed the younger "patriots" in their attack on Walpole. The dismissal from the army by which Walpole met his attacks turned his energy wholly to politics. His fiery spirit was hushed in office during the "broad-bottom administration" which followed Walpole's fall, but after the death of Henry Pelham, Newcastle's jealousy of power threw him into an attitude of opposition and he was deprived of his place. When the disasters of the war however drove Newcastle from office in November 1756, Pitt became Secretary of State; but in four months the enmity of the King and of Newcastle's party drove him to resign. In July 1757, however, it was necessary to recall him. The failure of Newcastle to construct an administration forced the Duke to a junction with his rival; and fortunately for their country, the character of the two statesmen made the compromise an easy one. For all that Pitt coveted, for the general direction of public affairs, the control of foreign policy, the administration of the war, Newcastle had neither capacity nor inclination. On the other hand, his skill in parliamentary management was unrivalled. If he knew little else, he knew better than any living man the price of every member and the intrigues of every borough. What he cared for was not the control of affairs, but the distribution of patronage and the work of corruption, and from this Pitt turned disdainfully away. "Mr. Pitt does everything," wrote Horace Walpole, "and the Duke gives everything. So long as they agree in this partition they may do what they please." Out of the union of these two strangely-contrasted leaders, in fact, rose the greatest, as it was the last, of the purely Whig administrations. But its real power lay from beginning to end in Pitt himself. Poor as he was, for his income was little more than two hundred a year, and springing as he did from a family of no political importance, it was by sheer dint of genius that the young cornet of horse, at whose youth and inexperience Walpole had sneered, seized a power which the Whig houses had ever since the Revolution kept jealously in their grasp. His ambition had no petty aim. "I want to call England," he said as he took office, "out of that enervate state in which twenty thousand men from France can shake her." His call was soon answered. He at once breathed his own lofty spirit into the country he served, as he communicated something of his own grandeur to the men who served him. "No man," said a soldier of the time, "ever entered Mr. Pitt's closet who did not feel himself braver when he came out than when he went in." Ill-combined as were his earlier expeditions, many as were his failures, he roused a temper in the nation at large which made ultimate defeat impossible. "England has been a long time in labour," exclaimed Frederick of Prussia as he recognized a greatness like his own, "but she has at last brought forth a man."

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TO

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*Newcastle
and Pitt*

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Pitt and
the Age*His public
spirit*

It is this personal and solitary grandeur which strikes us most as we look back to William Pitt. The tone of his speech and action stands out in utter contrast with the tone of his time. In the midst of a society critical, polite, indifferent, simple even to the affectation of simplicity, witty and amusing but absolutely prosaic, cool of heart and of head, sceptical of virtue and enthusiasm, sceptical above all of itself, Pitt stood absolutely alone. The depth of his conviction, his passionate love for all that he deemed lofty and true, his fiery energy, his poetic imaginativeness, his theatrical airs and rhetoric, his haughty self-assumption, his pompousness and extravagance, were not more puzzling to his contemporaries than the confidence with which he appealed to the higher sentiments of mankind, the scorn with which he turned from a corruption which had till then been the great engine of politics, the undoubting faith which he felt in himself, in the grandeur of his aims, and in his power to carry them out. "I know that I can save the country," he said to the Duke of Devonshire on his entry into the Ministry, "and I know no other man can." The groundwork of Pitt's character was an intense and passionate pride; but it was a pride which kept him from stooping to the level of the men who had so long held England in their hands. He was the first statesman since the Restoration who set the example of a purely public spirit. Keen as was his love of power, no man ever refused office so often, or accepted it with so strict a regard to the principles he professed. "I will not go to Court," he replied to an offer which was made him, "if I may not bring the Constitution with me." For the corruption about him he had nothing but disdain. He left to Newcastle the buying of seats and the purchase of members. At the outset of his career Pelham appointed him to the most lucrative office in his administration, that of Paymaster of the Forces; but its profits were of an illicit kind, and poor as he was Pitt refused to accept one farthing beyond his salary. His pride never appeared in loftier and nobler form than in his attitude towards the people at large. No leader had ever a wider popularity than "the great commoner," as Pitt was styled, but his air was always that of a man who commands popularity, not that of one who seeks it. He never bent to flatter popular prejudice. When mobs were roaring themselves hoarse for "Wilkes and liberty," he denounced Wilkes as a worthless profligate; and when all England went mad in its hatred of the Scots, Pitt haughtily declared his esteem for a people whose courage he had been the first to enlist on the side of loyalty. His noble figure, the hawk-like eye which flashed from the small thin face, his majestic voice, the fire and grandeur of his eloquence, gave him a sway over the House of Commons far greater than any other minister has possessed. He could silence an opponent with a look of scorn, or hush the whole House with a single word. But he never stooped to the arts by which men form a political party, and at the height

of his power his personal following hardly numbered half a dozen members.

His real strength indeed lay not in Parliament but in the people at large. His significant title of "the great commoner" marks a political revolution. "It is the people who have sent me here," Pitt boasted with a haughty pride when the nobles of the Cabinet opposed his will. He was the first to see that the long political inactivity of the public mind had ceased, and that the progress of commerce and industry had produced a great middle class, which no longer found its representatives in the legislature. "You have taught me," said George the Second when Pitt sought to save Byng by appealing to the sentiment of Parliament, "to look for the voice of my people in other places than within the House of Commons." It was this unrepresented class which had forced him into power. During his struggle with Newcastle the greater towns backed him with the gift of their freedom and addresses of confidence. "For weeks," laughs Horace Walpole, "it rained gold boxes." London stood by him through good report and evil report, and the wealthiest of English merchants, Alderman Beckford, was proud to figure as his political lieutenant. The temper of Pitt indeed harmonized admirably with the temper of the commercial England which rallied round him, with its energy, its self-confidence, its pride, its patriotism, its honesty, its moral earnestness. The merchant and the trader were drawn by a natural attraction to the one statesman of their time whose aims were unselfish, whose hands were clean, whose life was pure and full of tender affection for wife and child. But there was a far deeper ground for their enthusiastic reverence and for the reverence which his country has borne Pitt ever since. He loved England with an intense and personal love. He believed in her power, her glory, her public virtue, till England learned to believe in herself. Her triumphs were his triumphs, her defeats his defeats. Her dangers lifted him high above all thought of self or party-spirit. "Be one people," he cried to the factions who rose to bring about his fall: "forget everything but the public! I set you the example!" His glowing patriotism was the real spell by which he held England. But even the faults which chequered his character told for him with the middle classes. The Whig statesmen who preceded him had been men whose pride expressed itself in a marked simplicity and absence of pretence. Pitt was essentially an actor, dramatic in the cabinet, in the House, in his very office. He transacted business with his clerks in full dress. His letters to his family, genuine as his love for them was, are stilted and unnatural in tone. It was easy for the wits of his day to jest at his affectation, his pompous gait, the dramatic appearance which he made on great debates with his limbs swathed in flannel and his crutch by his side. Early in life Walpole sneered at him for bringing into the House of Commons "the gestures and emotions of

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Pitt's
Elo-
quence

the stage." But the classes to whom Pitt appealed were classes not easily offended by faults of taste, and saw nothing to laugh at in the statesman who was borne into the lobby amidst the tortures of the gout, or carried into the House of Lords to breathe his last in a protest against national dishonour.

Above all Pitt wielded the strength of a resistless eloquence. The power of political speech had been revealed in the stormy debates of the Long Parliament, but it was cramped in its utterance by the legal and theological pedantry of the time. Pedantry was flung off by the age of the Revolution, but in the eloquence of Somers and his rivals we see ability rather than genius, knowledge, clearness of expression, precision of thought, the lucidity of the pleader or the man of business, rather than the passion of the orator. Of this clearness of statement Pitt had little or none. He was no ready debater like Walpole, no speaker of set speeches like Chesterfield. His set speeches were always his worst, for in these his want of taste, his love of effect, his trite quotations and extravagant metaphors came at once to the front. That with defects like these he stood far above every orator of his time was due above all to his profound conviction, to the earnestness and sincerity with which he spoke. "I must sit still," he whispered once to a friend, "for when once I am up everything that is in my mind comes out." But the reality of his eloquence was transfigured by a large and poetic imagination, and by a glow of passion which not only raised him high above the men of his own day but set him in the front rank among the orators of the world. The cool reasoning, the wit, the common sense of his age made way for a splendid audacity, a sympathy with popular emotion, a sustained grandeur, a lofty vehemence, a command over the whole range of human feeling. He passed without an effort from the most solemn appeal to the gayest raillery, from the keenest sarcasm to the tenderest pathos. Every word was driven home by the grand self-consciousness of the speaker. He spoke always as one having authority. He was in fact the first English orator whose words were a power, a power not over Parliament only but over the nation at large. Parliamentary reporting was as yet unknown, and it was only in detached phrases and half-remembered outbursts that the voice of Pitt reached beyond the walls of St. Stephen's. But it was especially in these sudden outbursts of inspiration, in these brief passionate appeals, that the power of his eloquence lay. The few broken words we have of him stir the same thrill in men of our day which they stirred in the men of his own. But passionate as was Pitt's eloquence, it was the eloquence of a statesman, not of a rhetorician. Time has approved almost all his greater struggles, his defence of the liberty of the subject against arbitrary imprisonment under "general warrants," of the liberty of the press against Lord Mansfield, of the rights of constituencies against the House of Com-

*His states-
manship*

mons, of the constitutional rights of America against England itself. His foreign policy was directed to the preservation of Prussia, and Prussia has vindicated his foresight by the creation of Germany. We have adopted his plans for the direct government of India by the Crown, which when he proposed them were regarded as insane. Pitt was the first to recognize the liberal character of the Church of England. He was the first to sound the note of Parliamentary reform. One of his earliest measures shows the generosity and originality of his mind. He quieted Scotland by employing its Jacobites in the service of their country, and by raising Highland regiments among its clans. The selection of Wolfe and Amherst as generals showed his contempt for precedent and his inborn knowledge of men.

But it was fortune rather than his genius which showered on Pitt the triumphs which signalized the opening of his ministry. In the East the daring of a merchant's clerk made a company of English traders the sovereigns of Bengal, and opened that wondrous career of conquest which has added the Indian peninsula, from Ceylon to the Himalayas, to the dominion of the British crown. Recalled by broken health to England, Clive returned at the outbreak of the Seven Years' War to win for England a greater prize than that which his victories had won for it in the supremacy of the Carnatic. He had been only a few months at Madras when a crime whose horror still lingers in English memories called him to Bengal. Bengal, the delta of the Ganges, was the richest and most fertile of all the provinces of India. Its rice, its sugar, its silk, and the produce of its looms, were famous in European markets. Its viceroys, like their fellow lieutenants, had become practically independent of the Emperor, and had added to Bengal the provinces of Orissa and Behar. Surajah Dowlah, the master of this vast domain, had long been jealous of the enterprise and wealth of the English traders; and, roused at this moment by the instigation of the French, he appeared before Fort William, seized its settlers, and thrust a hundred and fifty of them into a small prison called the Black Hole of Calcutta. The heat of an Indian summer did its work of death. The wretched prisoners trampled each other under foot in the madness of thirst, and in the morning only twenty-three remained alive. Clive sailed at the news with a thousand Englishmen and two thousand sepoys to wreak vengeance for the crime. He was no longer the boy-soldier of Arcot; and the tact and skill with which he met Surajah Dowlah in the negotiations by which the Viceroy strove to avert a conflict were sullied by the Oriental falsehood and treachery to which he stooped. But his courage remained unbroken. When the two armies faced each other on the plain of Plassey the odds were so great that on the very eve of the battle a council of war counselled retreat. Clive withdrew to a grove hard by, and after an hour's lonely musing gave the word to fight.

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Frederick

Courage, in fact, was all that was needed. The fifty thousand foot and fourteen thousand horse who were seen covering the plain at day-break on the 23rd of June, 1757, were soon thrown into confusion by the English guns, and broke in headlong rout before the English charge. The death of Surajah Dowlah enabled the Company to place a creature of its own on the throne of Bengal; but his rule soon became a nominal one. With the victory of Plassey began in fact the Empire of England in the East.

The year of Plassey was the year of a victory hardly less important in the West. There was little indeed in the military expeditions which marked the opening of Pitt's ministry to justify the trust of his country; for money and blood were lavished on buccaneering descents upon the French coasts which did small damage to the enemy. But incidents such as these had little weight in the minister's general policy. His greatness lies in the fact that he recognized the genius of Frederick the Great, and resolved to give him an energetic support. On his entry into office he refused to ratify the Convention of Closter-Seven, which had reduced Frederick to despair by throwing open his realm to a French advance; protected his flank by gathering an English and Hanoverian force on the Elbe, and on the counsel of the Prussian King placed the best of his generals, the Prince of Brunswick, at its head; while subsidy after subsidy were poured into Frederick's exhausted treasury. Pitt's trust was met by the most brilliant display of military genius which the modern world had as yet witnessed. Two months after his repulse at Kolin, Frederick flung himself on a French army which had advanced into the heart of Germany, and annihilated it in the victory of Rossbach. Before another month had passed he hurried from the Saale to the Oder, and by a yet more signal victory at Leuthen cleared Silesia of the Austrians. The victory of Rossbach was destined to change the fortunes of the world by bringing about the unity of Germany; its immediate effect was to force the French army on the Elbe to fall back on the Rhine. Here Ferdinand of Brunswick, reinforced with twenty thousand English soldiers, held them at bay during the summer, while Frederick, foiled in an attack on Moravia, drove the Russians back on Poland in the battle of Zorndorf. His defeat however by the Austrian General Daun at Hochkirch proved the first of a series of terrible misfortunes; and the year 1759 marks the lowest point of his fortunes. A fresh advance of the Russian army forced the King to attack it at Kunersdorf in August, and Frederick's repulse ended in the utter rout of his army. For the moment all seemed lost, for even Berlin lay open to the conqueror. A few days later the surrender of Dresden gave Saxony to the Austrians; and at the close of the year an attempt upon them at Plauen was foiled with terrible loss. But every disaster was retrieved by the indomitable courage and tenacity of the King, and winter found him

Rossbach
Nov. 1757

as before master of Silesia and of all Saxony save the ground which Daun's camp covered. The year which marked the lowest point of Frederick's fortunes was the year of Pitt's greatest triumphs, the year of Minden and Quiberon and Quebec. France aimed both at a descent upon England and at the conquest of Hanover, and gathered a naval armament at Brest, while fifty thousand men under Contades and Broglie united on the Weser. Ferdinand with less than forty thousand met them on the field of Minden. The French marched along the Weser to the attack, with their flanks protected by that river and a brook which ran into it, and with their cavalry, ten thousand strong, massed in the centre. The six English regiments in Ferdinand's army fronted the French horse, and, mistaking their general's order, marched at once upon them in line, regardless of the batteries on their flank, and rolled back charge after charge with volleys of musketry. In an hour the French centre was utterly broken. "I have seen," said Contades, "what I never thought to be possible—a single line of infantry break through three lines of cavalry, ranked in order of battle, and tumble them to ruin!" Nothing but the refusal of Lord John Sackville to complete the victory by a charge of the horse which he headed saved the French from utter rout. As it was, their army again fell back broken on Frankfort and the Rhine. The project of an invasion of England met with like success. Eighteen thousand men lay ready to embark on board the French fleet, when Admiral Hawke came in sight of it at the mouth of Quiberon Bay. The sea was rolling high, and the coast where the French ships lay was so dangerous from its shoals and granite reefs that the pilot remonstrated with the English admiral against his project of attack. "You have done your duty in this remonstrance," Hawke coolly replied; "now lay me alongside the French admiral." Two English ships were lost on the shoals, but the French fleet was ruined and the disgrace of Byng's retreat wiped away.

It was not in the Old World only that the year of Minden and Quiberon brought glory to the arms of England. In Europe, Pitt had wisely limited his efforts to the support of Prussia, but across the Atlantic the field was wholly his own, and he had no sooner entered office than the desultory raids, which had hitherto been the only resistance to French aggression, were superseded by a large and comprehensive plan of attack. The sympathies of the colonies were won by an order which gave their provincial officers equal rank with the royal officers in the field. They raised at Pitt's call twenty thousand men, and taxed themselves heavily for their support. Three expeditions were simultaneously directed against the French line—one to the Ohio valley, one against Ticonderoga on Lake Champlain, while a third under General Amherst and Admiral Boscawen sailed to the mouth of the St. Lawrence. The last was brilliantly successful.

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TO
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*1759**Quiberon*
*Nov. 20***The**
Conquest
of
Canada

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TO

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*Wolfe**Quebec*

Louisburg, though defended by a garrison of five thousand men, was taken with the fleet in its harbour, and the whole province of Cape Breton reduced. The American militia supported the British troops in a vigorous campaign against the forts ; and though Montcalm, with a far inferior force, was able to repulse General Abercromby from Ticonderoga, a force from Philadelphia and Virginia, guided and inspired by the courage of George Washington, made itself master of Duquesne. The name of Pittsburg which was given to their new conquest still commemorates the enthusiasm of the colonists for the great Minister who first opened to them the West. The next year saw the evacuation of Ticonderoga before the advance of Amherst, and the capture of Fort Niagara after the defeat of an Indian force which marched to its relief. The capture of the three forts was the close of the French effort to bar the advance of the colonists to the valley of the Mississippi, and to place in other than English hands the destinies of North America. But Pitt had resolved, not merely to foil the ambition of Montcalm, but to destroy the French rule in America altogether ; and while Amherst was breaking through the line of forts, an expedition under General Wolfe entered the St. Lawrence and anchored below Quebec. Wolfe had already fought at Dettingen, Fontenoy, and Laffeldt, and had played the first part in the capture of Louisburg. Pitt had discerned the genius and heroism which lay hidden beneath the awkward manner and the occasional gasconade of the young soldier of thirty-three whom he chose for the crowning exploit of the war, but for a while his sagacity seemed to have failed. No efforts could draw Montcalm from the long line of inaccessible cliffs which at this point borders the river, and for six weeks Wolfe saw his men wasting away in inactivity while he himself lay prostrate with sickness and despair. At last his resolution was fixed, and in a long line of boats the army dropped down the St. Lawrence to a point at the base of the Heights of Abraham, where a narrow path had been discovered to the summit. Not a voice broke the silence of the night save the voice of Wolfe himself, as he quietly repeated the stanzas of Gray's "Elegy in a Country Churchyard," remarking as he closed, "I had rather be the author of that poem than take Quebec." But his nature was as brave as it was tender ; he was the first to leap on shore and to scale the narrow path where no two men could go abreast. His men followed, pulling themselves to the top by the help of bushes and the crags, and at daybreak on the 12th of September the whole army stood in orderly formation before Quebec. Montcalm hastened to attack, though his force, composed chiefly of raw militia, was far inferior in discipline to the English ; his onset however was met by a steady fire, and at the first English advance his men gave way. Wolfe headed a charge which broke the French line, but a ball pierced his breast in the moment of victory. "They run," cried an officer who held the dying

man in his arms—"I protest they run." Wolfe rallied to ask who they were that ran, and was told "The French." "Then," he murmured, "I die happy!" The fall of Montcalm in the moment of his defeat completed the victory; and the submission of Canada, on the capture of Montreal by Amherst in 1760, put an end to the dream of a French empire in America.

SEC. II.

THE INDEPENDENCE
OF AMERICA1761
TO
1782**Section II.—The Independence of America. 1761–1782.**

[*Authorities.*—The two sides of the American quarrel have been told with the same purpose of fairness and truthfulness, though with a very different bias, by Lord Stanhope ("History of England from the Peace of Utrecht"), and Mr. Bancroft ("History of the United States"). The latter is by far the more detailed and picturesque, the former perhaps the cooler and more impartial of the two narratives. For England see Mr. Massey's "History of England from the Accession of George the Third;" Walpole's "Memoirs of the Early Reign of George the Third;" the Rockingham Memoirs; the Grenville Papers; the Bedford Correspondence; the correspondence of George the Third with Lord North; the Letters of Junius; and Lord Russell's "Life and Correspondence of C. J. Fox." Burke's speeches and pamphlets during this period, above all his "Thoughts on the Causes of the Present Discontents," are indispensable for any real knowledge of it. The Constitutional History of Sir Erskine May all but compensates us, in its fulness and impartiality, for the loss of Mr. Hallam's comments.] [Mr. Lecky's "History of England in the Eighteenth Century" was published after this book was written; and his "History of Ireland in the Eighteenth Century," all-important for Irish affairs.—*Ed.*]

Never had England played so great a part in the history of mankind as in the year 1759. It was a year of triumphs in every quarter of the world. In September came the news of Minden, and of a victory off Lagos. In October came tidings of the capture of Quebec. November brought word of the French defeat at Quiberon. "We are forced to ask every morning what victory there is," laughed Horace Walpole, "for fear of missing one." But it was not so much in the number as in the importance of its triumphs that the Seven Years' War stood and remains still without a rival. It is no exaggeration to say that three of its many victories determined for ages to come the destinies of mankind. With that of Rossbach began the re-creation of Germany, the revival of its political and intellectual life, the long process of its union under the leadership of Prussia and Prussia's kings. With that of Plassey the influence of Europe told for the first time since the days of Alexander on the nations of the East. The world, in Burke's gorgeous phrase, "saw one of the races of the north-west cast into the heart of Asia new manners, new doctrines, new institutions." With the triumph of Wolfe on the heights of Abraham began the history of the United States. By removing an enemy whose dread had knit the colonists to the mother country, and by breaking through the line with which France had barred them from the basin of the Mississippi, Pitt laid the founda-

The
Seven
Years'
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*Britain
and its
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**The
American
Colonies**

1664

tion of the great republic of the west. Nor were these triumphs less momentous to Britain. The Seven Years' War is a turning-point in our national history, as it is a turning-point in the history of the world. Till now the relative weight of the European states had been drawn from their possessions within Europe itself. But from the close of the war it mattered little whether England counted for less or more with the nations around her. She was no longer a mere European power, no longer a mere rival of Germany or Russia or France. Mistress of Northern America, the future mistress of India, claiming as her own the empire of the seas, Britain suddenly towered high above the nations whose position in a single continent doomed them to comparative insignificance in the after history of the world. The war indeed was hardly ended when a consciousness of the destinies that lay before the English people showed itself in the restlessness with which our seamen penetrated into far-off seas. The Atlantic was dwindling into a mere strait within the British Empire ; but beyond it to the westward lay a reach of waters where the British flag was almost unknown. In the year which followed the Peace of Paris two English ships were sent on a cruise of discovery to the Straits of Magellan ; three years later Captain Wallis reached the coral reefs of Tahiti ; and in 1768 Captain Cook traversed the Pacific from end to end, and wherever he touched, in New Zealand, in Australia, he claimed the soil for the English Crown, and opened a new world for the expansion of the English race. Statesmen and people alike felt the change in their country's attitude. In the words of Burke, the Parliament of Britain claimed "an imperial character in which as from the throne of heaven she superintends all the several inferior legislatures, and guides and controls them all, without annihilating any." Its people, steeped in the commercial ideas of the time, saw in the growth of their vast possessions, the monopoly of whose trade was reserved to the mother country, a source of boundless wealth. The trade with America alone was in 1772 nearly equal to what England carried on with the whole world at the beginning of the century. To guard and preserve so vast and lucrative a dominion became from this moment not only the aim of British statesmen but the resolve of the British people.

From the time when the Puritan emigration added the four New England States, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Connecticut, and Rhode Island to those of Maryland and Virginia the progress of the English colonies in North America had been slow, but it had never ceased. Settlers still came, though in smaller numbers, and two new colonies south of Virginia received from Charles the Second their name of the Carolinas. The war with Holland transferred to British rule a district claimed by the Dutch from the Hudson to the inner Lakes ; and this country, which was granted by Charles to his brother, received from him the name of New York. Portions were soon broken off from

its vast territory to form the colonies of New Jersey and Delaware. In 1682 a train of Quakers followed William Penn across the Delaware into the heart of the primæval forest, and became a colony which recalled its founder and the woodlands among which he planted it in its name of Pennsylvania. A long interval elapsed before a new settlement, which received its title of Georgia from the reigning sovereign, George the Second, was established by General Oglethorpe on the Savannah as a refuge for English debtors and for the persecuted Protestants of Germany. Slow as this progress seemed, the colonies were really growing fast in numbers and in wealth. Their whole population amounted in the middle of the eighteenth century to about 1,200,000 whites and a quarter of a million of negroes; nearly a fourth of that of the mother country. The wealth of the colonists was growing even faster than their numbers. As yet the southern colonies were the more productive. Virginia boasted of its tobacco plantations, Georgia and the Carolinas of their maize and rice and indigo crops, while New York and Pennsylvania, with the colonies of New England, were restricted to their whale and cod fisheries, their corn harvests and their timber trade. The distinction indeed between the Northern and Southern colonies was more than an industrial one. In the Southern States the prevalence of slavery produced an aristocratic spirit and favoured the creation of large estates; even the system of entails had been introduced among the wealthy planters of Virginia, where many of the older English families found representatives in houses such as those of Fairfax and Washington. Throughout New England, on the other hand, the characteristics of the Puritans, their piety, their intolerance, their simplicity of life, their love of equality and tendency to democratic institutions, remained unchanged. In education and political activity New England stood far ahead of its fellow colonies, for the settlement of the Puritans had been followed at once by the establishment of a system of local schools which is still the glory of America. "Every township," it was enacted, "after the Lord hath increased them to the number of fifty householders, shall appoint one to teach all children to write and read; and when any town shall increase to the number of a hundred families, they shall set up a grammar school."

Great however as these differences were, and great as was to be their influence on American history, they were little felt as yet. In the main features of their outer organization the whole of the colonies stood fairly at one. In religious and in civil matters alike all of them contrasted sharply with the England at home. Religious tolerance had been brought about by a medley of religious faiths such as the world had never seen before. New England was still a Puritan stronghold. In all the Southern colonies the Episcopal Church was established by law, and the bulk of the settlers clung to it; but Roman Catholics formed a large part of the population of Maryland. Pennsylvania was a State

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of Quakers. Presbyterians and Baptists had fled from tests and persecutions to colonize New Jersey. Lutherans and Moravians from Germany abounded among the settlers of Carolina and Georgia. In such a chaos of creeds religious persecution became impossible. There was the same outer diversity and the same real unity in the political tendency and organization of the States. Whether the spirit of the colony was democratic, moderate, or oligarchical, its form of government was pretty much the same. The original rights of the proprietor, the projector and grantee of the earliest settlement, had in all cases, save in those of Pennsylvania and Maryland, either ceased to exist or fallen into desuetude. The government of each colony lay in a House of Assembly elected by the people at large, with a Council sometimes elected, sometimes nominated by the Governor, and a Governor either elected, or appointed by the Crown. With the appointment of these Governors all administrative interference on the part of the Government at home practically ended. The colonies were left by a happy neglect to themselves. It was wittily said at a later day that "Mr. Grenville lost America because he read the American despatches, which none of his predecessors ever did." There was little room indeed for any interference within the limits of the colonies. Their privileges were secured by royal charters. Their Assemblies alone exercised the right of internal taxation, and they exercised it sparingly. Walpole, like Pitt afterwards, set roughly aside the project for an American excise. "I have Old England set against me," he said, "by this measure, and do you think I will have New England too?" Even in matters of trade the supremacy of the mother country was far from being a galling one. There were some small import duties, but they were evaded by a well-understood system of smuggling. The restriction of trade with the colonies to Great Britain was more than compensated by the commercial privileges which the Americans enjoyed as British subjects. As yet, therefore, there was nothing to break the good will which the colonists felt towards the mother country, while the danger of French aggression drew them closely to it. But strong as the attachment of the Americans to Britain seemed at the close of the war, keen lookers-on saw in the very completeness of Pitt's triumph a danger to their future union. The presence of the French in Canada, their designs in the west, had thrown America for protection on the mother-country. But with the conquest of Canada all need of this protection was removed. The attitude of England towards its distant dependency became one of mere possession: and differences of temper, which had till now been thrown into the background by the higher need for union, started into a new prominence. If questions of trade and taxation awoke murmurings and disputes, behind these grievances lay an uneasy dread at the democratic form which the government and society

of the colonies had taken, and at the "levelling principles" which prevailed.

To check this republican spirit, to crush all dreams of severance, and to strengthen the unity of the British Empire was one of the chief aims of the young sovereign who mounted the throne on the death of his grandfather in 1760. For the first and last time since the accession of the House of Hanover England saw a King who was resolved to play a part in English politics; and the part which George the Third succeeded in playing was undoubtedly a memorable one. In ten years he reduced government to a shadow, and turned the loyalty of his subjects at home into disaffection. In twenty he had forced the American colonies into revolt and independence, and brought England to what then seemed the brink of ruin. Work such as this has sometimes been done by very great men, and often by very wicked and profligate men; but George was neither profligate nor great. He had a smaller mind than any English king before him save James the Second. He was wretchedly educated, and his natural powers were of the meanest sort. Nor had he the capacity for using greater minds than his own by which some sovereigns have concealed their natural littleness. On the contrary, his only feeling towards great men was one of jealousy and hate. He longed for the time when "decrepitude or death" might put an end to Pitt; and even when death had freed him from "this trumpet of sedition," he denounced the proposal for a public monument to the great statesman as "an offensive measure to me personally." But dull and petty as his temper was, he was clear as to his purpose and obstinate in the pursuit of it. And his purpose was to rule. "George," his mother, the Princess of Wales, had continually repeated to him in youth, "George, be king." He called himself always "a Whig of the Revolution," and he had no wish to undo the work which he believed the Revolution to have done. But he looked on the subjection of his two predecessors to the will of their ministers as no real part of the work of the Revolution, but as a usurpation of that authority which the Revolution had left to the crown. And to this usurpation he was determined not to submit. His resolve was to govern, not to govern against law, but simply to govern, to be freed from the dictation of parties and ministers, and to be in effect the first Minister of the State. How utterly incompatible such a dream was with the Parliamentary constitution of the country as it had received its final form from Sunderland it is easy to see; but George was resolved to carry out his dream. And in carrying it out he was aided by the circumstances of the time. The spell of Jacobitism was broken by the defeat of Charles Edward, and the later degradation of his life wore finally away the thin coating of disloyalty which clung to the clergy and the squires. They were ready again to take part in politics, and in the accession of a king who, unlike his two predecessors, was no

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stranger but an Englishman, who had been born in England and spoke English, they found the opportunity they desired. From the opening of the reign Tories gradually appeared again at court. It was only slowly indeed that the party as a whole swung round to a steady support of the Government; but their action told at once on the complexion of English politics. Their withdrawal from public affairs had left them untouched by the progress of political ideas since the Revolution of 1688, and when they returned to political life it was to invest the new sovereign with all the reverence which they had bestowed on the Stuarts. A "King's party" was thus ready made to his hand; but George was able to strengthen it by a vigorous exertion of the power and influence which was still left to the Crown. All promotion in the Church, all advancement in the army, a great number of places in the civil administration and about the court, were still at the King's disposal. If this vast mass of patronage had been practically usurped by the ministers of his predecessors, it was resumed and firmly held by George the Third; and the character of the House of Commons made patronage, as we have seen, a powerful engine in its management. George had one of Walpole's weapons in his hands, and he used it with unscrupulous energy to break up the party which Walpole had held so long together. He saw that the Whigs were divided among themselves by the factious spirit which springs from a long hold of office, and that they were weakened by the rising contempt with which the country at large regarded the selfishness and corruption of its representatives. More than thirty years before, Gay had set the leading statesmen of the day on the public stage under the guise of highwaymen and pickpockets. "It is difficult to determine," said the witty playwright, "whether the fine gentlemen imitate the gentlemen of the road, or the gentlemen of the road the fine gentlemen." And now that the "fine gentlemen" were represented by hoary jobbers such as Newcastle, the public contempt was fiercer than ever, and men turned sickened from the intrigues and corruption of party to a young sovereign who aired himself in a character which Bolingbroke had invented, as a Patriot King.

Had Pitt and Newcastle held together, supported as the one was by the commercial classes, the other by the Whig families and the whole machinery of Parliamentary management, George must have struggled in vain. But the ministry was already disunited. The Whigs, attached to peace by the traditions of Walpole, dismayed at the enormous expenditure, and haughty with the pride of a ruling oligarchy, were in silent revolt against the war and the supremacy of the Great Commoner. It was against their will that he rejected proposals of peace from France which would have secured to England all her conquests on the terms of a desertion of Prussia, and that his steady support enabled Frederick still to hold out against the terrible exhaustion of

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an unequal struggle. The campaign of 1760 indeed was one of the grandest efforts of Frederick's genius. Foiled in an attempt on Dresden, he again saved Silesia by a victory at Liegnitz, and hurled back an advance of Daun by a victory at Torgau; while Ferdinand of Brunswick held his ground as of old along the Weser. But even victories drained Frederick's strength. Men and money alike failed him. It was impossible for him to strike another great blow, and the ring of enemies again closed slowly round him. His one remaining hope lay in the firm support of Pitt, and triumphant as his policy had been, Pitt was tottering to his fall. The envy and resentment of his colleagues at his undisguised supremacy found a supporter in the young King. The Earl of Bute, a mere Court favourite, with the temper and abilities of a gentleman usher, was forced into the Cabinet. As he was known to be his master's mouthpiece, a peace-party was at once formed; but Pitt showed no signs of giving way. In 1761 he proposed a vast extension of the war. He had learnt the signature of a treaty which brought into force the Family Compact between the Courts of Paris and Madrid, and of a special convention which bound the last to declare war on England at the close of the year. Pitt proposed to anticipate the blow by an instant seizure of the treasure fleet which was on its way from the Indies to Cadiz, by occupying the Isthmus of Panama, and by an attack on the Spanish dominions in the New World. But his colleagues shrank from plans so vast and daring; and Newcastle was backed in his resistance by the bulk of the Whigs. The King openly supported them. It was in vain that Pitt enforced his threat of resignation by declaring himself responsible to "the people"; and the resignation of his post in October changed the face of European affairs.

"Pitt disgraced!" wrote a French philosopher, "it is worth two victories to us!" Frederick on the other hand was almost driven to despair. But George saw in the removal of his powerful minister an opening for the realization of his long-cherished plans. Pitt's appeal had been heard by the people at large. When he went to Guildhall the Londoners hung on his carriage wheels, hugged his footmen, and even kissed his horses. Their break with Pitt was in fact the death-blow of the Whigs. Newcastle found he had freed himself from the great statesman only to be driven from office by a series of studied mortifications from his young master; and the more powerful of his Whig colleagues followed him into retirement. George saw himself triumphant over the two great forces which had hampered the free action of the Crown, "the power which arose," in Burke's words, "from popularity, and the power which arose from political connexion;" and the rise of Lord Bute to the post of First Minister marked the triumph of the King. He took office simply as an agent of the King's will; and the King's will was to end the war. In the spring of 1762

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Frederick, who still held his ground stubbornly against fate, was brought to the brink of ruin by a withdrawal of the English subsidies ; it was in fact only his dogged resolution and a sudden change in the policy of Russia, which followed on the death of his enemy the Czarina Elizabeth, that enabled him at last to retire from the struggle in the Treaty of Hubertsberg without the loss of an inch of territory. George and Lord Bute had already purchased peace at a very different price. With a shameless indifference to the national honour they not only deserted Frederick, but they offered to negotiate a peace for him on the basis of a cession of Silesia to Maria Theresa and East Prussia to the Czarina. The issue of the strife with Spain saved England from humiliation such as this. Pitt's policy of instant attack had been justified by a Spanish declaration of war three weeks after his fall ; and the year 1762 saw triumphs which vindicated his confidence in the issue of the new struggle. Martinico, the strongest and wealthiest of the French West Indian possessions, was conquered at the opening of the year, and its conquest was followed by those of Grenada, St. Lucia, and St. Vincent. In the summer the reduction of Havana brought with it the gain of the rich Spanish colony of Cuba. The Philippines, the wealthiest of the Spanish colonies in the Pacific, yielded to a British fleet. It was these losses that brought about the Peace of Paris. So eager was Bute to end the war that he contented himself in Europe with the recovery of Minorca, while he restored Martinico to France, and Cuba and the Philippines to Spain. The real gains of Britain were in India and America. In the first the French abandoned all right to any military settlement. From the second they wholly withdrew. To England they gave up Canada, Nova Scotia, and Louisiana as far as the Mississippi, while they resigned the rest of that province to Spain, in compensation for its surrender of Florida to the British Crown.

The anxiety which the young King showed for peace abroad sprang mainly from his belief that peace was needful for success in the struggle for power at home. So long as the war lasted Pitt's return to office and the union of the Whigs under his guidance was an hourly danger. But with peace the King's hands were free. He could count on the dissensions of the Whigs, on the new-born loyalty of the Tories, on the influence of the Crown patronage which he had taken into his own hands. But what he counted on most of all was the character of the House of Commons. At a time when it had become all-powerful in the State, the House of Commons had ceased in any real and effective sense to be a representative body at all. That changes in the distribution of seats were called for by the natural shiftings of population and wealth since the days of Edward the First had been recognized as early as the Civil Wars ; but the reforms of the Long Parliament were cancelled at the Restoration. From the time of Charles the Second to that of George

the Third not a single effort had been made to meet the growing abuses of our parliamentary system. Great towns like Manchester or Birmingham remained without a member, while members still sat for boroughs which, like Old Sarum, had actually vanished from the face of the earth. The effort of the Tudor sovereigns to establish a Court party in the House by a profuse creation of boroughs, most of which were mere villages then in the hands of the Crown, had ended in the appropriation of these seats by the neighbouring landowners, who bought and sold them as they bought and sold their own estates. Even in towns which had a real claim to representation, the narrowing of municipal privileges ever since the fourteenth century to a small part of the inhabitants, and in many cases the restriction of electoral rights to the members of the governing corporation, rendered their representation a mere name. The choice of such places hung simply on the purse or influence of politicians. Some were "the King's boroughs," others obediently returned nominees of the Ministry of the day, others were "close boroughs" in the hands of jobbers like the Duke of Newcastle, who at one time returned a third of all the borough members in the House. The counties and the great commercial towns could alone be said to exercise any real right of suffrage, though the enormous expense of contesting such constituencies practically left their representation in the hands of the great local families. But even in the counties the suffrage was ridiculously limited and unequal. Out of a population of eight millions, only a hundred and sixty thousand were electors at all. How far such a House was from really representing English opinion we see from the fact that in the height of his popularity Pitt could hardly find a seat in it. Purchase was becoming more and more the means of entering Parliament. Seats were bought and sold in the open market at a price which rose to four thousand pounds, and we can hardly wonder that a reformer could allege without a chance of denial, "This House is not a representative of the people of Great Britain. It is the representative of nominal boroughs, of ruined and exterminated towns, of noble families, of wealthy individuals, of foreign potentates." The meanest motives naturally told on a body returned by such constituencies, cut off from the influence of public opinion by the secrecy of Parliamentary proceedings, and yet invested with almost boundless authority. Walpole and Newcastle had made bribery and borough-jobbing the base of their power. George the Third seized it in his turn as a base of the power he proposed to give to the Crown. The royal revenue was employed to buy seats and to buy votes. Day by day George himself scrutinized the voting-list of the two Houses, and distributed rewards and punishments as members voted according to his will or no. Promotion in the civil service, preferment in the Church, rank in the army, was reserved for "the King's friends." Pensions and court places were

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used to influence debates. Bribery was employed on a scale never known before. Under Bute's ministry an office was opened at the Treasury for the purchase of members, and twenty-five thousand pounds are said to have been spent in a single day.

The result of these measures was soon seen in the tone of the Parliament. Till now it had bowed beneath the greatness of Pitt ; but in the teeth of his denunciation the provisions of the Peace of Paris were approved by a majority of five to one. "Now indeed," cried the Princess Dowager, "my son is king." But the victory was hardly won when King and minister found themselves battling with a storm of popular ill-will such as never since the overthrow of the Stuarts assailed the throne. Violent and reckless as it was, the storm only marked a fresh advance in the re-awakening of public opinion. The Parliament indeed had become supreme, and in theory the Parliament was a representative of the whole English people. But in actual fact the bulk of the English people found itself powerless to control the course of English government. For the first and last time in our history Parliament was unpopular and its opponents sure of popularity. The House of Commons was more corrupt than ever, and it was the slave of the King. The King still called himself a Whig, yet he was reviving a system of absolutism which Whiggism had long made impossible. His minister was a mere favourite, and in Englishmen's eyes a foreigner. The masses saw this, but they saw no way of mending it. They had no means of influencing the Government they hated save by sheer violence. They came therefore to the front with their old national and religious bigotry, their long-nursed dislike of the Hanoverian Court, their long-nursed habits of violence and faction, their long-nursed hatred of Parliament, but with no means of expressing them save riot and uproar. Bute found himself the object of a sudden and universal hatred ; and in 1763 he withdrew from office as a means of allaying the storm of popular indignation. But the King was made of more stubborn stuff than his minister. If he suffered his favourite to resign he still regarded him as the real head of administration ; for the ministry which Bute left behind him consisted simply of the more courtly of his colleagues. George Grenville was its nominal chief, but its measures were still secretly dictated by the favourite. Charles Townshend and the Duke of Bedford, the two ablest of the Whigs who had remained with Bute after Newcastle's dismissal, refused to join it ; and its one man of ability was Lord Shelburne, a young Irishman. It was in fact only the disunion of its opponents which allowed it to hold its ground. Townshend and Bedford remained apart from the main body of the Whigs, and both sections held aloof from Pitt. George had counted on the divisions of the opposition in forming such a ministry ; and he counted on the weakness of the ministry to make it the creature of his will. But Grenville

had no mind to be a puppet either of the King or of Bute; and the conflicts between the King and his minister soon became so bitter that George appealed in despair to Pitt to form a ministry. Never had Pitt shown a nobler patriotism or a grander self-command than in the reception he gave to this appeal. He set aside all resentment at his own expulsion from office by Newcastle and the Whigs, and made the return to office of the whole party, with the exception of Bedford, a condition of his own. George however refused to comply with terms which would have defeated his designs. The result left Grenville as powerful as he had been weak. Bute ceased to exercise any political influence. On the other hand, Bedford joined Grenville with his whole party, and the ministry thus became strong and compact.

Grenville's one aim was to enforce the supremacy of Parliament over subject as over King. He therefore struck fiercely at the new force of opinion which had just shown its power in the fall of Bute. The opinion of the country no sooner found itself unrepresented in Parliament than it sought an outlet in the Press. In spite of the removal of the censorship after the Revolution the Press had been slow to attain any political influence. Under the first two Georges its progress had been hindered by the absence of great topics for discussion, the worthlessness of the writers, and above all the lethargy of the time. It was in fact not till the accession of George the Third that the impulse which Pitt had given to the national spirit, and the rise of a keener interest in politics, raised the Press into a political power. The nation found in it a court of appeal from the Houses of Parliament. The journals became organs for that outburst of popular hatred which drove Lord Bute from office; and in the *North Briton* John Wilkes led the way by denouncing the Cabinet and the Peace with peculiar bitterness, and venturing to attack the hated minister by name. Wilkes was a worthless profligate, but he had a remarkable faculty of enlisting popular sympathy on his side, and by a singular irony of fortune he became the chief instrument in bringing about three of the greatest advances which our Constitution has ever made. He woke the nation to a conviction of the need for Parliamentary reform by his defence of the rights of constituencies against the despotism of the House of Commons. He took the lead in the struggle which put an end to the secrecy of Parliamentary proceedings. He was the first to establish the right of the Press to discuss public affairs. In his attack on the ministry of Lord Bute, however, he was simply an organ of the general discontent. It was indeed his attack which more than all else determined Bute to withdraw from office. But Grenville was of stouter stuff than the court favourite, and his administration was hardly reformed when he struck at the growing opposition to Parliament by a blow at its leader. In "Number 45" of the *North Briton* Wilkes had censured the speech from the throne at the opening of Parliament, and

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a "general warrant" by the Secretary of State was issued against the "authors, printers, and publishers of this seditious libel." Under this warrant forty-nine persons were seized for a time; and in spite of his privilege as a member of Parliament Wilkes himself was sent to the Tower. The arrest however was so utterly illegal that he was at once released by the Court of Common Pleas; but he was immediately prosecuted for libel. While the paper which formed the subject for prosecution was still before the courts of justice it was condemned by the House of Commons as a "false, scandalous, and seditious libel." The House of Lords at the same time voted a pamphlet found among Wilkes's papers to be blasphemous, and advised a prosecution. Wilkes fled to France, and was in 1764 expelled from the House of Commons. But the assumption of an arbitrary judicial power by both Houses, and the system of terror which Grenville put in force against the Press by issuing two hundred injunctions against different journals, roused a storm of indignation throughout the country. Every street resounded with cries of "Wilkes and Liberty." It was soon clear that opinion had been embittered rather than silenced by the blow at Wilkes; and six years later, the failure of the prosecution directed against an anonymous journalist named "Junius" for his Letter to the King established the right of the Press to criticize the conduct not of ministers or Parliament only, but of the sovereign himself.

The same narrowness of view, the same honesty of purpose, the same obstinacy of temper, were shown by Grenville in a yet more important struggle, a struggle with the American Colonies. Pitt had waged war with characteristic profusion, and he had defrayed the cost of the war by enormous loans. At the time of the Peace of Paris the public debt stood at a hundred and forty millions. The first need therefore which met Bute after the conclusion of the Peace was that of making provision for the new burthens which the nation had incurred, and as these had been partly incurred in the defence of the American Colonies it was the general opinion of Englishmen that the Colonies should bear a share of them. In this opinion Bute and the King concurred. But their plans went further than mere taxation. The new minister declared himself resolved on a rigorous execution of the Navigation laws, laws by which a monopoly of American trade was secured to the mother-country, on the raising of a revenue within the Colonies for the discharge of the debt, and above all on impressing upon the colonists a sense of their dependence upon Britain. The direct trade between America and the French or Spanish West Indian islands had hitherto been fettered by prohibitory duties, but these had been easily evaded by a general system of smuggling. The duties were now reduced, but the reduced duties were rigorously exacted, and a considerable naval force was despatched to the American coast with a view of suppressing the clandestine trade with the foreigner. The revenue which was expected

from this measure was to be supplemented by an internal Stamp Tax, a tax on all legal documents issued within the Colonies. The plans of Bute had fallen to the ground on his retirement from office. But Grenville had fully concurred in the financial part at least of Bute's designs ; and, now that he found himself at the head of a strong administration, he proceeded to carry out the plans which had been devised for the purpose of raising both an external and an internal revenue from America. One of his first steps was to suppress, by a rigid enforcement of the Navigation laws, the contraband trade which had grown up between American ports and the adjacent Spanish islands. Harsh and unwise as these measures seemed, the colonists owned their legality ; and their resentment only showed itself in a pledge to use no British manufactures till the restrictions were relaxed. But the next scheme of the Minister—his proposal to introduce internal taxation within the bounds of the Colonies themselves by reviving the project of an excise or stamp duty, which Walpole's good sense had rejected—was of another order from his schemes for suppressing the contraband traffic. Unlike the system of the Navigation Acts, it was a gigantic change in the whole actual relations of England and its Colonies. They met it therefore in another spirit. Taxation and representation, they asserted, went hand in hand. America had no representatives in the British Parliament. The representatives of the colonists met in their own colonial assemblies, and all save the Pennsylvanians protested strongly against the interference of Parliament with their right of self-taxation. Massachusetts marked accurately the position she took. "Prohibitions of trade are neither equitable nor just ; but the power of taxing is the grand barrier of British liberty. If that is once broken down, all is lost." The distinction was accepted by the assembly of every colony ; and it was with their protest that they despatched Benjamin Franklin, who had risen from his position of a working printer in Philadelphia to high repute among scientific discoverers, as their agent to England. In England however Franklin found few who recognized the distinction which the colonists had drawn. Grenville had no mind to change his plans without an assurance, which Franklin could not give, of a union of the Colonies to tax themselves ; and the Stamp Act was passed through both Houses with less opposition than a turnpike bill.

The Stamp Act was hardly passed when an insult offered to the Princess Dowager, by the exclusion of her name from a Regency Act, brought to a head the quarrel which had long been growing between the ministry and the King. George again offered power to William Pitt. But Pitt stood absolutely alone. The one friend who remained to him, his brother-in-law, Lord Temple, refused to aid in an attempt to construct a Cabinet ; and he felt himself too weak, when thus deserted, to hold his ground in any ministerial combination with the Whigs. The King turned for help to the main body of the Whigs,

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now headed by the Marquis of Rockingham. The weakness of the ministry which Rockingham formed in July, 1765, was seen in its slowness to deal with American affairs. Franklin had seen no other course for the Colonies, when the obnoxious Acts were passed, but that of submission. But submission was the last thing the colonists dreamed of. Everywhere through New England riots broke out on the news of the arrival of the stamped paper; and the frightened collectors resigned their posts. Northern and Southern States were drawn together by the new danger. The assembly of Virginia was the first to formally deny the right of the British Parliament to meddle with internal taxation, and to demand the repeal of the acts. Massachusetts not only adopted the denial and the demand as its own, but proposed a Congress of delegates from all the colonial assemblies to provide for common and united action; and in October 1765 this Congress met to repeat the protest and petition of Virginia. The news of its assembly reached England at the end of the year, and at once called Pitt to the front when the Houses met in the spring of 1766. As a minister he had long since rejected a similar scheme for taxing the colonies. He had been ill and absent from Parliament when the Stamp Act was passed, but he adopted to the full the constitutional claim of America. He gloried in a resistance which was denounced in Parliament as rebellion. "In my opinion," he said, "this kingdom has no right to lay a tax on the colonies. . . America is obstinate! America is almost in open rebellion! Sir, I rejoice that America has resisted. Three millions of people so dead to all the feelings of liberty as voluntarily to submit to be slaves would have been fit instruments to make slaves of the rest."

There was a general desire that Pitt should return to office; but the negotiations for his union with the Whigs broke down. The radical difference between their policy and that of Pitt was now in fact defined for them by the keenest political thinker of the day. Edmund Burke had come to London in 1750 as a poor and unknown Irish adventurer. The learning which at once won him the friendship of Johnson, and the imaginative power which enabled him to give his learning a living shape, promised him a philosophical and literary career: but instinct drew Burke to politics; he became secretary to Lord Rockingham, and in 1765 entered Parliament under his patronage. His speeches on the Stamp Acts at once lifted him into fame. The heavy Quaker-like figure, the scratch wig, the round spectacles, the cumbrous roll of paper which loaded Burke's pocket, gave little promise of a great orator and less of the characteristics of his oratory—its passionate ardour, its poetic fancy, its amazing prodigality of resources; the dazzling succession in which irony, pathos, invective, tenderness, the most brilliant word-pictures, the coolest argument followed each other. It was an eloquence indeed of a wholly new

order in English experience. Walpole's clearness of statement, Pitt's appeals to emotion, were exchanged for the impassioned expression of a distinct philosophy of politics. "I have learned more from him than from all the books I ever read," Fox cried at a later time, with a burst of generous admiration. The philosophical cast of Burke's reasoning was unaccompanied by any philosophical coldness of tone or phrase. The groundwork indeed of his nature was poetic. His ideas, if conceived by the reason, took shape and colour from the splendour and fire of his imagination. A nation was to him a great living society, so complex in its relations, and whose institutions were so interwoven with glorious events in the past, that to touch it rudely was a sacrilege. Its constitution was no artificial scheme of government, but an exquisite balance of social forces which was in itself a natural outcome of its history and developement. His temper was in this way conservative, but his conservatism sprang not from a love of inaction but from a sense of the value of social order, and from an imaginative reverence for all that existed. Every institution was hallowed to him by the clear insight with which he discerned its relations to the past, and its subtle connexion with the social fabric around it. To touch even an anomaly seemed to Burke to be risking the ruin of a complex structure of national order which it had cost centuries to build up. "The equilibrium of the Constitution," he said, "has something so delicate about it, that the least displacement may destroy it." "It is a difficult and dangerous matter even to touch so complicated a machine." Perhaps the readiest refutation of such a theory was to be found in its influence on Burke's practical dealing with politics. In the great question indeed which fronted him as he entered Parliament, it served him well. No man has ever seen with deeper insight the working of those natural forces which build up communities, or which group communities into empires; and in the actual state of the American Colonies he saw a result of such forces which only madmen and pedants would disturb. But Burke's theory was less fitted to the state of politics at home. He looked on the Revolution of 1688 as the final establishment of English institutions. His aim was to keep England as the Revolution had left it, and under the rule of the great nobles who were faithful to the Revolution. He gave his passionate adhesion to the inaction of the Whigs. He made an idol of Lord Rockingham, an honest man, but the weakest of party leaders. He strove to check the corruption of Parliament by a bill for civil retrenchment, but he took the lead in defeating all plans for its reform. Though he was one of the few men in England who understood with Pitt the value of free industry, he struggled bitterly against the young Minister's proposals to give freedom to Irish trade, and against his Commercial Treaty with France. His work seemed to be that of investing with a gorgeous poetry the policy of timid content which the Whigs believed they

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inherited from Sir Robert Walpole ; and the very intensity of his trust in the natural developement of a people rendered him incapable of understanding the good that might come from particular laws or from special reforms. At this crisis then the temper of Burke squared with the temper of the Whig party. Rockingham and his fellow-ministers were driven, whether they would or no, to a practical acknowledgement of the policy which Pitt demanded ; but they resolved that the repeal of the Stamp Acts should be accompanied by a formal repudiation of the principles of colonial freedom which Pitt had laid down. A declaratory act was brought in, which asserted the supreme power of Parliament over the Colonies "in all cases whatsoever." The passing of this act was followed by the introduction of a bill for the repeal of the Stamp Acts ; and in spite of the resistance of the King's friends, a resistance instigated by George himself, the bill was carried by a large majority.

From this moment the Ministry was unable to stand against the general sense that the first man in the country should be its ruler, and bitter as was the King's hatred of him, he was forced to call Pitt into office. Pitt's aim was still to unite the Whig party, and though forsaken by Lord Temple, he succeeded to a great extent in the administration which he formed in the summer of 1766. Though Rockingham stood coldly aside, some of his fellow ministers accepted office, and they were reinforced by the few friends who clung to Pitt ; while Pitt stooped to strengthen his Parliamentary support by admitting some even of the "King's friends" to a share in the administration. But its life lay really in Pitt himself, in his immense popularity, and in the command which his eloquence gave him over the House of Commons. His acceptance of the Earldom of Chatham removed him to the House of Lords, and for a while ruined the confidence which his reputation for unselfishness had aided him to win. But it was from no vulgar ambition that Pitt laid down his title of the Great Commoner. It was the consciousness of failing strength which made him dread the storms of debate, and in a few months the dread became a certainty. A painful and overwhelming illness, the result of nervous disorganization, withdrew him from public affairs ; and his withdrawal robbed his colleagues of all vigour or union. The plans which Chatham had set on foot for the better government of Ireland, the transfer of India from the Company to the Crown, and the formation of an alliance with Prussia and Russia to balance the Family Compact of the House of Bourbon, were suffered to drop. The one aim of the ministry which bore his name, and which during his retirement looked to the Duke of Grafton as its actual head, was simply to exist. But even existence was difficult ; and Grafton saw himself forced to a union with the faction which was gathered under the Duke of Bedford, and to the appointment of a Tory noble as Secretary of State.

The force of public opinion on which Pitt had relied turned at once against the ministry which had so drifted from its former position. The elections for the new Parliament were more corrupt than any that had been yet witnessed. How bitter the indignation of the country had grown was seen in its fresh backing of Wilkes. He seized on the opening afforded by the elections to return from France, and was elected member for Middlesex, a county the large number of whose voters made its choice a real expression of public opinion. The choice of Wilkes was in effect a public condemnation of the House of Commons and the ministerial system. The ministry however and the House alike shrank from a fresh struggle with the agitator ; but the King was eager for the contest. After ten years of struggle and disappointment George had all but reached his aim. The two forces which had as yet worsted him were both of them paralyzed. The Whigs were fatally divided, and discredited in the eyes of the country by their antagonism to Pitt. Pitt, on the other hand, was suddenly removed from the stage. The ministry was without support in the country ; and for Parliamentary support it was forced to lean more and more on the men who looked for direction to the King himself. One form of opposition alone remained in the public discontent ; and at this he struck more fiercely than ever. "I think it highly expedient to apprise you," he wrote to Lord North, "that the expulsion of Mr. Wilkes appears to be very essential, and must be effected." The Ministers and the House of Commons bowed to his will. By his non-appearance in court when charged with libel, Wilkes had become an outlaw, and he was now thrown into prison on his outlawry. Dangerous riots broke out in London and over the whole country. The Ministry were torn with dissensions. The announcement of Lord Shelburne's purpose to resign office was followed by the resignation of Chatham himself ; and his withdrawal from the Cabinet which traded on his name left the Ministry wholly dependent on the King. In 1769 Wilkes was brought before the bar of the House of Commons on a charge of libel, a crime which was cognizable in the ordinary courts of law ; and was expelled from Parliament. He was at once re-elected by the shire of Middlesex. Violent and oppressive as the course of the House of Commons had been, it had as yet acted within its strict right, for no one questioned its possession of a right of expulsion. But the defiance of Middlesex led it now to go further. It resolved, "That Mr. Wilkes having been in this session of Parliament expelled the House, was and is incapable of being elected a member to serve in the present Parliament ;" and it issued a writ for a fresh election. Middlesex answered this insolent claim to limit the free choice of a constituency by again returning Wilkes ; and the House was driven by its anger to a fresh and more outrageous usurpation. It again expelled the member for Middlesex ; and on his return for

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the third time by an immense majority, it voted that the candidate whom he had defeated, Colonel Luttrell, ought to have been returned, and was the legal representative of Middlesex. The Commons had not only limited at their own arbitrary discretion the free election of the constituency, but they had transferred its rights to themselves by seating Luttrell as member in defiance of the deliberate choice of Wilkes by the freeholders of Middlesex. The country at once rose indignantly against this violation of constitutional law. Wilkes was elected an Alderman of London ; and the Mayor, Aldermen, and Livery petitioned the King to dissolve the Parliament. A remonstrance from London and Westminster said boldly that "there is a time when it is clearly demonstrable that men cease to be representatives. That time is now arrived. The House of Commons do not represent the people." Meanwhile a writer who styled himself Junius attacked the Government in letters, which, rancorous and unscrupulous as was their tone, gave a new power to the literature of the Press by their clearness and terseness of statement, the finish of their style, and the terrible vigour of their invective.

The storm however beat idly on the obstinacy of the King. The printer of the letters was prosecuted, and the petitions and remonstrances of London were haughtily rejected. At the beginning of 1770 a cessation of the disease which had long held him prostrate enabled Chatham to reappear in the House of Lords. He at once denounced the usurpations of the Commons, and brought in a bill to declare them illegal. But his genius made him the first to see that remedies of this sort were inadequate to meet evils which really sprang from the fact that the House of Commons no longer represented the people of England ; and he mooted a plan for its reform by an increase of the county members, who then formed the most independent portion of the House. Further he could not go, for even in the proposals he made he stood almost alone. The Tories and the King's friends were not likely to welcome schemes which would lessen the King's influence. The Whigs under Lord Rockingham had no sympathy with Parliamentary reform ; and they shrank with haughty disdain from the popular agitation in which public opinion was forced to express itself, and which Chatham, while censuring its extravagance, deliberately encouraged. It is from the quarrel between Wilkes and the House of Commons that we may date the influence of public meetings on English politics. The gatherings of the Middlesex electors in his support were preludes to the great meetings of Yorkshire freeholders in which the question of Parliamentary reform rose into importance ; and it was in the movement for reform, and the establishment of corresponding committees throughout the country for the purpose of promoting it, that the power of political agitation first made itself felt. Political societies and clubs took their part in this quicken-

ing and organization of public opinion : and the spread of discussion, as well as the influence which now began to be exercised by the appearance of vast numbers of men in support of any political movement, proved that Parliament would soon have to reckon with the sentiments of the people at large.

But an agent far more effective than popular agitation was preparing to bring the force of public opinion to bear on Parliament itself. We have seen how much of the corruption of the House of Commons sprang from the secrecy of Parliamentary proceedings, but this secrecy was the harder to preserve as the nation woke to a greater interest in its own affairs. From the accession of the Georges imperfect reports of the more important discussions began to be published under the title of "The Senate of Lilliput," and with feigned names or simple initials to denote the speakers. Obtained by stealth and often merely recalled by memory, such reports were naturally inaccurate ; and their inaccuracy was eagerly seized on as a pretext for enforcing the rules which guarded the secrecy of proceedings in Parliament. In 1771 the Commons issued a proclamation forbidding the publication of debates ; and six printers, who set it at defiance, were summoned to the bar of the House. One who refused to appear was arrested by its messenger ; but the arrest at once brought the House into conflict with the magistrates of London. They set aside the proclamation as without legal force, released the printers, and sent the messenger to prison for an unlawful arrest. The House sent the Lord Mayor to the Tower, but the cheers of the crowds which followed him on his way told that public opinion was again with the Press, and the attempt to hinder its publication of Parliamentary proceedings dropped silently on his release at the next prorogation. Few changes of equal importance have been so quietly brought about. Not only was the responsibility of members to their constituents made constant and effective by the publication of their proceedings, but the nation itself was called in to assist in the deliberations of its representatives. A new and wider interest in its own affairs was roused in the people at large, and a new political education was given to it through the discussion of every subject of national importance in the Houses and the Press. Public opinion, as gathered up and represented on all its sides by the journals of the day, became a force in practical statesmanship, influenced the course of debates, and controlled in a closer and more constant way than even Parliament itself had been able to do the actions of the Government. The importance of its new position gave a weight to the Press which it had never had before. The first great English journals date from this time. With the *Morning Chronicle*, the *Morning Post*, the *Morning Herald*, and the *Times*, all of which appeared in the interval between the opening years of the American War and the beginning of the war with the French Revolution, journalism took a new tone of

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responsibility and intelligence. The hacks of Grub Street were superseded by publicists of a high moral temper and literary excellence; and philosophers like Coleridge or statesmen like Canning turned to influence public opinion through the columns of the Press.

But as yet these influences were feebly felt, and George the Third was able to set Chatham's policy disdainfully aside, and to plunge into a contest far more disastrous than his contest with the Press. In all the proceedings of the last few years, what had galled him most had been the act which averted a war between England and her colonies. To the King the Americans were already "rebels," and the great statesman whose eloquence had made their claims irresistible was a "trumpet of sedition." George deplored in his correspondence with his ministers the repeal of the Stamp Acts. "All men feel," he wrote, "that the fatal compliance in 1766 has increased the pretensions of the Americans to absolute independence." In America itself the news of the repeal had been received with universal joy, and taken as a close of the strife. But on both sides there remained a pride and irritability which only wise handling could have allayed; and in the present state of English politics wise handling was impossible. Only a few months indeed passed before the quarrel was re-opened; for no sooner had the illness of Lord Chatham removed him in 1767 from any real share in public affairs, than the wretched administration which bore his name suspended the Assembly of New York on its refusal to provide quarters for English troops, and resolved to assert British sovereignty by levying import duties of trivial amount at American ports. The Assembly of Massachusetts was dissolved on a trifling quarrel with its Governor, and Boston was occupied for a time by British soldiers. The remonstrances of the Legislatures of Massachusetts and Virginia, however, coupled with a fall in the funds, warned the Ministers of the dangerous course on which they had entered; and in 1769 the troops were withdrawn, and all duties, save one, abandoned. But the King insisted on retaining the duty on tea; and its retention was enough to prevent any thorough restoration of good feeling. A series of petty quarrels went on in almost every colony between the popular Assemblies and the Governors appointed by the Crown, and the colonists persisted in their agreement to import nothing from the mother country. As yet however there was no prospect of serious strife. In America the influence of George Washington allayed the irritation of Virginia. Massachusetts contented itself with quarrelling with its Governor, and refusing to buy tea so long as the duty was levied. In England, even Grenville, though approving the retention of the duty in question, abandoned all dream of further taxation.

But the King was now supreme. The attack of Chatham in 1770 had completed the ruin of the Ministry. Those of his adherents who still clung to it resigned their posts; and were followed by the Duke of

Grafton. All that remained were the Bedford faction and the dependents of the King ; these were gathered under the former Chancellor of the Exchequer, Lord North, into a ministry which was in fact a mere cloak for the direction of public affairs by George himself. "Not only did he direct the minister," a careful observer tells us, "in all important matters of foreign and domestic policy, but he instructed him as to the management of debates in Parliament, suggested what motions should be made or opposed, and how measures should be carried. He reserved for himself all the patronage, he arranged the whole cast of administration, settled the relative place and pretensions of ministers of State, law officers, and members of the household, nominated and promoted the English and Scotch judges, appointed and translated bishops and deans, and dispensed other preferments in the Church. He disposed of military governments, regiments, and commissions, and himself ordered the marching of troops. He gave and refused titles, honours, and pensions." All this immense patronage was steadily used for the creation and maintenance in both Houses of Parliament of a majority directed by the King himself ; and its weight was seen in the steady action of such a majority. It was seen yet more in the subjection to which the ministry that bore North's name was reduced. George was in fact the minister through the twelve years of its existence, from 1770 till the close of the American war ; and the shame of the darkest hour of English history lies wholly at his door.

His fixed purpose was to seize on the first opportunity of undoing the "fatal compliance of 1766." A trivial riot gave him the handle he wanted. In December 1773 the arrival of some English ships laden with tea kindled fresh irritation in Boston, where the non-importation agreement was strictly enforced. A mob in the disguise of Indians boarded the vessels and flung their contents into the sea. The outrage was deplored alike by the friends of America in England and by its own leading statesmen ; and both Washington and Chatham were prepared to support the Government in its looked-for demand of redress. But the thought of the King was not of redress but of repression, and he set roughly aside the more conciliatory proposals of Lord North and his fellow-ministers. They had already rejected as "frivolous and vexatious" a petition of the Assembly of Massachusetts for the dismissal of two public officers whose letters home advised the withdrawal of free institutions from the Colonies. They now seized on the riot as a pretext for rigorous measures. A bill introduced into Parliament in the beginning of 1774 punished Boston by closing its port against all commerce. Another punished the State of Massachusetts by withdrawing the liberties it had enjoyed ever since the Pilgrim Fathers landed on its soil. Its charter was altered. The choice of its Council was transferred from the people to the Crown, and the nomination of its judges was transferred to the Governor. In the

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Governor, too, by a provision more outrageous than even these, was vested the right of sending all persons charged with a share in the late disturbances to England for trial. To enforce these measures of repression troops were sent to America, and General Gage, the commander-in-chief there, was appointed Governor of Massachusetts. The King's exultation at the prospect before him was unbounded. "The die," he wrote triumphantly to his minister, "is cast. The Colonies must either triumph or submit." Four regiments would be enough to bring the Americans to their senses. They would only be "lions while we are lambs." "If we take the resolute part," he decided solemnly, "they will undoubtedly be very meek." Unluckily, the blow at Massachusetts was received with anything but meekness. The jealousies between State and State were hushed by the sense that the liberties of all were in danger. If the British Parliament could cancel the charter of Massachusetts and ruin the trade of Boston, it could cancel the charter of every colony and ruin the trade of every port from the St. Lawrence to the coast of Georgia. All therefore adopted the cause of Massachusetts; and all their Legislatures, save that of Georgia, sent delegates to a Congress which assembled on the 4th of September at Philadelphia. Massachusetts took a yet bolder course. Not a citizen would act under the new laws. Its Assembly met in defiance of the Governor, called out the militia of the State, and provided arms and ammunition for it. But there was still room for reconciliation. The resolutions of the Congress had been moderate; for Virginia was the wealthiest and most influential among the States who sent delegates; and though resolute to resist the new measures of the Government, Virginia still clung to the mother country. At home, the merchants of London and Bristol pleaded loudly for reconciliation; and in January 1775 Chatham again came forward to avert a strife he had once before succeeded in preventing. With characteristic largeness of feeling he set aside all half-measures or proposals of compromise. "It is not cancelling a piece of parchment," he insisted, "that can win back America: you must respect her fears and her resentments." The bill which he introduced in concert with Franklin provided for the repeal of the late acts and for the security of the colonial charters, abandoned the claim to taxation, and ordered the recall of the troops. A colonial assembly was directed to meet and provide means by which America might contribute towards the payment of the public debt.

Chatham's measure was contemptuously rejected by the Lords, as was a similar measure of Burke's by the Commons, and a petition of the City of London in favour of the Colonies by the King himself. With the rejection of these efforts at reconciliation began the great struggle which ended eight years later in the severance of the American Colonies from the British Crown. The Congress of delegates from

the Colonial Legislatures at once voted measures for general defence, ordered the levy of an army, and set George Washington at its head. No nobler figure ever stood in the forefront of a nation's life. Washington was grave and courteous in address ; his manners were simple and unpretending ; his silence and the serene calmness of his temper spoke of a perfect self-mastery ; but there was little in his outer bearing to reveal the grandeur of soul which lifts his figure, with all the simple majesty of an ancient statue, out of the smaller passions, the meaner impulses of the world around him. What recommended him for command was simply his weight among his fellow landowners of Virginia, and the experience of war which he had gained by service in border contests with the French and the Indians, as well as in Braddock's luckless expedition against Fort Duquesne. It was only as the weary fight went on that the colonists learned little by little the greatness of their leader, his clear judgment, his heroic endurance, his silence under difficulties, his calmness in the hour of danger or defeat, the patience with which he waited, the quickness and hardness with which he struck, the lofty and serene sense of duty that never swerved from its task through resentment or jealousy, that never through war or peace felt the touch of a meaner ambition, that knew no aim save that of guarding the freedom of his fellow countrymen, and no personal longing save that of returning to his own fireside when their freedom was secured. It was almost unconsciously that men learned to cling to Washington with a trust and faith such as few other men have won, and to regard him with a reverence which still hushes us in presence of his memory. Even America hardly recognized his real greatness till death set its seal on "the man first in war, first in peace, and first in the hearts of his fellow countrymen." Washington more than any of his fellow colonists represented the clinging of the Virginian landowners to the mother country, and his acceptance of the command proved that even the most moderate among them had no hope now save in arms. The struggle opened with a skirmish between a party of English troops and a detachment of militia at Lexington, and in a few days twenty thousand colonists appeared before Boston. The Congress re-assembled, declared the States they represented "The United Colonies of America," and undertook the work of government. Meanwhile ten thousand fresh troops landed at Boston ; but the provincial militia seized the neck of ground which joins it to the mainland, and though they were driven from the heights of Bunker's Hill which commanded the town, it was only after a desperate struggle in which their bravery put an end for ever to the taunts of cowardice which had been levelled against the colonists. "Are the Yankees cowards?" shouted the men of Massachusetts, as the first English attack rolled back baffled down the hill-side. But a far truer courage was shown in the stubborn endurance with which Washington's raw militiamen,

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who gradually dwindled from sixteen thousand to ten, ill fed, ill armed, and with but forty-five rounds of ammunition to each man, cooped up through the winter a force of ten thousand veterans in the lines of Boston. The spring of 1776 saw them force these troops to withdraw from the city to New York, where the whole British army, largely reinforced by mercenaries from Germany, was concentrated under General Howe. Meanwhile a raid of the American General, Arnold, nearly drove the British troops from Canada; and though his attempt broke down before Quebec, it showed that all hope of reconciliation was over. The Colonies of the south, the last to join in the struggle, had in fact expelled their Governors at the close of 1775; at the opening of the next year Massachusetts instructed its delegates to support a complete repudiation of the King's government by the Colonies; while the American ports were thrown open to the world in defiance of the Navigation Acts. These decisive steps were followed by the great act with which American history begins, the adoption on the 4th of July, 1776, by the delegates in Congress of a Declaration of Independence. "We," ran its solemn words, "the representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, appealing to the Supreme Judge of the world for the rectitude of our intentions, solemnly publish and declare that these United Colonies are, and of right ought to be, Free and Independent States."

The earlier successes of the Colonists were soon followed by suffering and defeat. Howe, an active general with a fine army at his back, cleared Long Island in August by a victory at Brooklyn; and Washington, whose army was weakened by withdrawals and defeat, and disheartened by the loyal tone of the State in which it was encamped, was forced to evacuate New York and New Jersey, and to fall back first on the Hudson and then on the Delaware. The Congress prepared to fly from Philadelphia, and a general despair showed itself in cries of peace. But a well-managed surprise and a daring march on the rear of Howe's army restored the spirits of Washington's men, and forced the English general in his turn to fall back on New York. The campaign of 1777 opened with a combined effort for the suppression of the revolt. An army assembled in Canada under General Burgoyne marched by way of the Lakes to seize the line of the Hudson, and with help from the army at New York to cut off New England from her sister provinces. Howe meanwhile sailed up the Chesapeake, and advanced on Philadelphia, the temporary capital of the United States and the seat of the Congress. The rout of his little army of seven thousand men at Brandywine forced Washington to abandon Philadelphia, and, after a bold but unsuccessful attack on his victors, to retire into winter quarters on the banks of the Schuylkill; where the unconquerable resolve with which he nerved his handful of beaten and half-starved troops to face Howe's army in their camp at Valley Forge is the noblest of his

triumphs. But in the north the war had taken another colour. When Burgoyne appeared on the Upper Hudson he found the road to Albany barred by an American force under General Gates. The spirit of New England, which had grown dull as the war rolled away from its borders, quickened again at the news of invasion and of the outrages committed by the Indians whom Burgoyne employed among his troops. Its militia hurried from town and homestead to the camp; and after a fruitless attack on the American lines, Burgoyne saw himself surrounded on the heights of Saratoga. On the 17th of October he was compelled to surrender. The news of this calamity gave force to the words with which Chatham at the very time of the surrender was pressing for peace. "You cannot conquer America," he cried when men were glorying in Howe's successes. "If I were an American as I am an Englishman, while a foreign troop was landed in my country, I never would lay down my arms—never, never, never!" Then in a burst of indignant eloquence he thundered against the use of the Indian and his scalping-knife as allies of England against her children. The proposals which Chatham brought forward might perhaps, in his hands, even yet have drawn America and the mother country together. His plan was one of absolute conciliation, and of a federal union between the settlements and Great Britain which would have left the Colonies absolutely their own masters in all matters of internal government, and linked only by ties of affection and loyalty to the general body of the Empire. But it met with the same fate as his previous proposals. Its rejection was at once followed by the news of Saratoga, and by the yet more fatal news that this disaster had roused the Bourbon Courts to avenge the humiliation of the Seven Years' War. In February 1778 France concluded an alliance with the States. Lord North strove to meet the blow by fresh offers of conciliation, and by a pledge to renounce for ever the right of direct taxation over the Colonies; but he felt that the time for conciliation was past, while all hope of reducing America by force of arms had disappeared. George indeed was as obstinate for war as ever; and the country, stung to the quick by the attack of France, backed passionately the obstinacy of the King. But unlike George the Third, it instinctively felt that if a hope still remained of retaining the friendship of the Colonies, and of baffling the efforts of the Bourbons, it lay in Lord Chatham; and in spite of the King's resistance the voice of the whole country called him back to power. But on the eve of his return to office this last chance was shattered by the hand of death. Broken with age and disease, the Earl was borne to the House of Lords to utter in a few broken words his protest against the proposal to surrender America. "I rejoice," he murmured, "that I am still alive to lift up my voice against the dismemberment of this ancient and noble monarchy. His Majesty succeeded to an Empire as great in extent as its reputation was unsullied. Seventeen years

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ago this people was the terror of the world." He listened impatiently to the reply of the Duke of Richmond, and again rose to his feet. But he had hardly risen when he pressed his hand upon his heart, and falling back in a swoon was borne home to die.

From the hour of Chatham's death England entered on a conflict with enemies whose circle gradually widened till she stood single-handed against the world. At the close of 1778 Spain joined the league of France and America against her; and in the next year the joint fleets of the two powers rode the masters of the Channel. They even threatened a descent on the English coast. But dead as Chatham was, his cry woke a new life in England. "Shall we fall prostrate," he exclaimed with his last breath, "before the House of Bourbon?" and the divisions which had broken the nation in its struggle with American liberty were hushed in the presence of this danger to its own existence. The weakness of the Ministry was compensated by the energy of England itself. For three years, from 1779 to 1782, General Elliott held against famine and bombardment the rock fortress of Gibraltar. Although a quarrel over the right of search banded Holland and the Courts of the North in an armed neutrality against her, and added the Dutch fleet to the number of her assailants, England held her own at sea. Even in America the fortune of the war seemed to turn. After Burgoyne's surrender the English generals had withdrawn from Pennsylvania, and bent all their efforts on the South where a strong Royalist party still existed. The capture of Charlestown and the successes of Lord Cornwallis in 1780 were rendered fruitless by the obstinate resistance of General Greene; but the States were weakened by bankruptcy, and unnerved by hopes of aid from France. Meanwhile England was winning new triumphs in the East.

Since the day of Plassey, India had been fast passing into the hands of the merchant company whose traders but a few years before held only three petty factories along its coast. The victory which laid Bengal at the feet of Clive had been followed in 1760 by a victory at Wandewash, in which Colonel Coote's defeat of Lally, the French Governor of Pondicherry, established British supremacy over Southern India. The work of organization had soon to follow on that of conquest; for the tyranny and corruption of the merchant-clerks who suddenly found themselves lifted into rulers was fast ruining the province of Bengal; and although Clive had profited more than any other by the spoils of his victory, he saw that the time had come when greed must give way to the responsibilities of power. In 1765 he returned to India, and the two years of his rule were in fact the most glorious years in his life. In the teeth of opposition from every clerk and of mutiny throughout the army, he put down the private trading of the Company's servants and forbade their acceptance of gifts from the natives. Clive set an example of disinterestedness by handing

over to public uses a legacy which had been left him by the prince he had raised to the throne of Bengal ; and returned poorer than he went to face the storm his acts had roused among those who were interested in Indian abuses at home. His unsparing denunciations of the misgovernment of Bengal at last stirred even Lord North to interfere ; and when the financial distress of the Company drove it for aid to Government, the grant of aid was coupled with measures of administrative reform. The Regulating Act of 1773 established a Governor-General and a Supreme Court of Judicature for all British possessions in India, prohibited judges and members of Council from trading, forbade any receipt of presents from natives, and ordered that every act of the Directors should be signified to the Government to be approved or disallowed. The new interest which had been aroused in the subject of India was seen in an investigation of the whole question of its administration by a Committee of the House of Commons. Clive's own early acts were examined with unsparing severity. His bitter complaint in the Lords that, Baron of Plassey as he was, he had been arraigned like a sheep-stealer, failed to prevent the passing of resolutions which censured the corruption and treachery of the early days of British rule in India. Here, however, the justice of the House stopped. When his accusers passed from the censure of Indian misgovernment to the censure of Clive himself, the memory of his great deeds won from the House of Commons a unanimous vote, "That Robert Lord Clive did at the same time render great and meritorious services to his country."

By the Act of 1773 Warren Hastings was named Governor-General of Bengal, with powers of superintendence and control over the other presidencies. Hastings was sprung of a noble family which had long fallen into decay, and poverty had driven him in boyhood to accept a writership in the Company's service. Clive, whose quick eye discerned his merits, drew him after Plassey into political life ; and the administrative ability he showed, during the disturbed period which followed, raised him step by step to the post of Governor of Bengal. No man could have been better fitted to discharge the duties of the new office which the Government at home had created without a thought of its real greatness. Hastings was gifted with rare powers of organization and control. His first measure was to establish the direct rule of the Company over Bengal by abolishing the government of its native princes, which, though it had become nominal, hindered all plans for effective administration. The Nabob sank into a pensionary, and the Company's new province was roughly but efficiently organized. Out of the clerks and traders about him Hastings formed that body of public servants which still remains the noblest product of our rule in India. The system of law and finance which he devised, hasty and imperfect as it necessarily was, was far superior

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to any that India had ever seen. Corruption he put down with as firm a hand as Clive's, but he won the love of the new "civilians" as he won the love of the Hindoos. Although he raised the revenue of Bengal and was able to send home every year a surplus of half a million to the Company, he did this without laying a fresh burden on the natives or losing their good will. His government was guided by an intimate knowledge of and sympathy with the people. At a time when their tongue was looked on simply as a medium of trade and business, Hastings was skilled in the languages of India; he was versed in native customs, and familiar with native feeling. We can hardly wonder that his popularity with the Bengalees was such as no later ruler has ever attained, or that after a century of great events Indian mothers still hush their infants with the name of Warren Hastings.

As yet, though English influence was great in the south, Bengal alone was directly in English hands. Warren Hastings recognized a formidable danger to the power of Britain in that of the Mahrattas, freebooters of Hindoo blood whose tribes had for a century past carried their raids over India from the hills of the western coast, and founded sovereignties in Guzerat, Malwa, and Tanjore, and who were bound by a slight tie of subjection to the Mahratta chief who reigned at Poonah. The policy of Hastings was to prevent the Mahrattas from over-running the whole of India, and taking the place which the Mogul Emperors had occupied. He bound native princes, as in Oudh or Berar, by treaties and subsidies, crushed without scruple the Rohillas to strengthen his ally the Nabob Vizier of Oudh, and watched with incessant jealousy the growth of powers even as distant as the Sikhs. The jealousy of France sought in the Mahrattas a counterpoise to the power of Britain, and through their chieftain the French envoys were able to set the whole confederacy in motion against the English presidencies. The danger was met by Hastings with characteristic swiftness of resolve. His difficulties were great. For two years he had been rendered powerless through the opposition of his Council; and when freed from this obstacle the Company pressed him incessantly for money, and the Crown more than once strove to recall him. His own general, Sir Eyre Coote, was miserly, capricious, and had to be humoured like a child. Censures and complaints reached him with every mail. But his calm self-command never failed. No trace of his embarrassments showed itself in his work. The war with the Mahrattas was pressed with a tenacity of purpose which the blunders of subordinates and the inefficiency of the soldiers he was forced to use never shook for a moment. Failure followed failure, and success had hardly been wrung from fortune when a new and overwhelming danger threatened from the south. A military adventurer, Hyder Ali, had built up a compact and vigorous empire out of the wreck of older principalities on the table-land of Mysore. Tyrant as he was, no

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native rule was so just as Hyder's, no statesmanship so vigorous. He was quickwitted enough to discern the real power of Britain, and only the wretched blundering of the Council of Madras forced him at last to the conclusion that war with the English was less dangerous than friendship with them. Old as he was, his generalship retained all its energy ; and a disciplined army, covered by a cloud of horse and backed by a train of artillery, poured down in 1780 on the plain of the Carnatic. The small British force which met him was driven into Madras, and Madras itself was in danger. The news reached Hastings when he was at last on the verge of triumph over the Mahrattas ; but his triumph was instantly abandoned, a peace was patched up, and every soldier hurried to Madras. The appearance of Eyre Coote checked the progress of Hyder, and after a campaign of some months he was hurled back into the fastnesses of Mysore. India was the one quarter of the world where Britain lost nothing during the American war ; and in the annexation of Benares, the extension of British rule along the Ganges, the reduction of Oudh to virtual dependence, the appearance of English armies in Central India, and the defeat of Hyder, the genius of Hastings laid the foundation of an Indian Empire

But while England triumphed in the East, the face of the war in America was changed by a terrible disaster. Foiled in an attempt on North Carolina by the refusal of his fellow general, Sir Henry Clinton, to assist him, Lord Cornwallis fell back in 1781 on Virginia, and entrenched himself in the lines of York Town. A sudden march of Washington brought him to the front of the English troops at a moment when the French fleet held the sea, and the army of Cornwallis was driven by famine to a surrender as humiliating as that of Saratoga. The news fell like a thunderbolt on the wretched Minister who had till now suppressed at his master's order his own conviction of the uselessness of further bloodshed. Opening his arms and pacing wildly up and down his room, Lord North exclaimed "It is all over," and resigned. England in fact seemed on the brink of ruin. In the crisis of the American struggle Ireland itself turned on her. A force of forty thousand volunteers had been raised in 1779 for the defence of the island against a French invasion. Threats of an armed revolt backed the eloquence of two Parliamentary leaders, Grattan and Flood, in their demand for the repeal of Poynings' Act and their assertion that, while Ireland and England were united under one Crown, no power was competent to make laws for Ireland save the Irish Parliament. The demands were in effect a claim for national independence ; but there were no means of resisting them, for England was without a soldier to oppose the volunteers. The fall of Lord North recalled the Whigs under Lord Rockingham to office ; and on Rockingham fell the double task of satisfying Ireland and of putting an end, at any cost, to the war with the United States. The task involved in both quarters a humiliating surrender ; and it needed the bitter stress of

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necessity to induce the Houses to follow his counsels. The English Parliament abandoned by a formal statute the judicial and legislative supremacy it had enacted a century before over the Parliament of Ireland; and negotiations were begun with America and its allies. In the difficulties of England the hopes of her enemies rose high. Spain refused to suspend hostilities at any other price than the surrender of Gibraltar. France proposed that England should give up all her Indian conquests save Bengal. But the true basis of her world-power lay on the sea; and at this moment the command of the seas again became her own. Admiral Rodney, the greatest of English seamen save Nelson and Blake, had in January, 1780, encountered the Spanish fleet off Cape St. Vincent, and only four of its vessels escaped to Cadiz. Two years later the triumphs of the French Admiral De Grasse called him to the West Indies, and in April 1782, a manœuvre which he was the first to introduce broke his opponent's line, and drove the French fleet shattered from the Atlantic. In September a last attack of the joint force gathered against Gibraltar was repulsed by the heroism of Elliott. Nor would America wait any longer for the satisfaction of her allies. In November her commissioners signed the preliminaries of a peace, in which Britain reserved to herself on the American continent only Canada and the island of Newfoundland, and acknowledged without reserve the independence of the United States. The treaty of peace with the United States was a prelude to treaties of peace with the Bourbon powers. France indeed won nothing in the treaties with which the war ended; Spain gained only Florida and Minorca. England, on the other hand, had won ground in India; she had retained Canada; her West Indian islands were intact; she had asserted her command of the seas. But at the close of the war there was less thought of what she had retained than of what she had lost. The American Colonies were irrecoverably gone. It is no wonder that in the first shock of such a loss England looked on herself as on the verge of ruin, or that the Bourbon Courts believed her position as a world-power to be practically at an end. How utterly groundless such a conception was the coming years were to show.

Section III.—The Second Pitt. 1783–1793.

[*Authorities.*—Mr. Massey's account of this period may be supplemented by Lord Stanhope's "Life of Pitt," Lord Russell's "Memoirs of Fox," and the Correspondence of Lord Malmesbury, Lord Auckland, and Mr. Rose. For the Slave Trade, see the Memoirs of Wilberforce by his sons. Burke may be studied in his Life by Macknight, in Mr. Morley's valuable essay on him, and above all in his own works. The state of foreign affairs in 1789 is best seen in Von Sybel's "History of the French Revolution."]

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That in the creation of the United States the world had reached one of the turning points in its history seems at the time to have

entered into the thought of not a single European statesman. What startled men most at the moment was the discovery that England herself was far from being ruined by the greatness of her defeat. She rose from it indeed stronger and more vigorous than ever. Never had she shown a mightier energy than in the struggle against France which followed only ten years after her loss of America, nor did she ever stand higher among the nations than on the day of Waterloo. Her real greatness, however, lay not in the old world but in the new. She was from that hour a mother of nations. In America she had begotten a great people, and her emigrant ships were still to carry on the movement of the Teutonic race from which she herself had sprung. Her work was to be colonization. Her settlers were to dispute Africa with the Kaffir and the Hottentot; they were to build up in the waters of the Pacific colonies as great as those which she had lost in America. And to the nations that she founded she was to give not only her blood and her speech, but the freedom which she had won. It is the thought of this which flings its grandeur round the pettiest details of our story in the past. The history of France has little result beyond France itself. German or Italian history has no direct issue outside the bounds of Germany or Italy. But England is only a small part of the outcome of English history. Its greater issues lie not within the narrow limits of the mother island, but in the destinies of nations yet to be. The struggles of her patriots, the wisdom of her statesmen, the steady love of liberty and law in her people at large, were shaping in the past of our little island the future of mankind.

Meanwhile the rapid developement of industrial energy and industrial wealth in England itself was telling on the conditions of English statesmanship. Though the Tories and "King's friends" had now grown to a compact body of a hundred and fifty members, the Whigs, who held office under Lord Rockingham, were superior to their rivals in numbers and political character, now that the return of the Bedford section to the general body of the party during its steady opposition to the American war had restored much of its old cohesion. But this reunion only strengthened their aristocratic and exclusive tendencies, and widened the breach which was steadily opening on questions such as Parliamentary Reform, between the bulk of the Whig party and the small fragment which remained true to the more popular sympathies of Chatham. Lord Shelburne stood at the head of the Chatham party, and it was reinforced at this moment by the entry into Parliament of the second son of Chatham himself. William Pitt had hardly reached his twenty-second year; but he left college with the learning of a ripe scholar, and his ready and sonorous eloquence had been matured by his father's teaching. "He will be one of the first men in Parliament," said a member to the Whig leader, Charles Fox, after Pitt's first

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speech in the House of Commons. "He is so already," replied Fox. The haughty self-esteem of the new statesman breathed in every movement of his tall, spare figure, in the hard lines of a countenance which none but his closer friends saw lighted by a smile, in his cold and repulsive address, his invariable gravity of demeanour, and his habitual air of command. How great the qualities were which lay beneath this haughty exterior no one knew; nor had any one guessed how soon this "boy," as his rivals mockingly styled him, was to crush every opponent and to hold England at his will. He refused any minor post in the Rockingham Administration, claiming, if he took office at all, to be at once admitted to the Cabinet. But Pitt had no desire to take office under Rockingham. To him as to Chatham the main lesson of the war was the need of putting an end to those abuses in the composition of Parliament by which George the Third had been enabled to plunge the country into it. A thorough reform of the House of Commons was the only effectual means of doing this, and Pitt brought forward a bill founded on his father's plans for that purpose. But the great bulk of the Whigs could not resolve on the sacrifice of property and influence which such a reform would involve. Pitt's bill was thrown out; and in its stead the Ministry endeavoured to weaken the means of corrupt influence which the King had unscrupulously used, by disqualifying persons holding government contracts from sitting in Parliament, by depriving revenue officers of the elective franchise (a measure which diminished the influence of the Crown in seventy boroughs), and above all by a bill for the reduction of the civil establishment, of the pension list, and of the secret service fund, which was brought in by Burke. These measures were to a great extent effectual in diminishing the influence of the Crown over Parliament, and they are memorable as marking the date when the direct bribery of members absolutely ceased. But they were absolutely inoperative in rendering the House of Commons really representative of or responsible to the people of England. The jealousy which the mass of the Whigs entertained of the Chatham section and its plans was more plainly shown on the death of Lord Rockingham in July. Shelburne was no sooner called to the head of the Ministry than Fox, who acted on personal grounds, and the bulk of Rockingham's followers resigned. Pitt on the other hand accepted office as Chancellor of the Exchequer.

The Shelburne Ministry only lasted long enough to conclude the final peace with the United States; for in the opening of 1783 it was overthrown by the most unscrupulous coalition known in our history, that of the Whig followers of Fox with the Tories who still clung to Lord North. Never had the need of representative reform been more clearly shown than by a coalition which proved how powerless was the force of public opinion to check even the most shameless faction in

Parliament, how completely the lessening of the royal influence by the measures of Burke and Rockingham had tended to the profit, not of the people, but of the borough-mongers who usurped its representation. Pitt's renewed proposal of Parliamentary Reform was rejected by a majority of two to one. Secure in their Parliamentary majority, and heedless of the power of public opinion without the walls of the House of Commons, the new Ministers entered boldly on a greater task than had as yet taxed the constructive genius of English statesmen. To leave such a dominion as Warren Hastings had built up in India to the control of a mere company of traders was clearly impossible; and Fox proposed to transfer the political government from the Directors of the Company to a board of seven Commissioners. The appointment of the seven was vested in the first instance in Parliament, and afterwards in the Crown; their office was to be held for five years, but they were removable on address from either House of Parliament. The proposal was at once met with a storm of opposition. The scheme indeed was an injudicious one; for the new Commissioners would have been destitute of that practical knowledge of India which belonged to the Company, while the want of any immediate link between them and the actual Ministry of the Crown would have prevented Parliament from exercising an effective control over their acts. But the real faults of this India Bill were hardly noticed in the popular outcry against it. The merchant-class was galled by the blow levelled at the greatest merchant-body in the realm: corporations trembled at the cancelling of a charter; the King viewed the measure as a mere means of transferring the patronage of India to the Whigs. With the nation at large the faults of the bill lay in the character of the Ministry which proposed it. To give the rule and patronage of India over to the existing House of Commons was to give a new and immense power to a body which misused in the grossest way the power it possessed. It was the sense of this popular feeling which encouraged the King to exert his personal influence to defeat the measure in the Lords, and on its defeat to order his Ministers to deliver up the seals. In December 1783 Pitt accepted the post of First Lord of the Treasury; but his position would at once have been untenable had the country gone with its nominal representatives. He was defeated again and again by large majorities in the Commons; but the majorities dwindled as a shower of addresses from every quarter, from the Tory University of Oxford as from the Whig Corporation of London, proved that public opinion went with the Minister and not with the House. It was the general sense of this which justified Pitt in the firmness with which, in the teeth of addresses for his removal from office, he delayed the dissolution of Parliament for five months, and gained time for that ripening of national sentiment on which he counted for success. When the elections of 1784 came the struggle was at once at an end.

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The public feeling had become strong enough to break through the corrupt influences which commonly governed its representation. Every great constituency returned supporters to Pitt ; of the majority which had defeated him in the Commons a hundred and sixty members were unseated ; and only a fragment of the Whig party was saved by its command of nomination boroughs.

When Parliament came together after the overthrow of the Coalition, the Minister of twenty-five was master of England as no Minister had been before. Even the King yielded to his sway, partly through gratitude for the triumph he had won for him over the Whigs, partly from a sense of the madness which was soon to strike him down, but still more from a gradual discovery that the triumph which he had won over his political rivals had been won, not to the profit of the crown, but of the nation at large. The Whigs, it was true, were broken, unpopular, and without a policy, while the Tories clung to the Minister who had "saved the King." But it was the support of a new political power that really gave his strength to the young Minister. The sudden rise of English industry was pushing the manufacturer to the front ; and all that the trading classes loved in Chatham, his nobleness of temper, his consciousness of power, his patriotism, his sympathy with a wider world than the world within the Parliament-house, they saw in his son. He had little indeed of the poetic and imaginative side of Chatham's genius, of his quick perception of what was just and what was possible, his far-reaching conceptions of national policy, his outlook into the future of the world. Pitt's flowing and sonorous commonplaces rang hollow beside the broken phrases which still make his father's eloquence a living thing to Englishmen. On the other hand he possessed some qualities in which Chatham was utterly wanting. His temper, though naturally ardent and sensitive, had been schooled in a proud self-command. His simplicity and good taste freed him from his father's ostentation and extravagance. Diffuse and commonplace as his speeches seem, they were adapted as much by their very qualities of diffuseness and commonplace as by their lucidity and good sense to the intelligence of the middle classes whom Pitt felt to be his real audience. In his love of peace, his immense industry, his despatch of business, his skill in debate, his knowledge of finance, he recalled Sir Robert Walpole ; but he had virtues which Walpole never possessed, and he was free from Walpole's worst defects. He was careless of personal gain. He was too proud to rule by corruption. His lofty self-esteem left no room for any jealousy of subordinates. He was generous in his appreciation of youthful merits ; and the "boys" he gathered round him, such as Canning and Lord Wellesley, rewarded his generosity by a devotion which death left untouched. With Walpole's cynical inaction Pitt had no sympathy whatever. His

policy from the first was one of active reform, and he faced every one of the problems, financial, constitutional, religious, from which Walpole had shrunk. Above all he had none of Walpole's scorn of his fellow-men. The noblest feature in his mind was its wide humanity. His love for England was as deep and personal as his father's love, but of the sympathy with English passion and English prejudice which had been at once his father's weakness and strength he had not a trace. When Fox taunted him with forgetting Chatham's jealousy of France and his faith that she was the natural foe of England, Pitt answered nobly that "to suppose any nation can be unalterably the enemy of another is weak and childish." The temper of the time and the larger sympathy of man with man, which especially marks the eighteenth century as a turning-point in the history of the human race, was everywhere bringing to the front a new order of statesmen, such as Turgot and Joseph the Second, whose characteristics were a love of mankind, and a belief that as the happiness of the individual can only be secured by the general happiness of the community to which he belongs, so the welfare of individual nations can only be secured by the general welfare of the world. Of these Pitt was one. But he rose high above the rest in the consummate knowledge, and the practical force which he brought to the realization of his aims.

Pitt's strength lay in finance; and he came forward at a time when the growth of English wealth made a knowledge of finance essential to a great minister. The progress of the nation was wonderful. Population more than doubled during the eighteenth century, and the advance of wealth was even greater than that of population. The war had added a hundred millions to the national debt, but the burden was hardly felt. The loss of America only increased the commerce with that country; and industry had begun that great career which was to make Britain the workshop of the world. Though England already stood in the first rank of commercial states at the accession of George the Third, her industrial life at home was mainly agricultural. The wool-trade had gradually established itself in Norfolk, the West Riding of Yorkshire, and the counties of the south-west; while the manufacture of cotton was still almost limited to Manchester and Bolton, and remained so unimportant that in the middle of the eighteenth century the export of cotton goods hardly reached the value of fifty thousand a year. There was the same slow and steady progress in the linen trade of Belfast and Dundee, and the silks of Spitalfields. The processes of manufacture were too rude to allow any large increase of production. It was only where a stream gave force to turn a mill-wheel that the wool-worker could establish his factory; and cotton was as yet spun by hand in the cottages, the "spinsters" of the family sitting with their distaffs round the weaver's handloom. But had the processes of manufacture been more efficient, they would have been ren-

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dered useless by the want of a cheap and easy means of transport. The older main roads, which had lasted fairly through the middle ages, had broken down in later times before the growth of traffic and the increase of wagons and carriages. The new lines of trade lay often along mere country lanes which had never been more than horse-tracks. Much of the woollen trade therefore had to be carried on by means of long trains of pack-horses; and in the case of yet heavier goods, such as coal, distribution was almost impracticable, save along the greater rivers or in districts accessible from the sea. A new æra began when the engineering genius of Brindley joined Manchester with its port of Liverpool in 1767 by a canal which crossed the Irwell on a lofty aqueduct; the success of the experiment soon led to the universal introduction of water-carriage, and Great Britain was traversed in every direction by three thousand miles of navigable canals. At the same time a new importance was given to the coal which lay beneath the soil of England. The stores of iron which had lain side by side with it in the northern counties had lain there unworked through the scarcity of wood, which was looked upon as the only fuel by which it could be smelted. In the middle of the eighteenth century a process for smelting iron with coal turned out to be effective; and the whole aspect of the iron-trade was at once revolutionized. Iron was to become the working material of the modern world; and it is its production of iron which more than all else has placed England at the head of industrial Europe. The value of coal as a means of producing mechanical force was revealed in the discovery by which Watt in 1765 transformed the Steam-Engine from a mere toy into the most wonderful instrument which human industry has ever had at its command. The invention came at a moment when the existing supply of manual labour could no longer cope with the demands of the manufacturers. Three successive inventions in twelve years, that of the spinning-jenny in 1764 by the weaver Hargreaves, of the spinning-machine in 1768 by the barber Arkwright, of the "mule" by the weaver Crompton in 1776, were followed by the discovery of the power-loom. But these would have been comparatively useless had it not been for the revelation of a new and inexhaustible labour-force in the steam-engine. It was the combination of such a force with such means of applying it that enabled Britain during the terrible years of her struggle with France and Napoleon to all but monopolize the woollen and cotton trades, and raised her into the greatest manufacturing country that the world had seen.

To deal wisely with such a growth required a knowledge of the laws of wealth which would have been impossible at an earlier time. But it had become possible in the days of Pitt. If books are to be measured by the effect which they have produced on the fortunes of

mankind, the "Wealth of Nations" must rank among the greatest of books. Its author was Adam Smith, an Oxford scholar and a professor at Glasgow. Labour, he contended, was the one source of wealth, and it was by freedom of labour, by suffering the worker to pursue his own interest in his own way, that the public wealth would best be promoted. Any attempt to force labour into artificial channels, to shape by laws the course of commerce, to promote special branches of industry in particular countries, or to fix the character of the intercourse between one country and another, is not only a wrong to the worker or the merchant, but actually hurtful to the wealth of a state. The book was published in 1776, at the opening of the American war, and studied by Pitt during his career as an undergraduate at Cambridge. From that time he owned Adam Smith for his master. He had hardly become Minister before he took the principles of the "Wealth of Nations" as the groundwork of his policy. The ten earlier years of his rule marked a new point of departure in English statesmanship. Pitt was the first English Minister who really grasped the part which industry was to play in promoting the welfare of the world. He was not only a peace Minister and a financier, as Walpole had been, but a statesman who saw that the best security for peace lay in the freedom and widening of commercial intercourse between nations; that public economy not only lessened the general burdens but left additional capital in the hands of industry; and that finance might be turned from a mere means of raising revenue into a powerful engine of political and social improvement.

That little was done by Pitt himself to carry these principles into effect was partly owing to the mass of ignorance and prejudice with which he had to contend, and still more to the sudden break of his plans through the French Revolution. His power rested above all on the trading classes, and these were still persuaded that wealth meant gold and silver, and that commerce was best furthered by jealous monopolies. It was only by patience and dexterity that the mob of merchants and country squires who backed him in the House of Commons could be brought to acquiesce in the changes he proposed. How small his power was when it struggled with the prejudices around him was seen in the failure of the first great measure he brought forward. The question of parliamentary reform which had been mooted during the American war had been steadily coming to the front. Chatham had advocated an increase of county members, who were then the most independent part of the Lower House. The Duke of Richmond talked of universal suffrage, equal electoral districts, and annual Parliaments. Wilkes anticipated the Reform Bill of a later time by proposing to disfranchise the rotten boroughs, and to give members in their stead to the counties and to the more populous and wealthy towns. William Pitt had made the question his own by

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bringing forward a motion for reform on his first entry into the House, and one of his first measures as Minister was to bring in a bill in 1785 which, while providing for the gradual extinction of all decayed boroughs, disfranchised thirty-six at once, and transferred their members to counties. He brought the King to abstain from opposition, and strove to buy off the borough-mongers, as the holders of rotten boroughs were called, by offering to compensate them for the seats they lost at their market value. But the bulk of his own party joined the bulk of the Whigs in a steady resistance to the bill. The more glaring abuses, indeed, within Parliament itself, the abuses which stirred Chatham and Wilkes to action, had in great part disappeared. The bribery of members had ceased. Burke's Bill of Economical Reform had just dealt a fatal blow at the influence which the King exercised by suppressing a host of useless offices, household appointments, judicial and diplomatic charges, which were maintained for the purposes of corruption. Above all, the recent triumph of public opinion to which Pitt owed his power had done much to diminish the sense of any real danger from the opposition which Parliament had shown till now to the voice of the nation. "Terribly disappointed and beat" as Wilberforce tells us Pitt was by the rejection of his measure, the temper of the House and of the people was too plain to be mistaken, and though his opinion remained unaltered, he never brought it forward again.

The failure of his constitutional reform was more than compensated by the triumphs of his finance. When he entered office public credit was at its lowest ebb. The debt had been doubled by the American war, yet large sums still remained unfunded, while the revenue was reduced by a vast system of smuggling which turned every coast-town into a nest of robbers. The deficiency was met for the moment by new taxes, but the time which was thus gained served to change the whole face of public affairs. The first of Pitt's financial measures—his plan for gradually paying off the debt by a sinking fund—was undoubtedly an error; but it had a happy effect in restoring public confidence. He met the smuggler by a reduction of Custom-duties which made his trade unprofitable. He revived Walpole's plan of an Excise. Meanwhile the public expenses were reduced, and commission after commission was appointed to introduce economy into every department of the public service. The rapid developement of the national industry which we have already noted no doubt aided the success of these measures. Credit was restored. The smuggling trade was greatly reduced. In two years there was a surplus of a million, and though duty after duty was removed the revenue rose steadily with every remission of taxation. Meanwhile Pitt was showing the political value of the new finance in a wider field. Ireland, then as now, was England's difficulty. The tyrannous misgovernment under

which she had groaned ever since the battle of the Boyne was producing its natural fruit in universal discontent. All alike suffered from a plundered treasury, a ruined trade, a corrupted Parliament ; and so threatening had the attitude of the Protestant party which ruled it become during the American war that they had forced the English Parliament to relinquish its control over their Parliament in Dublin. Pitt saw that much at least of the misery and disloyalty of Ireland sprang from its poverty. The population had grown rapidly while culture remained stationary and commerce perished. And of this poverty much was the direct result of unjust law. Ireland was a grazing country, but to protect the interests of English graziers the import of its cattle into England was forbidden. To protect the interests of English clothiers and weavers, its manufactures were loaded with duties. To redress this wrong was the first financial effort of Pitt, and the bill which he introduced in 1785 did away with every obstacle to freedom of trade between England and Ireland. It was a measure which, as he held, would "draw what remained of the shattered empire together," and repair in part the loss of America by creating a loyal and prosperous Ireland ; and struggling almost alone in face of a fierce opposition from the Whigs and the Manchester merchants, he dragged it through the English Parliament, only to see amendments forced into it which ensured its rejection by the Irish Parliament. But the defeat only spurred him to a greater effort elsewhere. France had been looked upon as England's natural enemy ; but in 1787 he concluded a Treaty of Commerce with France which enabled the subjects of both countries to reside and travel in either without license or passport, did away with all prohibition of trade on either side, and reduced every import duty.

India owes to Pitt's triumph a form of government which remained unchanged to our own day. The India Bill which he carried in 1784 preserved in appearance the political and commercial powers of the Directors, while establishing a Board of Control, formed from members of the Privy Council, for the approval or annulling of their acts. Practically, however, the powers of the Board of Directors were absorbed by a secret committee of three elected members of that body, to whom all the more important administrative functions had been reserved by the bill, while those of the Board of Control were virtually exercised by its President. As the President was in effect a new Secretary of State for the Indian Department, and became an important member of each Ministry, responsible like his fellow-members for his action to Parliament, the administration of India was thus made a part of the general system of the English Government ; while the secret committee supplied the experience of Indian affairs in which the Minister might be deficient. Meanwhile the new temper that was growing up in the English people told on the attitude of England towards its great depend-

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ency. Discussions over rival plans of Indian administration diffused a sense of national responsibility for its good government, and there was a general resolve that the security against injustice and misrule which was enjoyed by the poorest Englishman should be enjoyed by the poorest Hindoo. This resolve expressed itself in the trial of Warren Hastings. Hastings returned from India at the close of the war with the hope of rewards as great as those of Clive. He had saved all that Clive had won. He had laid the foundation of a vast empire in the East. He had shown rare powers of administration, and the foresight, courage, and temperance which mark the born ruler of men. But the wisdom and glory of his rule could not hide its terrible ruthlessness. He was charged with having sold for a vast sum the services of British troops to crush the free tribes of the Rohillas, with having wrung half a million by extortion from the Rajah of Benares, with having extorted by torture and starvation more than a million from the Princesses of Oudh. He was accused of having kept his hold upon power by measures as unscrupulous, and with having murdered a native who opposed him by an abuse of the forms of English law. On almost all these charges the cooler judgement of later enquirers has acquitted Warren Hastings of guilt. Personally there can be little doubt that he had done much to secure to the new subjects of Britain a just and peaceable government. What was hardest and most pitiless in his rule had been simply a carrying out of the system of administration which was native to India and which he found existing there. But such a system was alien from the new humanity of Englishmen ; and few dared to vindicate Hastings when Burke in words of passionate earnestness moved for his impeachment. The great trial lingered on for years, and in the long run Hastings secured an acquittal. But the end at which the impeachment aimed had really been won. The attention, the sympathy of Englishmen had been drawn across distant seas to a race utterly strange to them ; and the peasant of Cornwall or Cumberland had learned how to thrill at the suffering of a peasant of Bengal.

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Even while the trial was going on a yet wider extension of English sympathy made itself felt. In the year which followed the adoption of free trade with France the new philanthropy allied itself with the religious movement created by the Wesleys in an attack on the Slave Trade. One of the profits which England bought by the triumphs of Marlborough was a right to a monopoly of the slave trade between Africa and the Spanish dominions ; and it was England that had planted slavery in her American colonies and her West Indian islands. But the horrors and iniquity of the trade, the ruin and degradation of Africa which it brought about, the oppression of the negro himself, were now felt widely and deeply. "After a conversation in the open air at the root of an old tree, just above the steep descent

into the Vale of Keston," with the younger Pitt, his friend, William Wilberforce, whose position as a representative of the evangelical party gave weight to his advocacy of such a cause, resolved in 1788 to bring in a bill for the abolition of the slave trade. But the bill fell before the opposition of the Liverpool slave merchants and the general indifference of the House of Commons. The spirit of humanity which breathed through Pitt's policy had indeed to wrestle with difficulties at home and abroad; and his efforts to sap the enmity of nation against nation by a freer intercourse encountered a foe even more fatal than English prejudice, in the very movement of which his measures formed a part. Across the Channel this movement was growing into a revolution which was to change the face of the world.

So far as England was concerned the Puritan resistance of the seventeenth century had in the end succeeded in checking the general tendency of the time to religious and political despotism. Since the Revolution of 1688 freedom of conscience and the people's right to govern itself through its representatives in Parliament had been practically established. Social equality had begun long before. Every man from the highest to the lowest was subject to, and protected by, the same law. The English aristocracy, though exercising a powerful influence on government, were possessed of few social privileges, and prevented from forming a separate class in the nation by the legal and social tradition which counted all save the eldest son of a noble house as commoners. No impassable line parted the gentry from the commercial classes, and these again possessed no privileges which could part them from the lower classes of the community. Public opinion, the general sense of educated Englishmen, had established itself after a short struggle as the dominant element in English government. But in all the other great states of Europe the wars of religion had left only the name of freedom. Government tended to a pure despotism. Privilege was supreme in religion, in politics, in society. Society itself rested on a rigid division of classes from one another, which refused to the people at large any equal rights of justice or of industry. We have already seen how alien such a conception of national life was from the ideas which the wide diffusion of intelligence during the eighteenth century was spreading throughout Europe; and in almost every country some enlightened rulers endeavoured by administrative reforms in some sort to satisfy the sense of wrong which was felt around them. The attempts of sovereigns like Frederick the Great in Prussia, and Joseph the Second in Austria and the Netherlands, were rivalled by the efforts of statesmen such as Turgot in France. It was in France indeed that the contrast between the actual state of society and the new ideas of public right was felt most keenly. Nowhere had the victory of the Crown been more complete. The aristocracy had been robbed of all share in public affairs; it enjoyed social privileges and exemption from any

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contribution to the public burdens, without that sense of public duty which a governing class to some degree always possesses. Guilds and monopolies fettered the industry of the trader and the merchant, and cut them off from the working classes, as the value attached to noble blood cut off both from the aristocracy.

If its political position indeed were compared with that of most of the countries round it, France stood high. Its government was less oppressive, its general wealth was larger and more evenly diffused, there was a better administration of justice, and greater security for public order. Poor as its peasantry seemed to English eyes, they were far above the peasants of Germany or Spain. Its middle class was the quickest and most intelligent in Europe. Under Lewis the Fifteenth opinion was practically free; and a literary class had sprung up which devoted itself with wonderful brilliancy and activity to popularizing the ideas of social and political justice which it learned from English writers, and in the case of Montesquieu and Voltaire from personal contact with English life. The moral conceptions of the time, its love of mankind, its sense of human brotherhood, its hatred of oppression, its pity for the guilty and the poor, its longing after a higher and nobler standard of life and action, were expressed by a crowd of writers, and above all by Rousseau, with a fire and eloquence which carried them to the heart of the people. But this new force of intelligence only jostled roughly with the social forms with which it found itself in contact. The philosopher denounced the tyranny of the priesthood. The peasant grumbled at the lord's right to judge him in his courts and to exact feudal services from him. The merchant was galled by the trading restrictions and the heavy taxation. The country gentry rebelled against their exclusion from public life and from the government of the country. Its powerlessness to bring about any change at home turned all this new energy into sympathy with a struggle against tyranny abroad. Public opinion forced France to ally itself with America in its contest for liberty, and French volunteers under the Marquis de Lafayette joined Washington's army. But while the American war spread more widely throughout the nation the craving for freedom, it brought on the Government financial embarrassment from which it could only free itself by an appeal to the country at large. Lewis the Sixteenth resolved to summon the States-General, which had not met since the time of Richelieu, and to appeal to the nobles to waive their immunity from taxation. His resolve at once stirred into vigorous life every impulse and desire which had been seething in the minds of the people; and the States-General no sooner met at Versailles in May 1789 than the fabric of despotism and privilege began to crumble. A rising in Paris destroyed the Bastille, and the capture of this fortress was taken for the sign of a new æra of constitutional freedom in France and through Europe. Even in England men

thrilled with a strange joy at the tidings of its fall. "How much is this the greatest event that ever happened in the world," Fox cried with a burst of enthusiasm, "and how much the best!"

Pitt regarded the approach of France to sentiments of liberty which had long been familiar to England with greater coolness, but with no distrust. For the moment indeed his attention was distracted by an attack of madness which visited the King in 1788, and by the claim of a right to the Regency which was at once advanced by the Prince of Wales. The Prince belonged to the Whig party; and Fox, who was travelling in Italy, hurried home to support his claim, in full belief that the Prince's Regency would be followed by his own return to power. Pitt successfully resisted it on the constitutional ground that in such a case the right to choose a temporary regent, under what limitations it would, lay with Parliament; and a bill which conferred the Regency on the Prince, in accordance with this view, was already passing the Houses when the recovery of the King put an end to the long dispute. Foreign difficulties, too, absorbed Pitt's attention. Russia had risen into greatness under Catharine the Second; and Catharine had resolved from the first on the annexation of Poland, the expulsion of the Turks from Europe, and the setting up of a Russian throne at Constantinople. In her first aim she was baffled for the moment by Frederick the Great. She had already made herself virtually mistress of the whole of Poland, her armies occupied the kingdom, and she had seated a nominee of her own on its throne, when Frederick in union with the Emperor Joseph the Second forced her to admit Germany to a share of the spoil. If the Polish partition of 1773 brought the Russian frontier westward to the upper waters of the Dvina and the Dnieper, it gave Galicia to Maria Theresa, and West Prussia to Frederick himself. Foiled in her first aim, she waited for the realization of her second till the alliance between the two German powers was at an end through the resistance of Prussia to Joseph's schemes for the annexation of Bavaria, and till the death of Frederick removed her most watchful foe. Then in 1788 Joseph and the Empress joined hands for a partition of the Turkish Empire. But Prussia was still watchful, and England was no longer fettered as in 1773 by troubles with America. The friendship established by Chatham between the two countries, which had been suspended by Bute's treachery and all but destroyed during the Northern League of Neutral Powers, had been restored by Pitt through his co-operation with Frederick's successor in the restoration of the Dutch Statholderate. Its political weight was now seen in an alliance of England, Prussia, and Holland in 1789 for the preservation of the Turkish Empire. A great European struggle seemed at hand; and in such a struggle the sympathy and aid of France was of the highest importance. But with the treaty the danger passed away. In the spring of 1790 Joseph died broken-

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hearted at the failure of his plans and the revolt of the Netherlands against his innovations; and Austria practically withdrew from the war with the Turks.

Meanwhile in France things moved fast. By breaking down the division between its separate orders the States-General became a National Assembly, which abolished the privileges of the provincial parliaments, of the nobles, and the Church. In October the mob of Paris marched on Versailles and forced the King to return with them to the capital; and a Constitution hastily put together was accepted by Lewis the Sixteenth in the stead of his old despotic power. To Pitt the tumult and disorder with which these great changes were wrought seemed transient matters. In January 1790 he still believed that "the present convulsions in France must sooner or later culminate in general harmony and regular order," and that when her own freedom was established, "France would stand forth as one of the most brilliant powers of Europe." But the coolness and good-will with which Pitt looked on the Revolution was far from being universal in the nation at large. The cautious good sense of the bulk of Englishmen, their love of order and law, their distaste for violent changes and for abstract theories, as well as their reverence for the past, were fast rousing throughout the country a dislike of the revolutionary changes which were hurrying on across the Channel; and both the political sense and the political prejudice of the nation were being fired by the warnings of Edmund Burke. The fall of the Bastille, though it kindled enthusiasm in Fox, roused in Burke only distrust. "Whenever a separation is made between liberty and justice," he wrote a few weeks later, "neither is safe." The night of the fourth of August, when the privileges of every class were abolished, filled him with horror. He saw, and rightly saw, in it the critical moment which revealed the character of the Revolution, and his part was taken at once. "The French," he cried in January, while Pitt was foretelling a glorious future for the new Constitution, "the French have shown themselves the ablest architects of ruin who have hitherto existed in the world. In a short space of time they have pulled to the ground their army, their navy, their commerce, their arts and their manufactures." But in Parliament Burke stood alone. The Whigs, though distrustfully, followed Fox in his applause of the Revolution. The Tories, yet more distrustfully, followed Pitt; and Pitt warmly expressed his sympathy with the constitutional government which was ruling France. At this moment indeed the revolutionary party gave a signal proof of its friendship for England. Irritated by an English settlement at Nootka Sound in California, Spain appealed to France for aid in accordance with the Family Compact: and the French Ministry, with a party at its back which believed things had gone far enough, resolved on a war as the best means of checking the progress of the Revolution

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and restoring the power of the Crown. The revolutionary party naturally opposed this design; after a bitter struggle the right of declaring war, save with the sanction of the Assembly, was taken from the King; and all danger of hostilities passed away. "The French Government," Pitt asserted, "was bent on cultivating the most unbounded friendship for Great Britain," and he saw no reason in its revolutionary changes why Britain should not return the friendship of France. He was convinced that nothing but the joint action of France and England would in the end arrest the troubles of Eastern Europe. His intervention foiled for the moment a fresh effort of Prussia to rob Poland of Dantzic and Thorn. But though Russia was still pressing Turkey hard, a Russian war was so unpopular in England that a hostile vote in Parliament forced Pitt to discontinue his armaments; and a fresh union of Austria and Prussia, which promised at this juncture to bring about a close of the Turkish struggle, promised also a fresh attack on the independence of Poland.

But while Pitt was pleading for friendship between the two countries, Burke was resolved to make friendship impossible. He had long ceased, indeed, to have any hold over the House of Commons. The eloquence which had vied with that of Chatham during the discussions on the Stamp Act had become distasteful to the bulk of its members. The length of his speeches, the profound and philosophical character of his argument, the splendour and often the extravagance of his illustrations, his passionate earnestness, his want of temper and discretion, wearied and perplexed the squires and merchants about him. He was known at last as "the dinner-bell of the House," so rapidly did its benches thin at his rising. For a time his energies found scope in the impeachment of Hastings; and the grandeur of his appeals to the justice of England hushed detraction. But with the close of the impeachment his repute had again fallen; and the approach of old age, for he was now past sixty, seemed to counsel retirement from an assembly where he stood unpopular and alone. But age and disappointment and loneliness were all forgotten as Burke saw rising across the Channel the embodiment of all that he hated—a Revolution founded on scorn of the past, and threatening with ruin the whole social fabric which the past had reared; the ordered structure of classes and ranks crumbling before a doctrine of social equality; a State rudely demolished and reconstituted; a Church and a Nobility swept away in a night. Against the enthusiasm of what he rightly saw to be a new political religion he resolved to rouse the enthusiasm of the old. He was at once a great orator and a great writer; and now that the House was deaf to his voice, he appealed to the country by his pen. The "Reflections on the French Revolution" which he published in October 1790 not only denounced the acts of rashness and violence which sullied the great change that France had wrought, but the very

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principles from which the change had sprung. Burke's deep sense of the need of social order, of the value of that continuity in human affairs "without which men would become like flies in a summer," blinded him to all but the faith in mere rebellion, and the yet sillier faith in mere novelty, which disguised a real nobleness of aim and temper even in the most ardent of the revolutionists. He would see no abuses in the past, now that it had fallen, or anything but the ruin of society in the future. He preached a crusade against men whom he regarded as the foes of religion and civilization, and called on the armies of Europe to put down a Revolution whose principles threatened every state with destruction.

The great obstacle to such a crusade was Pitt: and one of the grandest outbursts of the "Reflections" closed with a bitter taunt at the Minister's policy. "The age of chivalry," Burke cried, "is gone; that of sophisters, economists, and calculators has succeeded, and the glory of Europe is extinguished for ever." But neither taunt nor invective moved Pitt from his course. At the moment when the "Reflections" appeared he gave a fresh assurance to France of his resolve to have nothing to do with any crusade against the Revolution. "This country," he wrote, "means to persevere in the neutrality hitherto scrupulously observed with respect to the internal dissensions of France; and from which it will never depart unless the conduct held there makes it indispensable as an act of self-defence." So far indeed was he from sharing the reactionary panic which was spreading around him that he chose this time for supporting Fox in his Libel Act, a measure which, by transferring the decision on what was libellous in any publication from the judge to the jury, completed the freedom of the press; and himself passed a Bill which, though little noticed among the storms of the time, was one of the noblest of his achievements. He boldly put aside the dread which had been roused by the American war, that the gift of self-government to our colonies would serve only as a step towards their secession from the mother-country, and established a House of Assembly and a Council in the two Canadas. "I am convinced," said Fox (who, however, differed from Pitt as to the nature of the Constitution to be given to Canada), "that the only method of retaining distant colonies with advantage is to enable them to govern themselves;" and the policy of the one statesman and the foresight of the other have been justified by the later history of our dependencies. Nor had Burke better success with his own party. Fox remained an ardent lover of the Revolution, and answered a fresh attack of Burke upon it with more than usual warmth. A close affection had bound till now the two men together; but the fanaticism of Burke declared it at an end. "There is no loss of friendship," Fox exclaimed, with a sudden burst of tears. "There is!" Burke repeated. "I know the price of my conduct. Our friendship is at an end."

Within the walls of Parliament, Burke stood utterly alone. His Appeal from the New to the Old Whigs," in June 1791, failed to detach a follower from Fox. Pitt coldly counselled him rather to praise the English Constitution than to rail at the French. "I have made many enemies and few friends," Burke wrote sadly to the French princes who had fled from their country and were gathering in arms at Coblenz, "by the part I have taken." But the opinion of the people was slowly drifting to his side. A sale of thirty thousand copies showed that the "Reflections" echoed the general sentiment of Englishmen. The mood of England indeed at this moment was unfavourable to any fair appreciation of the Revolution across the Channel. Her temper was above all industrial. Men who were working hard and fast growing rich, who had the narrow and practical turn of men of business, looked angrily at this sudden disturbance of order, this restless and vague activity, these rhetorical appeals to human feeling, these abstract and often empty theories. In England it was a time of political content and social well-being, of steady economic progress, and of a powerful religious revival; and an insular lack of imaginative interest in other races hindered men from seeing that every element of this content, of this order, of this peaceful and harmonious progress, of this reconciliation of society and religion, was wanting abroad. The sympathy which the Revolution had roused at first among Englishmen died away before the violence of its legislative changes, and the growing anarchy of the country. Sympathy in fact was soon limited to a few groups of reformers who gathered in "Constitutional Clubs," and whose reckless language quickened the national reaction. But in spite of Burke's appeals and the cries of the nobles who had fled from France and longed only to march against their country, Europe held back from war, and Pitt preserved his attitude of neutrality, though with a greater appearance of reserve.

So anxious, in fact, did the aspect of affairs in the East make Pitt for the restoration of tranquillity in France, that he foiled a plan which its emigrant nobles had formed for a descent on the French coast, and declared formally at Vienna that England would remain absolutely neutral should hostilities arise between France and the Emperor. But the Emperor was as anxious to avoid a French war as Pitt himself. Though Catharine, now her strife with Turkey was over, wished to plunge the two German Powers into a struggle with the Revolution which would leave her free to annex Poland single-handed, neither Leopold nor Prussia would tie their hands by such a contest. The flight of Lewis the Sixteenth from Paris in June 1791 brought Europe for a moment to the verge of war; but he was intercepted and brought back; and for a while the danger seemed to incline the revolutionists in France to greater moderation. Lewis too not only accepted the Constitution, but pleaded earnestly with the Emperor against any armed

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intervention as certain to bring ruin to his throne. In their conference at Pillnitz therefore, in August, Leopold and the King of Prussia contented themselves with a vague declaration inviting the European powers to co-operate in restoring a sound form of government in France, availed themselves of England's neutrality to refuse all military aid to the French princes, and dealt simply with the affairs of Poland. But the peace they desired soon became impossible. The Constitutional Royalists in France availed themselves of the irritation caused by the Declaration of Pillnitz to rouse again the cry for a war which, as they hoped, would give strength to the throne. The more violent revolutionists, or Jacobins, on the other hand, under the influence of the "Girondists," or deputies from the south of France, whose aim was a republic, and who saw in a great national struggle a means of overthrowing the monarchy, decided in spite of the opposition of their leader, Robespierre, on a contest with the Emperor. Both parties united to demand the breaking up of an army which the emigrant princes had formed on the Rhine; and though Leopold assented to this demand, France declared war against his successor, Francis, in April 1792.

Misled by their belief in a revolutionary enthusiasm in England, the French had hoped for her alliance in this war; and they were astonished and indignant at Pitt's resolve to stand apart from the struggle. It was in vain that Pitt strove to allay this irritation by demanding only that Holland should remain untouched, and promising neutrality even though Belgium should be occupied by a French army, or that he strengthened these pledges by a reduction of military forces, and by bringing forward a peace-budget which rested on a large remission of taxation. The revolutionists still clung to the hope of England's aid in the emancipation of Europe, but they came now to believe that England must itself be emancipated before such an aid could be given. Their first work therefore they held to be the bringing about a revolution in England which might free the people from the aristocracy which held it down, and which oppressed, as they believed, great peoples beyond the bounds of England itself. To rouse India, to rouse Ireland to a struggle which should shake off the English yoke, became necessary steps to the establishment of freedom in England. From this moment therefore French agents were busy "sowing the revolution" in each quarter. In Ireland they entered into communication with the United Irishmen. In India they appeared at the courts of the native princes. In England itself they strove through the Constitutional Clubs to rouse the same spirit which they had roused in France; and the French envoy, Chauvelin, protested warmly against a proclamation which denounced this correspondence as seditious. The effect of these revolutionary efforts on the friends of the Revolution was seen in a declaration which they wrested from Fox, that at such a moment even

the discussion of parliamentary reform was inexpedient. Meanwhile Burke was working hard, in writings whose extravagance of style was forgotten in their intensity of feeling, to spread alarm throughout Europe. He had from the first encouraged the emigrant princes to take arms, and sent his son to join them at Coblenz. "Be alarmists," he wrote to them; "diffuse terror!" But the royalist terror which he sowed had roused a revolutionary terror in France itself. At the threat of war against the Emperor the two German Courts had drawn together, and reluctantly abandoning all hope of peace with France, gathered eighty thousand men under the Duke of Brunswick, and advanced slowly in August on the Meuse. France, though she had forced on the struggle, was really almost defenceless; her forces in Belgium broke at the first shock of arms into shameful rout; and the panic spreading from the army to the nation at large, took violent and horrible forms. At the first news of Brunswick's advance the mob of Paris broke into the Tuileries on the 10th of August; and at its demand Lewis, who had taken refuge in the Assembly, was suspended from his office and imprisoned in the Temple. In September, while General Dumouriez by boldness and adroit negotiations arrested the progress of the allies in the defiles of the Argonne, bodies of paid murderers butchered the royalist prisoners who crowded the gaols of Paris, with a view of influencing the elections to a new Convention which met to proclaim the abolition of royalty. The retreat of the Prussian army, whose numbers had been reduced by disease till an advance on Paris became impossible, and a brilliant victory won by Dumouriez at Jemappes which laid the Netherlands at his feet, turned the panic of the French into a wild self-confidence. In November the Convention decreed that France offered the aid of her soldiers to all nations who would strive for freedom. "All Governments are our enemies," said its President; "all peoples are our allies." In the teeth of treaties signed only two years before, and of the stipulation made by England when it pledged itself to neutrality, the French Government resolved to attack Holland, and ordered its generals to enforce by arms the opening of the Scheldt.

To do this was to force England into war. Public opinion was pressing harder day by day upon Pitt. The horror of the massacres of September, the hideous despotism of the Parisian mob, had done more to estrange England from the Revolution than all the eloquence of Burke. But even while withdrawing our Minister from Paris on the imprisonment of the King, Pitt clung stubbornly to the hope of peace. His hope was to bring the war to an end through English mediation, and to "leave France, which I believe is the best way, to arrange its own internal affairs as it can." No hour of Pitt's life is so great as the hour when he stood alone in England, and refused to bow to the growing cry of the nation for war. Even the news of the Septem-

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ber massacres could only force from him a hope that France might abstain from any war of conquest, and escape from its social anarchy. In October the French agent in England reported that Pitt was about to recognize the Republic. At the opening of November he still pressed on Holland a steady neutrality. It was France, and not England, which at last wrenched from his grasp the peace to which he clung so desperately. The decree of the Convention and the attack on the Dutch left him no choice but war, for it was impossible for England to endure a French fleet at Antwerp, or to desert allies like the United Provinces. But even in December the news of the approaching partition of Poland nerved him to a last struggle for peace; he offered to aid Austria in acquiring Bavaria if she would make terms with France, and pledged himself to France to abstain from war if that power would cease from violating the independence of her neighbour states. But across the Channel his moderation was only taken for fear, while in England the general mourning which followed on the news of the French King's execution showed the growing ardour for the contest. The rejection of his last offers indeed made a contest inevitable. Both sides ceased from diplomatic communications, and in February, 1793, France issued her Declaration of War.

Section IV.—The War with France. 1793—1815.

[*Authorities.*—To those mentioned before we may add Moore's Life of Sheridan; the Lives of Lord Castlereagh, Lord Eldon, and Lord Sidmouth; Romilly's Memoirs; Lord Cornwallis's Correspondence; Mr. Yonge's Life of Lord Liverpool; the Diaries and Correspondence of Lord Malmesbury, Lord Colchester, and Lord Auckland. For the general history of England at this time, see Alison's "History of Europe;" for its military history, Sir William Napier's "History of the Peninsular War."]

Pitt and the War

From the moment when France declared war against England Pitt's power was at an end. His pride, his immovable firmness, and the general confidence of the nation still kept him at the head of affairs; but he could do little save drift along with a tide of popular feeling which he never fully understood. The very excellences of his character unfitted him for the conduct of a war. He was in fact a Peace Minister, forced into war by a panic and enthusiasm which he shared in a very small degree, and unaided by his father's gift of at once entering into the sympathies and passions around him, and of rousing passions and sympathies in return. Around him the country broke out in a fit of frenzy and alarm which rivalled the passion and panic over-sea. The confidence of France in its illusions as to opinion in England deluded for the moment even Englishmen themselves. The partizans of Republicanism were in reality but a few handfuls of men who played at gathering Conventions, and at calling themselves citizens and patriots,

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in childish imitation of what was going on across the Channel. But in the mass of Englishmen the dread of revolution passed for the hour into sheer panic. Even the bulk of the Whig party forsook Fox when he still proclaimed his faith in France and the Revolution. The "Old Whigs," as they called themselves, with the Duke of Portland, Earls Spencer and Fitzwilliam, and Mr. Windham at their head, followed Burke in giving their adhesion to the Government. Pitt himself, though little touched by the political reaction around him, was shaken by the dream of social danger, and believed in the existence of "thousands of bandits," who were ready to rise against the throne, to plunder every landlord, and to sack London. "Paine is no fool," he said to his niece, who quoted to him a passage from the "Rights of Man," in which that author had vindicated the principles of the Revolution; "he is perhaps right; but if I did what he wants, I should have thousands of bandits on my hands to-morrow, and London burnt." It was this sense of social danger which alone reconciled him to the war. Bitter as the need of the struggle which was forced upon England was to him, he accepted it with the less reluctance that war, as he trusted, would check the progress of "French principles" in England itself. The worst issue of this panic was the series of legislative measures in which it found expression. The Habeas Corpus Act was suspended, a bill against seditious assemblies restricted the liberty of public meeting, and a wider scope was given to the Statute of Treasons. Prosecution after prosecution was directed against the Press; the sermons of some dissenting ministers were indicted as seditious; and the conventions of sympathizers with France were roughly broken up. The worst excesses of the panic were witnessed in Scotland, where young Whigs, whose only offence was an advocacy of Parliamentary reform, were sentenced to transportation, and where a brutal judge openly expressed his regret that the practice of torture in seditious cases should have fallen into disuse. The panic indeed soon passed away for sheer want of material to feed on. In 1794 the leaders of the Corresponding Society, a body which professed sympathy with France, were brought to trial on a charge of high treason, but their acquittal proved that all active terror was over. Save for occasional riots, to which the poor were goaded by sheer want of bread, no social disturbance troubled England through the twenty years of the war. But the blind reaction against all reform which had sprung from the panic lasted on when the panic was forgotten. For nearly a quarter of a century it was hard to get a hearing for any measure which threatened change to an existing institution, beneficial though the change might be. Even the philanthropic movement which so nobly characterized the time found itself checked and hampered by the dread of revolution.

At first indeed all seemed to go ill for France. She was girt in

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by a ring of enemies ; the Empire, Austria, Prussia, Sardinia, Spain, and England were leagued in arms against her ; and their efforts were seconded by civil war. The peasants of Poitou and Brittany rose in revolt against the government at Paris, while Marseilles and Lyons were driven into insurrection by the violent leaders who now seized on power in the capital. The French armies were driven back from the Netherlands when ten thousand English soldiers, under the Duke of York, joined the Austrians in Flanders in 1793. But the chance of crushing the Revolution was lost by the greed of the two German powers. Russia, as Pitt had foreseen, was now free to carry out her schemes in the East ; and Austria and Prussia saw themselves forced, in the interest of a balance of power, to share in her annexations at the cost of Poland. But this new division of Poland would have become impossible had France been enabled by a restoration of its monarchy to take up again its natural position in Europe, and to accept the alliance which Pitt would in such a case have offered her. The policy of the German courts therefore was to prolong an anarchy which left them free for the moment to crush Poland : and the allied armies which might have marched upon Paris were purposely frittered away in sieges in the Netherlands and the Rhine. Such a policy gave France time to recover from the shock of her disasters. Whatever were the crimes and tyranny of her leaders, France felt in spite of them the value of the Revolution, and rallied enthusiastically to its support. The revolts in the West and South were crushed. The Spanish invaders were held at bay at the foot of the Pyrenees, and the Piedmontese were driven from Nice and Savoy. The great port of Toulon, which called for foreign aid against the government of Paris, and admitted an English garrison within its walls, was driven to surrender by measures counselled by a young artillery officer from Corsica, Napoleon Buonaparte. At the opening of 1794 a victory at Fleurus which again made the French masters of the Netherlands showed that the tide had turned. France was united within by the cessation of the Terror and of the tyranny of the Jacobins, while on every border victory followed the gigantic efforts with which she met the coalition against her. Spain sued for peace ; Prussia withdrew her armies from the Rhine ; the Sardinians were driven back from the Maritime Alps ; the Rhine provinces were wrested from the Austrians ; and before the year ended Holland was lost. Pichegru crossed the Waal in mid-winter with an overwhelming force, and the wretched remnant of ten thousand men who had followed the Duke of York to the Netherlands, thinned by disease and by the hardships of retreat, re-embarked for England.

The victories of France broke up the confederacy which had threatened it with destruction. The Batavian republic which Pichegru had set up after his conquest of Holland was now an ally of France. Prussia bought peace by the cession of her possessions west of the

Rhine. Peace with Spain followed in the summer, while Sweden and the Protestant cantons of Switzerland recognized the Republic. In France itself discord came well-nigh to an end. The fresh severities against the ultra-republicans which followed on the establishment of a Directory indicated the moderate character of the new government, and Pitt seized on this change in the temper of the French government as giving an opening for peace. Pitt himself was sick of the strife. England had maintained indeed her naval supremacy. The triumphs of her seamen were in strange contrast with her weakness on land; and at the outset of the contest, in 1794, the French fleet was defeated off Brest by Lord Howe in a victory which bore the name of the day on which it was won, the First of June. Her colonial gains too had been considerable. Most of the West Indian islands which had been held by France, and the far more valuable settlements of the Dutch, the Cape of Good Hope, Ceylon, and the famous Spice Islands of the Malaccas and Java had been transferred to the British Crown. But Pitt was without means of efficiently carrying on the war. The army was small and without military experience, while its leaders were utterly incapable. "We have no General," wrote Lord Grenville, "but some old woman in a red riband." Wretched too as had been the conduct of the war, its cost was already terrible. If England was without soldiers, she had wealth, and Pitt had been forced to turn her wealth into an engine of war. He became the paymaster of the coalition, and his subsidies kept the allied armies in the field. But the immense loans which these called for, and the quick growth of expenditure, undid all his financial reforms. Taxation, which had reached its lowest point under Pitt's peace administration, mounted to a height undreamt of before. The public debt rose by leaps and bounds. In three years nearly eighty millions had been added to it.

But though the ruin of his financial hopes, and his keen sense of the European dangers which the contest involved, made Pitt earnest to close the struggle with the Revolution, he stood almost alone in his longings for peace. The nation at large was still ardent for war, and its ardour was fired by Burke in his "Letters on a Regicide Peace," the last outcry of that fanaticism which had done so much to plunge the world in blood. Nor was France less ardent for war than England. At the moment when Pitt sought to open negotiations, her victories had roused hopes of wider conquests, and though General Moreau was foiled in a march on Vienna, the wonderful successes of Napoleon Buonaparte, who now took the command of the army of the Alps, laid Piedmont at her feet. Lombardy was soon in the hands of the French, the Duchies south of the Po pillaged, and the Pope driven to purchase an armistice. Fresh victories enabled Buonaparte to wring a peace from Austria in the treaty of Campo Formio, which not only gave France the Ionian Islands, a part of the old territory of Venice, as

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well as the Netherlands and the whole left bank of the Rhine, but united Lombardy with the Duchies south of the Po, and the Papal States as far as the Rubicon, into a "Cisalpine Republic," which was absolutely beneath her control. The withdrawal of Austria left France without an enemy on the Continent, and England without an ally. The stress of the war was pressing more heavily on her every day. The alarm of a French invasion of Ireland brought about a suspension of specie payments on the part of the Bank. A mutiny in the fleet was suppressed with difficulty. It was in this darkest hour of the struggle that Burke passed away, protesting to the last against the peace which, in spite of his previous failure, Pitt tried in 1797 to negotiate at Lille. Peace seemed more needful to him than ever; for the naval supremacy of Britain was threatened by a coalition such as had all but crushed her in the American War. Again the Dutch and Spanish fleets were allied with the fleets of France, and if they gained command of the Channel, it would enable France to send overwhelming forces in aid of the rising which was planned in Ireland. But the danger had hardly threatened when it was dispelled by two great victories. When in 1797 the Spanish fleet put out to sea, it was attacked by Admiral Jervis off Cape St. Vincent and driven back to Cadiz with the loss of four of its finest vessels; while the Dutch fleet from the Texel, which was to protect a French force in its descent upon Ireland, was met by a far larger fleet under Admiral Duncan, and almost annihilated in a battle off Camperdown, after an obstinate struggle which showed the Hollanders still worthy of their old renown. The ruin of its hopes in the battle of Camperdown drove Ireland to a rising of despair; but the revolt was crushed by the defeat of the insurgents at Vinegar Hill in May, 1798, and the surrender of General Humbert, who landed in August with a French force. Of the threefold attack on which the Directory relied, two parts had now broken down. England still held the seas, and the insurrection in Ireland had failed. The next year saw the crowning victory of the Nile. The genius of Buonaparte had seized on the schemes for a rising in India, where Tippoo Sahib, the successor of Hyder Ali in Mysore, had vowed to drive the English from the south; and he laid before the Directory a plan for the conquest of Egypt as a preliminary to a campaign in Southern India. In 1798 he landed in Egypt; and its conquest was rapid and complete. But the thirteen men-of-war which had escorted his expedition were found by Admiral Nelson in Aboukir Bay, moored close to the coast in a line guarded at either end by gun-boats and batteries. Nelson resolved to thrust his own ships between the French and the shore; his flagship led the way; and after a terrible fight of twelve hours, nine of the French vessels were captured and destroyed, two were burnt, and five thousand French seamen were killed or made prisoners. All communication between France and

Buonaparte's army was cut off; and his hopes of making Egypt a starting-point for the conquest of India fell at a blow.

Freed from the dangers that threatened her rule in Ireland and in India, and mistress of the seas, England was free to attack France; and in such an attack she was aided at this moment by the temper of the European powers, and the ceaseless aggressions of France. Russia formed a close alliance with Austria; and it was with renewed hope that Pitt lavished subsidies on the two allies. A union of the Russian and Austrian armies drove the French back again across the Alps and the Rhine; but the stubborn energy of General Massena enabled his soldiers to hold their ground in Switzerland; and the attempt of a united force of Russians and English to wrest Holland from its French masters was successfully repulsed. In the East, however, England was more successful. Foiled in his dreams of Indian conquests, Buonaparte conceived the design of the conquest of Syria, and of the creation of an army among its warlike mountaineers, with which he might march upon Constantinople or India at his will. But Acre, the key of Syria, was stubbornly held by the Turks, the French battering train was captured at sea by an English captain, Sir Sidney Smith, whose seamen aided in the defence of the place, and the besiegers were forced to fall back upon Egypt. The French general despairing of success left his army and returned to France. His arrival in Paris was soon followed by the overthrow of the Directors. Three consuls took their place; but under the name of First Consul Buonaparte became in effect sole ruler of the country. His energy at once changed the whole face of European affairs. The offers of peace which he made to England and Austria were intended to do little more than to shake the coalition, and gain breathing time for the organization of a new force which was gathering in secrecy at Dijon, while Moreau with the army of the Rhine pushed again along the Danube. The First Consul crossed the Saint Bernard in 1800, and a victory at Marengo forced the Austrians to surrender Lombardy; while a truce arrested the march of Moreau, who had captured Munich and was pushing on to Vienna. On the resumption of the war in the autumn the Austrians were driven back on Vienna; and Moreau crushed their army on the Iser in the victory of Hohenlinden. In February, 1801, the Continental War was brought suddenly to an end by the Peace of Luneville.

It was but a few months before the close of the war that Pitt brought about the Union of Ireland with England. The history of Ireland, during the fifty years that followed its conquest by William the Third, is one which no Englishman can recall without shame. After the surrender of Limerick every Catholic Irishman, and there were five Irish Catholics to every Irish Protestant, was treated as a stranger and a foreigner in his own country. The House of Lords, the House

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of Commons, the magistracy, all corporate offices in towns, all ranks in the army, the bench, the bar, the whole administration of government or justice, were closed against Catholics. The very right of voting for their representatives in Parliament was denied them. Few Catholic landowners had been left by the sweeping confiscations which had followed the successive revolts of the island, and oppressive laws forced even these few with scant exceptions to profess Protestantism. Necessity, indeed, had brought about a practical toleration of their religion and their worship; but in all social and political matters the native Catholics, in other words the immense majority of the people of Ireland, were simply hewers of wood and drawers of water to their Protestant masters, who looked on themselves as mere settlers, who boasted of their Scotch or English extraction, and who regarded the name of "Irishman" as an insult. But small as was this Protestant body, one half of it fared little better, as far as power was concerned, than the Catholics; for the Presbyterians, who formed the bulk of the Ulster settlers, were shut out by law from all civil, military, and municipal offices. The administration and justice of the country were thus kept rigidly in the hands of members of the Established Church, a body which comprised about a twelfth of the population of the island; while its government was practically monopolized by a few great Protestant landowners. The rotten boroughs, which had originally been created to make the Irish Parliament dependent on the Crown, had fallen under the influence of the adjacent landlords, who were thus masters of the House of Commons, while they formed in person the House of Peers. During the first half of the eighteenth century two thirds of the House of Commons, in fact, was returned by a small group of nobles, who were recognized as "parliamentary undertakers," and who undertook to "manage" Parliament on their own terms. Irish politics were for these men a means of public plunder; they were glutted with pensions, preferments, and bribes in hard cash in return for their services; they were the advisers of every Lord-Lieutenant, and the practical governors of the country. The first check was dealt to their power when the party of reform won the election of a new Parliament every eight years. To counteract popular influence which might threaten the subservience of Ireland to England, the Lord Lieutenant was charged to reside constantly and concentrate all political power in the Crown. The Irish Parliament had no power of originating legislative or financial measures, and could only say "yes" or "no" to Acts submitted to it by the Privy Council in England. The English Parliament, too, had asserted a statutory right of binding Ireland by its laws, and transferred the appellate jurisdiction of the Irish Peerage to the English House of Lords. Its power was used to annihilate Irish commerce and to ruin Irish agriculture. Statutes passed by the jealousy of English land-

owners forbade the export of Irish cattle or sheep to English ports. The export of wool was forbidden, lest it might interfere with the profits of English wool-growers. Poverty was thus added to the curse of misgovernment; and poverty deepened with the rapid growth of the native population, till famine turned the country into a hell.

The bitter lesson of the last conquest, however, long sufficed to check all dreams of revolt among the natives, and the outbreaks which sprang from time to time out of the general misery and discontent were purely social in their character, and were roughly repressed by the ruling class. When political revolt threatened at last, the threat came from the ruling class itself. At the very outset of the reign of George the Third, the Irish Parliament insisted on its claim to the exclusive control of money bills, and a cry was raised for the removal of the checks imposed on its independence. But it was not till the American war that this cry became a political danger, a danger so real that England was forced to give way. From the close of the war, when the Irish Volunteers wrung legislative independence from the Rockingham Ministry, Great Britain and Ireland were held together by the fact that the sovereign of the one island was also the sovereign of the other. During the next eighteen years Ireland was nominally "independent," but its independence was a mere name for the uncontrolled rule of an Executive which was appointed by England, and worked in strict concert with the English Privy Council and the English Ministers. By a highly artificial system, in fact, the Government of Ireland was kept in permanent subjection to the English Executive. To such a length had the whole system of monopoly and patronage been carried under this rule, that at the time of the Union more than sixty seats were in the hands of three families alone, those of the Hills, the Ponsonbys, and the Beresfords; while the dominant influence in the Parliament now lay with the Treasury boroughs at the disposal of the Government. The victory of the Volunteers immediately produced measures in favour of the Catholics and Presbyterians. The Volunteers had already in 1780 won for the Presbyterians, who formed a good half of their force, full political liberty by the abolition of the Sacramental Test; and the Irish Parliament of 1782 removed at once the last grievances of the Protestant Dissenters. The Catholics were rewarded for their aid by the repeal of the more grossly oppressive enactments of the penal laws. But when Grattan, supported by the bulk of the Irish party, pleaded for Parliamentary reform, and for the grant of equal rights to the Catholics, he was utterly foiled by the opposition of the Executive, which, entirely independent of Parliament, controlled the administration in the interests of English supremacy. The ruling class found government too profitable to share it with other possessors, and by hard bribery the English Viceroys could always secure for their measures the co-operation of the small group of borough owners.

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Though the Irish Catholics were held down by the brute force of their Protestant rulers, the general discontent of the middle class, Protestant and Catholic, was growing fast; and in Pitt's eyes one secret of discontent lay in a poverty increased if not originally brought about by the jealous exclusion of Irish products from their natural markets in England itself. In 1779 Ireland had won from Lord North large measures of free-trade abroad; but the heavy duties laid by the English Parliament on all Irish manufactures save linen and woollen yarn still shut them out of England. One of Pitt's first commercial measures aimed at putting an end to this exclusion by a Bill which established freedom of trade between the two islands; he hoped thus to unite the two islands indissolubly for military and commercial purposes, and obtain from Ireland a fixed contribution to the defence of the Empire. His first proposals were accepted in the Irish Parliament; but the fears and jealousies of the English farmers and manufacturers forced into the Bill amendments which gave to the British Parliament powers over Irish navigation and commerce, thus over-riding their newly-won independence, and the measure in its new form was rejected in Ireland. The outbreak of the revolutionary struggle, and the efforts which the French revolutionists at once made to excite rebellion amongst the Irish, roused Pitt to fresh measures of conciliation. He forced the Irish Administration to abandon a resistance which had wrecked his projects the previous year; and the Irish Parliament passed without opposition measures for the admission of Catholics to the electoral franchise, and to civil and military office, which promised to open a new era of religious liberty. But the abrupt recall by the English Government of Lord Fitzwilliam, when he proposed to complete the work of emancipation, flung the country again into disorder. The hope of conciliation was lost in the fast rising tide of political passion. The Society of "United Irishmen," which was founded at Belfast by Wolfe Tone with a view of forming a union between Protestants and Catholics to win Parliamentary reform, drifted into a correspondence with France and projects of insurrection. The peasantry, brooding over their misery and their wrongs, were equally stirred by the news from France; and their discontent broke out in outrages of secret societies which spread panic among the ruling classes. The misery was increased by faction fights between the Protestants and Catholics, which had already broken out before the French Revolution. The Catholics banded themselves together as "Defenders" against the outrages of the "Peep-o'-day Boys," who were mainly drawn from the more violent Presbyterians; and these factions became later merged in the larger associations of the "United Irishmen" and the "Orange-men."

At last the smouldering discontent and disaffection burst into flame. The panic roused in 1796 by an attempted French invasion under Hoche woke passions of cruelty and tyranny which turned Ireland

into a heli. Soldiers and yeomanry marched over the country torturing and scourging the "croppies," as the Irish peasantry were called in derision from their short-cut hair, robbing, ravishing, and murdering. Their outrages were sanctioned by the landowners who formed the Irish Parliament in a Bill of Indemnity, and protected for the future by an Insurrection Act. Meanwhile the United Irishmen prepared for an insurrection, which was delayed by the failure of the French expeditions, on which they counted for support, and above all by the victory of Camperdown. Atrocities were answered by atrocities when the revolt at last broke out in 1798. Loyalists were lashed and tortured in their turn, and every soldier taken was butchered without mercy. The rebels however no sooner mustered fourteen thousand men strong in a camp on Vinegar Hill, near Enniscorthy, than the camp was stormed by the English troops, and the revolt utterly suppressed. A few weeks after the close of the rebellion nine hundred French soldiers under General Humbert landed in Mayo, broke a force of thrice their number in a battle at Castlebar, and only surrendered when the Lord-Lieutenant, Lord Cornwallis, faced them with thirty thousand men. Pitt's disgust at "the bigoted fury of Irish Protestants" backed Cornwallis in checking the ferocious reprisals of the troops and the Orangemen; but the rebellion gave to the Chancellor FitzGibbon, the implacable foe of Irish Catholics, created Earl of Clare for his part in the recall of FitzWilliam, the opportunity of pressing on Pitt a long discussed plan for ending Irish independence by a legislative Union with England. The necessity of such a union had been brought home to every English statesman during the disputes over the Regency; for while England repelled the claims of the Prince of Wales to the Regency as of right, the legislature of Ireland admitted them. As the link between the two peoples was their obedience to a common ruler, such an act might conceivably have ended in their entire severance; and the sense of this danger secured a welcome in England for Pitt's proposal to unite the two Parliaments. The opposition of the Irish Parliament was stubborn. But Parliament was purged of irreconcilable members, and the borough-mongers with whom it was a sheer question of gold were bought with over a million of money, and a liberal distribution of pensions and peerages. Base and shameless as were such means, Pitt may plead that they were the only means by which the Union could have been passed. As the matter was finally arranged, one hundred and twenty-eight temporal with four spiritual peers, chosen for each Parliament by their fellows, took their seats in the House of Lords. Commerce between the two countries was freed from all restrictions, and every trading privilege of the one thrown open to the other; while taxation was proportionately distributed between the two peoples.

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**Pitt
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*Increase of
the peers*

The lavish creation of peers which formed a part of the price paid for the Union of Ireland brought about a practical change in our constitution. Few bodies have varied more in the number of their members than the House of Lords. At the close of the Wars of the Roses the lay lords who remained numbered fifty-two ; in Elizabeth's reign they numbered only sixty ; the prodigal creations of the Stuarts raised them to one hundred and seventy-six. At this point, however, they practically remained stationary during the reigns of the first two Georges ; and, as we have seen, only the dogged opposition of Walpole prevented Lord Stanhope from limiting the peerage to the number it had at that time reached. Mischievous as such a measure would have been, it would at any rate have prevented the lavish creation of peerages on which George the Third relied in the early days of his reign as one of his means of breaking up the party government which restrained him. But what was with the King a mere means of corruption became with Pitt a settled purpose of bringing the peerage into closer relations with the landowning and opulent classes, and rendering the Crown independent of factious combinations among the existing peers. While himself disdainful of hereditary honours, he lavished them as no Minister had lavished them before. In his first five years of rule he created forty-eight new peers. In two later years alone, 1796-7, he created thirty-five. By 1801 the peerages which were the price of the Union with Ireland had helped to raise his creations to upwards of one hundred and forty. So busily was his example followed by his successors that at the end of George the Third's reign the number of hereditary peers had become double what it was at his accession. The whole character of the House of Lords was changed. Up to this time it had been a small assembly of great nobles, bound together by family or party ties into a distinct power in the State. From this time it became the stronghold of property, the representative of the great estates and great fortunes which the vast increase of English wealth was building up. For the first time, too, in our history it became the distinctly conservative element in our constitution. The full import of Pitt's changes has still to be revealed, but in some ways their results have been clearly marked. The larger number of the peerage, though due to the will of the Crown, has practically freed the House from any influence which the Crown can exert by the distribution of honours. This change, since the power of the Crown has been practically wielded by the House of Commons, has rendered it far harder to reconcile the free action of the Lords with the regular working of constitutional government. On the other hand, the increased number of its members has rendered the House more responsive to public opinion, when public opinion is strongly pronounced ; and the political tact which is inherent in great

aristocratic assemblies has hitherto prevented any collision with the Lower House from being pushed to an irreconcilable quarrel.

But the legislative union of the two countries was only part of the plan which Pitt had conceived for the conciliation of Ireland. With the conclusion of the Union his projects of free trade between the countries, which had been defeated a few years back, came into play. The change which brought Ireland directly under the common Parliament was very tardily followed by a gradual revision of its oppressive laws, and an amendment in their administration ; and a faint beginning was made of public instruction. But in Pitt's mind the great means of conciliation was the concession of religious equality. In proposing to the English Parliament the union of the two countries he pointed out that when thus joined to a Protestant country like England all danger of a Catholic supremacy in Ireland, should Catholic disabilities be removed, would be practically at an end ; and had suggested that in such a case "an effectual and adequate provision for the Catholic clergy" would be a security for their loyalty. His words gave strength to the hopes of "Catholic Emancipation," or the removal of what remained of the civil disabilities of Catholics, which were held out by the viceroy, Lord Castlereagh, in Ireland itself, as a means of hindering any opposition to the project of Union on the part of the Catholics. It was agreed on all sides that their opposition would have secured its defeat ; but no Catholic opposition showed itself. After the passing of the bill, Pitt prepared to lay before the Cabinet a measure which would have raised the Irish Catholic to perfect equality of civil rights. He proposed to remove all religious tests which limited the exercise of the franchise, or were required for admission to Parliament, the magistracy, the bar, municipal offices, or posts in the army, or the service of the State. An oath of allegiance and of fidelity to the Constitution was substituted for the Sacramental test ; while the loyalty of the Catholic and Dissenting clergy was secured by a grant of some provision to both by the State. To win over the Episcopal Church, measures were added for strengthening its means of discipline, and for increasing the stipends of its poorer ministers. A commutation of tithes was to remove a constant source of quarrel in Ireland between the Protestant clergy and the Irish people. The scheme was too large and statesmanlike to secure the immediate assent of the Cabinet ; and before that assent could be won the plan was communicated through the treachery of the Chancellor, Lord Loughborough, to George the Third. "I count any man my personal enemy," the King broke out angrily to Dundas, "who proposes any such measure." Pitt answered this outburst by submitting his whole plan to the King. "The political circumstances under which the exclusive laws originated," he wrote, "arising either from the conflicting powers of hostile and nearly balanced sects, from

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the apprehension of a Popish Queen as successor, a disputed succession and a foreign pretender, a division in Europe between Catholic and Protestant Powers, are no longer applicable to the present state of things." But argument was wasted upon George the Third. In spite of the decision of the lawyers whom he consulted, the King held himself bound by his Coronation Oath to maintain the tests. On this point his bigotry was at one with the bigotry of the bulk of his subjects, as well as with their political distrust of Catholics and Irishmen; and his obstinacy was strengthened by a knowledge that his refusal must drive Pitt from office. In February 1801, the month of the Peace of Luneville, Pitt resigned, and was succeeded by the Speaker of the House of Commons, Mr. Addington, a weak and narrow-minded man, and as bigoted as the King himself. Of Lord Hawkesbury, who succeeded Lord Grenville in the conduct of foreign affairs, nothing was known outside the House of Commons.

It was with anxiety that England found itself guided by men like these at a time when every hour brought darker news. The scarcity of bread was mounting to a famine. Taxes were raised anew, and yet the loan for the year amounted to five and twenty millions. The country stood utterly alone; while the peace of Luneville secured France from all hostility on the Continent. And it was soon plain that this peace was only the first step in a new policy on the part of the First Consul. What he had done was to free his hands for a decisive conflict with Britain itself, both as a world-power and as a centre of wealth. England was at once the carrier of European commerce, and the workshop of European manufactures. While her mines, her looms, her steam-engines, were giving her almost a monopoly of industrial production, the carrying trade of France and Holland alike had been transferred to the British flag, and the conquest during the war of their richer settlements had thrown into British hands the whole colonial trade of the world. In his gigantic project of a "Continental System" the aim of Buonaparte was to strike at the trade of England by closing the ports of Europe against her ships. By a league of the Northern powers he sought to wrest from her the command of the seas. Denmark and Sweden, who resented the severity with which Britain enforced that right of search which had brought about their armed neutrality at the close of the American war, were enlisted in a league of neutrals which was in effect a declaration of war against England, and which Prussia was prepared to join. The Czar Paul of Russia on his side saw in the power of Britain the chief obstacle to his designs upon Turkey. A squabble over Malta, which had been taken from the Knights of St. John by Buonaparte on his way to Egypt, and had ever since been blockaded by English ships, but whose possession the Czar claimed as his own on the ground of an alleged election as Grand Master of the Order,

served him as a pretext for a quarrel with England, and Paul openly prepared for hostilities. It was plain that as soon as spring opened the Baltic, the fleets of Russia, Sweden, and Denmark would act in practical union with those of France and Spain. But dexterous as the combination was it was shattered at a blow. In April a British fleet appeared before Copenhagen, and after a desperate struggle silenced the Danish batteries, captured six Danish ships, and forced Denmark to conclude an armistice which enabled English ships to enter the Baltic. The Northern Coalition too was broken up by the death of the Czar. In June a Convention between England and Russia settled the vexed questions of the right of search and contraband of war, and this Convention was accepted by Sweden and Denmark. Meanwhile, at the very moment of the attack on Copenhagen, a stroke as effective had wrecked the projects of Buonaparte in the East. The surrender of Malta to the English fleet left England the mistress of the Mediterranean; and from Malta she now turned to Egypt itself. A force of 15,000 men under General Abercromby anchored in Aboukir Bay. The French troops that Buonaparte had left in Egypt rapidly concentrated, and on the 21st of March their general attacked the English army. After a stubborn battle, in which Abercromby fell mortally wounded, the French drew off with heavy loss; and at the close of June the capitulation of the 13,000 soldiers who remained closed the French rule over Egypt.

Both parties in this gigantic struggle however were at last anxious to suspend the war. It was to give time for such an organization of France and its resources as might enable him to reopen the struggle with other chances of success that Buonaparte opened negotiations for peace at the close of 1801. His offers were at once met by the English Government. The terms of the Peace of Amiens which was concluded in March 1802 were necessarily simple, for England had no claim to interfere with the settlement of the Continent. France promised to retire from Southern Italy, and to leave to themselves the republics it had set up along its border in Holland, Switzerland and Piedmont. England recognized the French Government, gave up her newly conquered colonies save Ceylon and Trinidad, acknowledged the Ionian Islands as a free Republic, and engaged to replace the Knights of St. John in the isle of Malta. There was a general sense of relief at the close of the long struggle; and the new French ambassador was drawn in triumph on his arrival through the streets of London. But shrewd observers saw the dangers that lay in the temper of the First Consul. Whatever had been the errors of the French revolutionists, even their worst attacks on the independence of the nations around them had been veiled by a vague notion of freeing the peoples whom they invaded from the yoke of their rulers. But the aim of Buonaparte was simply that of a vulgar

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conqueror. He was resolute to be master of the Western world, and no notions of popular freedom or sense of national right interfered with his resolve. The means at his command were immense. The political life of the Revolution had been cut short by his military despotism, but the new social vigour which it had given to France through the abolition of privileges and the creation of a new middle class on the ruins of the clergy and the nobles still lived on. While the dissensions which tore France asunder were hushed by the policy of the First Consul, by his restoration of the Church as a religious power, his recall of the exiles, and the economy and wise administration which distinguished his rule, the centralized system of government bequeathed by the Monarchy to the Revolution, and by the Revolution to Buonaparte, enabled him easily to seize this national vigour for the profit of his own despotism. The exhaustion of the brilliant hopes raised by the Revolution, the craving for public order, the military enthusiasm and the impulse of a new glory given by the wonderful victories France had won, made a Tyranny possible; and in the hands of Buonaparte this tyranny was supported by a secret police, by the suppression of the press and of all freedom of opinion, and above all by the iron will and immense ability of the First Consul himself. Once chosen Consul for life, he felt himself secure at home, and turned restlessly to the work of outer aggression. The pledges given at Amiens were set aside. The republics established on the borders of France were brought into mere dependence on his will. Piedmont and Parma were annexed to France; and a French army occupied Switzerland. The temperate protests of the English Government were answered by demands for the expulsion of the French exiles who had been living in England ever since the Revolution, and for its surrender of Malta, which was retained till some security could be devised against a fresh seizure of the island by the French fleet. It was plain that a struggle was inevitable; huge armaments were preparing in the French ports, and a new activity was seen in those of Spain. In May 1803 the British Government anticipated Buonaparte's attack by a declaration of war.

The breach only quickened Buonaparte's resolve to attack the enemy at home. The difficulties in his way he set contemptuously aside. "Fifteen millions of people," he said, in allusion to the disproportion between the population of England and France, "must give way to forty millions"; and an invasion of England itself was planned on a gigantic scale. A camp of one hundred thousand men was formed at Boulogne, and a host of flat-bottomed boats gathered for their conveyance across the Channel. The peril of the nation forced Addington from office and recalled Pitt to power. His health was broken, and as the days went by his appearance became so haggard and depressed that it was plain death was draw-

ing near. But dying as he really was, the nation clung to him with all its old faith. He was still the representative of national union ; and he proposed to include Fox and the leading Whigs in his new ministry, but he was foiled by the bigotry of the King ; and the refusal of Lord Grenville and of Windham to take office without Fox, as well as the loss of his post at a later time by his ablest supporter, Dundas, left him almost alone. But lonely as he was, he faced difficulty and danger with the same courage as of old. The invasion seemed imminent when Buonaparte, who now assumed the title of the Emperor Napoleon, appeared in the camp at Boulogne. "Let us be masters of the Channel for six hours," he is reported to have said, "and we are masters of the world." A skilfully combined plan by which the British fleet would have been divided, while the whole French navy was concentrated in the Channel, was delayed by the death of the admiral destined to execute it. But the alliance with Spain placed the Spanish fleet at Napoleon's disposal, and in 1805 he planned its union with that of France, the crushing of the squadron which blocked the ports of the Channel before the English ships which were watching the Spanish armament could come to its support, and a crossing of the vast armament thus protected to the English shore. The three hundred thousand volunteers mustered in England to meet the coming attack would have offered small hindrance to the veterans of the Grand Army, had they once crossed the Channel. But Pitt had already found work for France elsewhere. The alarm of the Continental Powers had been brought to a head by Napoleon's annexation of Genoa ; Pitt's subsidies had removed the last obstacle in the way of a league ; and Russia, Austria, and Sweden joined in an alliance to wrest Italy and the Low Countries from the grasp of the French Emperor. Napoleon meanwhile swept the sea in vain for a glimpse of the great armament whose assembly in the Channel he had so skilfully planned. Admiral Villeneuve, uniting the Spanish ships with his own squadron from Toulon, drew Nelson in pursuit to the West Indies, and then, suddenly returning to Cadiz, hastened to form a junction with the French squadron at Brest and crush the English fleet in the Channel. But a headlong pursuit brought Nelson up with him ere the manœuvre was complete, and the two fleets met on the 21st of October, 1805, off Cape Trafalgar. "England," ran Nelson's famous signal, "expects every man to do his duty ;" and though he fell himself in the hour of victory, twenty French sail had struck their flag ere the day was done. "England has saved herself by her courage," Pitt said in what were destined to be his last public words : "she will save Europe by her example !" But even before the victory of Trafalgar Napoleon had abandoned the dream of invading England to meet the coalition in his rear ; and swinging round his forces on the Danube he forced an Austrian army to capitulation in Ulm three days before his

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naval defeat. From Ulm he marched on Vienna, and crushed the combined armies of Austria and Russia in the battle of Austerlitz. "Austerlitz," Wilberforce wrote in his diary, "killed Pitt." Though he was still but forty-seven, the hollow voice and wasted frame of the great Minister had long told that death was near; and the blow to his hopes proved fatal. "Roll up that map," he said, pointing to a map of Europe which hung upon the wall: "it will not be wanted these ten years!" Once only he rallied from stupor; and those who bent over him caught a faint murmur of "My country! How I leave my country!" On the 23rd of January, 1806, he breathed his last; and was laid in Westminster Abbey in the grave of Chatham. "What grave," exclaimed Lord Wellesley, "contains such a father and such a son! What sepulchre embosoms the remains of so much human excellence and glory!"

So great was felt to be the loss that nothing but the union of parties, which Pitt had in vain desired during his lifetime, could fill up the gap left by his death. In the new Ministry Fox, with the small body of popular Whigs who were bent on peace and internal reform, united with the aristocratic Whigs under Lord Grenville and with the Tories under Lord Sidmouth. All home questions in fact were subordinated to the need of saving Europe from the ambition of France, and in the resolve to save Europe, Fox was as resolute as Pitt himself. His hopes of peace, indeed, were stronger; but they were foiled by the evasive answer which Napoleon gave to his overtures, and by a new war which he undertook against Prussia, the one power which seemed able to resist his arms. On the 14th of October, 1806, a decisive victory at Jena laid North Germany at Napoleon's feet. Death only a month before saved Fox from witnessing the overthrow of his hopes; and his loss weakened the Grenville Cabinet at the opening of a new and more desperate struggle with France. Napoleon's earlier attempt at the enforcement of a Continental System had broken down with the failure of the Northern League; but in his mastery of Europe he now saw a more effective means of realizing his dream; and he was able to find a pretext for his new attack in England's own action. By a violent stretch of her rights as a combatant she had declared the whole coast occupied by France and its allies, from Dantzic to Trieste, to be in a state of blockade. It was impossible to enforce such a "paper blockade," even with the immense force at her disposal; and Napoleon seized on the opportunity to retaliate by the entire exclusion of British commerce from the Continent, an exclusion which he trusted would end the war by the ruin it would bring on the English manufacturers. A decree was issued from Berlin which—without a single ship to carry it out—placed the British Islands in a state of blockade. All commerce or communication with them was prohibited; all English goods or manufactures found in the territory of France or

its allies were declared liable to confiscation ; and their harbours were closed, not only against vessels coming from Britain, but against all who had touched at her ports. The attempt to enforce such a system was foiled indeed by the rise of a widespread contraband trade, by the reluctance of Holland to aid in its own ruin, by the connivance of officials along the Prussian and Russian shores, and by the pressure of facts. It was impossible even for Napoleon himself to do without the goods he pretended to exclude ; an immense system of licences soon neutralized his decree ; and the French army which marched to Eylau was clad in great-coats made at Leeds, and shod with shoes made at Northampton. But if it failed to destroy British industry, it told far more fatally on British commerce. Trade began to move from English vessels, which were subject to instant confiscation, and to pass into the hands of neutrals, and especially of the Americans. The merchant class called on the Government to protect it, and it was to this appeal that the Grenville Ministry replied in January, 1807, by an Order in Council which declared all the ports of the coast of France and her allies under blockade, and any neutral vessels trading between them to be good prize. Such a step was far from satisfying the British merchants. But their appeal was no longer to Lord Grenville. The forces of ignorance and bigotry which had been too strong for Pitt were too strong for the Grenville Ministry. Its greatest work, the abolition of the slave trade, in February, was done in the teeth of a vigorous opposition from the Tories and the merchants of Liverpool ; and in March the first indication of its desire to open the question of religious equality by allowing Catholic officers to serve in the army was met on the part of the King by the demand of a pledge not to meddle with the question. On the refusal of this pledge the Ministry was dismissed.

Its fall was the final close of the union of parties brought about by the peril of French invasion ; and from this time to the end of the war England was wholly governed by the Tories. The nominal head of the Ministry which succeeded that of Lord Grenville was the Duke of Portland ; its guiding spirit was the Foreign Secretary, George Canning, a young and devoted adherent of Pitt, whose brilliant rhetoric gave him power over the House of Commons, while the vigour and breadth of his mind gave a new energy and colour to the war. At no time had opposition to Napoleon seemed so hopeless. From Berlin the Emperor marched into the heart of Poland, and though checked in the winter by the Russian forces in the hard-fought battle of Eylau, his victory of Friedland brought the Czar Alexander in the summer of 1807 to consent to the Peace of Tilsit. From foes the two Emperors of Western and Eastern Europe became friends, and the hope of French aid in the conquest of Turkey drew Alexander to a close alliance with

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Napoleon. Russia not only enforced the Berlin decrees against British commerce, but forced Sweden, the one ally that England still retained on the Continent, to renounce her alliance. The Russian and Swedish fleets were thus placed at the service of France; and the two Emperors counted on securing the fleet of Denmark, and again threatening by this union the maritime supremacy which formed England's real defence. The hope was foiled by the appearance off Elsinore in July 1807 of an expedition, promptly and secretly equipped by Canning, with a demand for the surrender of the Danish fleet into the hands of England, on pledge of its return at the close of the war. On the refusal of the Danes the demand was enforced by a bombardment of Copenhagen; and the whole Danish fleet, with a vast mass of naval stores, was carried into British ports. It was in the same spirit of almost reckless decision that Canning turned to meet Napoleon's Continental System. In November he issued fresh Orders in Council. By these France, and every Continental state from which the British flag was excluded, was put in a state of blockade, and all vessels bound for their harbours were held subject to seizure unless they had touched at a British port. The orders were at once met by another decree of Napoleon issued at Milan in December, which declared every vessel, of whatever nation, coming from or bound to Britain or any British colony, to have forfeited its character as a neutral, and to be liable to seizure.

Meanwhile the effect of the Continental System upon Napoleon was to drive him to aggression after aggression in order to maintain the material union of Europe against Britain. He was absolutely master of Western Europe, and its whole face changed as at an enchanter's touch. Prussia was occupied by French troops. Holland was changed into a monarchy by a simple decree of the French Emperor, and its crown bestowed on his brother Louis. Another brother, Jerome, became King of Westphalia, a new realm built up out of the Electorates of Hesse Cassel and Hanover. A third brother, Joseph, was made King of Naples; while the rest of Italy, and even Rome itself, was annexed to the French Empire. It was the hope of effectually crushing the world power of Britain which drove him to his worst aggression, the aggression upon Spain. He acted with his usual subtlety. In October 1807 France and Spain agreed to divide Portugal between them; and on the advance of their forces the reigning House of Braganza fled helplessly from Lisbon to a refuge in Brazil. But the seizure of Portugal was only a prelude to the seizure of Spain. Charles the Fourth, whom a riot in his capital drove at this moment to abdication, and his son, Ferdinand the Seventh, were drawn to Bayonne in May, 1808, and forced to resign their claims to the Spanish crown; while a French army entered Madrid and proclaimed Joseph Buonaparte King of Spain. But this high-handed act of aggression was hardly completed

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when Spain rose as one man against the stranger ; and desperate as the effort of its people seemed, the news of the rising was welcomed throughout England with a burst of enthusiastic joy. "Hitherto," cried Sheridan, a leader of the Whig opposition, "Buonaparte has contended with princes without dignity, numbers without ardour, or peoples without patriotism. He has yet to learn what it is to combat a people who are animated by one spirit against him." Tory and Whig alike held that "never had so happy an opportunity existed in Britain to strike a bold stroke for the rescue of the world;" and Canning at once resolved to change the system of desultory descents on colonies and sugar islands for a vigorous warfare in the Peninsula. Supplies were sent to the Spanish insurgents with reckless profusion, and two small armies placed under the command of Sir John Moore and Sir Arthur Wellesley for service in the Peninsula. In July 1808 the surrender at Baylen of a French force which had invaded Andalusia gave the first shock to the power of Napoleon, and the blow was followed by one almost as severe. Landing at the Mondego with fifteen thousand men, Sir Arthur Wellesley drove the French army of Portugal from the field of Vimiera, and forced it to surrender in the Convention of Cintra on the 30th of August. But the tide of success was soon roughly turned. Napoleon appeared in Spain with an army of two hundred thousand men ; and Moore, who had advanced from Lisbon to Salamanca to support the Spanish armies, found them crushed on the Ebro, and was driven to fall hastily back on the coast. His force saved its honour in a battle before Corunna, which enabled it to embark in safety ; but elsewhere all seemed lost. The whole of northern and central Spain was held by the French armies ; and even Zaragoza, which had once heroically repulsed them, submitted after a second equally desperate resistance.

The landing of the wreck of Moore's army and the news of the Spanish defeats turned the temper of England from the wildest hope to the deepest despair ; but Canning remained unmoved. On the day of the evacuation of Corunna he signed a treaty of alliance with the Spanish Junta at Cadiz ; and the English force at Lisbon, which had already prepared to leave Portugal, was reinforced with thirteen thousand fresh troops and placed under the command of Sir Arthur Wellesley. "Portugal," Wellesley wrote coolly, "may be defended against any force which the French can bring against it." At this critical moment the best of the French troops with the Emperor himself were drawn from the Peninsula to the Danube ; for the Spanish rising had roused Austria as well as England to a renewal of the struggle. When Marshal Soult therefore threatened Lisbon from the north, Wellesley marched boldly against him, drove him from Oporto in a disastrous retreat, and suddenly changing his line of operations, pushed with twenty thousand men by Abrantes on Madrid. He was joined on the march by a Spanish force of thirty thousand men ; and

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a bloody action with a French army of equal force at Talavera in July, 1809, restored the renown of English arms. The losses on both sides were enormous, and the French fell back at the close of the struggle ; but the fruits of the victory were lost by a sudden appearance of Soult on the English line of advance, and Wellesley was forced to retreat hastily on Badajoz. His failure was embittered by heavier disasters elsewhere. Austria was driven to sue for peace by Napoleon's victory at Wagram ; and a force of forty thousand English soldiers which had been despatched against Antwerp returned home baffled after losing half its numbers in the marshes of Walcheren.

The failure at Walcheren brought about the fall of the Portland Ministry. Canning attributed the disaster to the incompetence of Lord Castlereagh, an Irish peer who after taking the chief part in bringing about the union between England and Ireland had been raised by the Duke of Portland to the post of Secretary at War ; and the quarrel between the two Ministers ended in a duel, and in their resignation of their offices. The Duke of Portland retired with Canning ; and a new ministry was formed out of the more Tory members of the late administration under the guidance of Spencer Perceval, an industrious mediocrity of the narrowest type ; the Marquis of Wellesley, a brother of the English general in Spain, becoming Foreign Secretary. But if Perceval and his colleagues possessed few of the higher qualities of statesmanship, they had one characteristic which in the actual position of English affairs was beyond all price. They were resolute to continue the war. In the nation at large the fit of enthusiasm had been followed by a fit of despair ; and the City of London even petitioned for a withdrawal of the English forces from the Peninsula. Napoleon seemed irresistible, and now that Austria was crushed and England stood alone in opposition to him, the Emperor resolved to put an end to the strife by a vigorous prosecution of the war in Spain. Andalusia, the one province which remained independent, was invaded in the opening of 1810, and with the exception of Cadiz reduced to submission ; while Marshal Massena with a fine army of eighty thousand men marched upon Lisbon. Even Perceval abandoned all hope of preserving a hold on the Peninsula in face of these new efforts, and threw on Wellesley, who had been raised to the peerage as Lord Wellington after Talavera, the responsibility of resolving to remain there. But the cool judgement and firm temper which distinguished Wellington enabled him to face a responsibility from which weaker men would have shrunk. "I conceive," he answered, "that the honour and interest of our country require that we should hold our ground here as long as possible ; and, please God, I will maintain it as long as I can." By the addition of Portuguese troops who had been trained under British officers, his army was now raised to fifty thousand men ; and though his inferiority in force com-

pelled him to look on while Massena reduced the frontier fortresses of Ciudad Rodrigo and Almeida, he inflicted on him a heavy check at the heights of Busaco, and finally fell back in October, 1810, on three lines of defence which he had secretly constructed at Torres Vedras, along a chain of mountain heights crowned with redoubts and bristling with cannon. The position was imprégnable; and able and stubborn as Massena was he found himself forced after a month's fruitless efforts to fall back in a masterly retreat; but so terrible were the privations of the French army in passing again through the wasted country that it was only with forty thousand men that he reached Ciudad Rodrigo in the spring of 1811. Reinforced by fresh troops, Massena turned fiercely to the relief of Almeida, which Wellington had besieged; but two days' bloody and obstinate fighting in May, 1811, failed to drive the English army from its position at Fuentes d'Onore, and the Marshal fell back on Salamanca and relinquished his effort to drive Wellington from Portugal.

Great as was the effect of Torres Vedras in restoring the spirit of the English people and in reviving throughout Europe the hope of resistance to the tyranny of Napoleon, its immediate result was little save the deliverance of Portugal. The French remained masters of all Spain save Cadiz and the eastern provinces, and even the east coast was reduced in 1811 by the vigour of General Suchet. While England thus failed to rescue Spain from the aggression of Napoleon, she was suddenly brought face to face with the result of her own aggression in America. The Orders in Council with which Canning had attempted to prevent the transfer of the carrying trade from English to neutral ships, by compelling all vessels on their way to ports under blockade to touch at British harbours, had at once created serious embarrassments with America. In the long strife between France and England, America had already borne much from both combatants, but above all from Britain. Not only had the English Government exercised its right of search, but it asserted a right of seizing English seamen found in American vessels; and as there were few means of discriminating between English seamen and American, the sailor of Maine or Massachusetts was often impressed to serve in the British fleet. Galled however as was America by outrages such as these, she was hindered from resenting them by her strong disinclination to war, as well as by the profit which she drew from the maintenance of her neutral position. But the Orders in Council and the Milan Decree forced her into action, and she at once answered them by an embargo of trade with Europe. After a year's trial, however, America found it impossible to maintain the embargo; and at the opening of 1809 she exchanged the embargo for an Act of Non-Intercourse with France and England alone. But the Act was equally ineffective. The American Government was utterly with-

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out means of enforcing it on its land frontier; and it had small means of enforcing it at sea. Vessels sailed daily for British ports; and at last the Non-Intercourse Act was repealed altogether. All that America persisted in maintaining was an offer that if either Power would repeal its edicts, it would prohibit American commerce with the other. Napoleon seized on this offer, and after promising to revoke his Berlin and Milan Decrees he called on America to redeem her pledge. In February 1811, therefore, the United States announced that all intercourse with Great Britain and her dependencies was at an end. The effect of this step was seen in a reduction of English exports during this year by a third of their whole amount. It was in vain that Britain pleaded that the Emperor's promises remained unfulfilled, and that the enforcement of non-intercourse with England was thus an unjust act, and an act of hostility. The pressure of the American policy, as well as news of the warlike temper which had at last grown up in the United States, made submission inevitable; for the industrial state of England was now so critical that to expose it to fresh shocks was to court the very ruin which Napoleon had planned.

During the earlier years of the war indeed the increase of wealth had been enormous. England was sole mistress of the seas. The war gave her possession of the colonies of Spain, of Holland, and of France; and if her trade was checked for a time by the Berlin Decree, the efforts of Napoleon were soon rendered fruitless by the vast smuggling system which sprang up along the southern coasts and the coast of North Germany. English exports had nearly doubled since the opening of the century. Manufactures profited by the discoveries of Watt and Arkwright; and the consumption of raw cotton in the mills of Lancashire rose during the same period from fifty to a hundred millions of pounds. The vast accumulation of capital, as well as the vast increase of the population at this time, told upon the land, and forced agriculture into a feverish and unhealthy prosperity. Wheat rose to famine prices, and the value of land rose in proportion with the price of wheat. Inclosures went on with prodigious rapidity; the income of every landowner was doubled, while the farmers were able to introduce improvements into the processes of agriculture which changed the whole face of the country. But if the increase of wealth was enormous, its distribution was partial. During the fifteen years which preceded Waterloo, the number of the population rose from ten to thirteen millions, and this rapid increase kept down the rate of wages, which would naturally have advanced in a corresponding degree with the increase in the national wealth. Even manufactures, though destined in the long run to benefit the labouring classes, seemed at first rather to depress them; for one of the earliest results of the introduction of machinery was the ruin of a number of

small trades which were carried on at home, and the pauperization of families who relied on them for support. In the winter of 1811 the terrible pressure of this transition from handicraft to machinery was seen in the Luddite, or machine-breaking, riots which broke out over the northern and midland counties ; and which were only suppressed by military force. While labour was thus thrown out of its older grooves, and the rate of wages kept down at an artificially low figure by the rapid increase of population, the rise in the price of wheat, which brought wealth to the landowner and the farmer, brought famine and death to the poor, for England was cut off by the war from the vast corn-fields of the Continent or of America, which now-a-days redress from their abundance the results of a bad harvest. Scarcity was followed by a terrible pauperization of the labouring classes. The amount of the poor-rate rose fifty per cent. ; and with the increase of poverty followed its inevitable result, the increase of crime.

The natural relation of trade and commerce to the general wealth of the people at large was thus disturbed by the peculiar circumstances of the time. The war enriched the landowner, the farmer, the merchant, the manufacturer ; but it impoverished the poor. It is indeed from these fatal years which lie between the Peace of Luneville and Waterloo that we must date that war of classes, that social severance between employers and employed, which still forms the main difficulty of English politics. But it is from these years too that we must date the renewal of that progressive movement in politics which had been suspended since the opening of the war. The publication of the *Edinburgh Review* in 1802 by a knot of young lawyers at Edinburgh marked a revival of the policy of constitutional and administrative progress which had been reluctantly abandoned by William Pitt. Jeremy Bentham gave a new vigour to political speculation by his advocacy of the doctrine of Utility, and his definition of "the greatest happiness of the greatest number" as the aim of political action. In 1809 Sir Francis Burdett revived the question of Parliamentary Reform. Only fifteen members supported his motion ; and a reference to the House of Commons, in a pamphlet which he subsequently published, as "a part of our fellow-subjects collected together by means which it is not necessary to describe" was met by his committal to the Tower, where he remained till the prorogation of the Parliament. A far greater effect was produced by the perseverance with which Canning pressed year by year the question of Catholic Emancipation. So long as Perceval lived both efforts at Reform were equally vain ; but on the accession of Lord Liverpool to power the advancing strength of a more liberal sentiment in the nation was felt by the policy of "moderate concession" which was adopted by the new ministry. Catholic Emancipation became an open question in the Cabinet itself, and was adopted in 1812 by a triumphant majority in the House of Commons, though still rejected by the Lords.

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With social and political troubles thus awaking about them, even Tory statesmen were not willing to face the terrible consequences of a ruin of English industry, such as might follow from the junction of America with Napoleon. They were, in fact, preparing to withdraw the Orders in Council when their plans were arrested by the dissolution of the Perceval Ministry. Its position had from the first been a weak one. A return of the King's madness had made it necessary in the beginning of 1811 to confer the Regency by Act of Parliament on the Prince of Wales; and the Whig sympathies of the Prince threatened the Perceval Cabinet with dismissal. The insecurity of their position told on the conduct of the war; for the apparent inactivity of Wellington during 1811 was really due to the hesitation and timidity of the ministers at home. In May, 1812, the assassination of Perceval by a maniac named Bellingham brought about the fall of his ministry; and fresh efforts were made by the Regent to install the Whigs in office. Mutual distrust however foiled his attempts; and the old ministry was restored under the headship of Lord Liverpool, a man of no great abilities, but temperate, well informed, and endowed with a remarkable skill in holding discordant colleagues together. The most important of these colleagues was Lord Castlereagh, who became Secretary for Foreign Affairs. His first work was to meet the danger in which Canning had involved the country by his Orders in Council. At the opening of 1812 America, in despair of redress, had resolved on war; Congress voted an increase of both army and navy, and laid an embargo on all vessels in American harbours. Actual hostilities might still have been averted by the repeal of the Orders, on which the English Cabinet was resolved, but in the confusion which followed the murder of Perceval the opportunity was lost. On the 23rd of June, only twelve days after the Ministry had been formed, the Orders were repealed; but when the news of the repeal reached America, it came six weeks too late. On the 18th of June an Act of Congress had declared America at war with Great Britain.

The moment when America entered into the great struggle was a critical moment in the history of mankind. Six days after President Madison issued his declaration of war, Napoleon crossed the Niemen on his march to Moscow. Successful as his policy had been in stirring up war between England and America, it had been no less successful in breaking the alliance which he had made with the Emperor Alexander at Tilsit and in forcing on a contest with Russia. On the one hand, Napoleon was irritated by the refusal of Russia to enforce strictly the suspension of all trade with England, though such a suspension would have ruined the Russian landowners. On the other, the Czar saw with growing anxiety the advance of the French Empire which sprang from Napoleon's resolve to enforce his system by a seizure of the northern coasts. In 1811 Holland, the Hanseatic towns,

part of Westphalia, and the Duchy of Oldenburg were successively annexed, and the Duchy of Mecklenburg threatened with seizure. A peremptory demand on the part of France for the entire cessation of intercourse with England brought the quarrel to a head; and preparations were made on both sides for a gigantic struggle. The best of the French soldiers were drawn from Spain to the frontier of Poland; and Wellington, whose army had been raised to a force of forty thousand Englishmen and twenty thousand Portuguese, profited by the withdrawal to throw off his system of defence and to assume an attitude of attack. Ciudad Rodrigo and Badajoz were taken by storm during the spring of 1812; and three days before Napoleon crossed the Niemen in his march on Moscow, Wellington crossed the Agueda in a march on Salamanca. After a series of masterly movements on both sides, Marmont with the French army of the North attacked the English on the hills in the neighbourhood of that town. While he was marching round the right of the English position, his left wing remained isolated; and with a sudden exclamation of "Marmont is lost!" Wellington flung on it the bulk of his force, crushed it, and drove the whole army from the field. The loss on either side was nearly equal, but failure had demoralized the French army; and its retreat forced Joseph to leave Madrid, and Soult to evacuate Andalusia and to concentrate the southern army on the eastern coast. While Napoleon was still pushing slowly over the vast plains of Poland, Wellington made his entry into Madrid in August, and began the siege of Burgos. The town however held out gallantly for a month, till the advance of the two French armies, now concentrated in the north and south of Spain, forced Wellington in October to a hasty retreat on the Portuguese frontier. If he had shaken the rule of the French in Spain in this campaign, his ultimate failure showed how firm a military hold they still possessed there. But the disappointment was forgotten in the news which followed it. At the moment when the English troops fell back from Burgos began the retreat of the Grand Army from Moscow. Victorious in a battle at Borodino, Napoleon had entered the older capital of Russia in triumph, and waited impatiently to receive proposals of peace from the Czar, when a fire kindled by its own inhabitants reduced the city to ashes. The French army was forced to fall back amidst the horrors of a Russian winter. Of the four hundred thousand combatants who formed the Grand Army at its first outset, only a few thousand recrossed the Niemen in December.

In spite of the gigantic efforts which Napoleon made to repair the loss of the Grand Army, the spell which he had cast over Europe was broken by the retreat from Moscow. Prussia rose against him as the Russians crossed the Niemen in the spring of 1813; and the forces which held it were at once thrown back on the Elbe. In this

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emergency the military genius of the French Emperor rose to its height. With a fresh army of two hundred thousand men whom he had gathered at Mainz he marched on the allied armies of Russia and Prussia in May, cleared Saxony by a victory over them at Lutzen, and threw them back on the Oder by a fresh victory at Bautzen. Disheartened by defeat, and by the neutral attitude which Austria still preserved, the two powers consented in June to an armistice, and negotiated for peace. But Austria, though unwilling to utterly ruin France to the profit of her great rival in the East, was as resolute as either of the allies to wrest from Napoleon his supremacy over Europe; and at the moment when it became clear that Napoleon was only bent on playing with her proposals, she was stirred to action by news that his army was at last driven from Spain. Wellington had left Portugal in May with an army which had now risen to ninety thousand men; and overtaking the French forces in retreat at Vitoria he inflicted on them a defeat which drove them in utter rout across the Pyrenees. Madrid was at once evacuated; and Clauzel fell back from Zaragoza into France. The victory not only freed Spain from its invaders; it restored the spirit of the Allies. The close of the armistice was followed by a union of Austria with the forces of Prussia and the Czar; and in October a final overthrow of Napoleon at Leipzig forced the French army to fall back in rout across the Rhine. The war now hurried to its close. Though held at bay for a while by the sieges of San Sebastian and Pampeluna, as well as by an obstinate defence of the Pyrenees, Wellington succeeded in the very month of the triumph at Leipzig in winning a victory on the Bidassoa, which enabled him to enter France. He was soon followed by the Allies. On the last day of 1813 their forces crossed the Rhine; and a third of France passed, without opposition, into their hands. For two months more Napoleon maintained a wonderful struggle with a handful of raw conscripts against their overwhelming numbers; while in the south, Soult, forced from his entrenched camp near Bayonne and defeated at Orthes, fell back before Wellington on Toulouse. Here their two armies met in April in a stubborn and indecisive engagement. But though neither leader knew it, the war was even then at an end. The struggle of Napoleon himself had ended at the close of March with the surrender of Paris; and the submission of the capital was at once followed by the abdication of the Emperor and the return of the Bourbons.

The
American
War

England's triumph over its enemy was dashed by the more doubtful fortunes of the struggle across the Atlantic. The declaration of war by America seemed an act of sheer madness; for its navy consisted of a few frigates and sloops; its army was a mass of half-drilled and half-armed recruits; while the States themselves were divided on the question of the war, and Connecticut with Massachusetts refused to

send either money or men. Three attempts to penetrate into Canada during the summer and autumn were repulsed with heavy loss. But these failures were more than redeemed by unexpected successes at sea. In two successive engagements between English and American frigates, the former were forced to strike their flag. The effect of these victories was out of all proportion to their real importance; for they were the first heavy blows which had been dealt at England's supremacy over the seas. In 1813 America followed up its naval triumphs by more vigorous efforts on land. Its forces cleared Lake Ontario, captured Toronto, destroyed the British flotilla on Lake Erie, and made themselves masters of Upper Canada. An attack on Lower Canada, however, was successfully beaten back; and a fresh advance of the British and Canadian forces in the heart of the winter again recovered the Upper Province. The reverse gave fresh strength to the party in the United States which had throughout been opposed to the war, and whose opposition to it had been embittered by the terrible distress brought about by the blockade and the ruin of American commerce. Cries of secession began to be heard, and Massachusetts took the bold step of appointing delegates to confer with delegates from the other New England States "on the subject of their grievances and common concerns." In 1814, however, the war was renewed with more vigour than ever; and Upper Canada was again invaded. But the American army, after inflicting a severe defeat on the British forces in the battle of Chippewa in July, was itself defeated a few weeks after in an equally stubborn engagement, and thrown back on its own frontier; while the fall of Napoleon enabled the English Government to devote its whole strength to the struggle with an enemy which it had ceased to despise. General Ross, with a force of four thousand men, appeared in the Potomac, captured Washington, and before evacuating the city burnt its public buildings to the ground. Few more shameful acts are recorded in our history; and it was the more shameful in that it was done under strict orders from the Government at home. The raid upon Washington, however, was intended simply to strike terror into the American people; and the real stress of the war was thrown on two expeditions whose business was to penetrate into the States from the north and from the south. Both proved utter failures. A force of nine thousand Peninsular veterans which marched in September to the attack of Plattsburg on Lake Champlain was forced to fall back by the defeat of the English flotilla which accompanied it. A second force under General Pakenham appeared in December at the mouth of the Mississippi and attacked New Orleans, but was repulsed by General Jackson with the loss of half its numbers. Peace, however, had already been concluded. The close of the French war, if it left untouched the grounds of the struggle, made the United States sensible of the danger of pushing it further;

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Britain herself was anxious for peace ; and the warring claims, both of England and America, were set aside in silence in the treaty of 1814.

The close of the war with America freed England's hands at a moment when the reappearance of Napoleon at Paris called her to a new and final struggle with France. By treaty with the Allied Powers Napoleon had been suffered to retain a fragment of his former empire—the island of Elba off the coast of Tuscany ; and from Elba he had looked on at the quarrels which sprang up between his conquerors as soon as they gathered at Vienna to complete the settlement of Europe. The most formidable of these quarrels arose from the claim of Prussia to annex Saxony, and that of Russia to annex Poland ; but their union for this purpose was met by a counter-league of England and Austria with their old enemy France, whose ambassador, Talleyrand, laboured vigorously to bring the question to an issue by force of arms. At the moment, however, when a war between the two leagues seemed close at hand, Napoleon quitted Elba, landed on the coast near Cannes, and, followed only by a thousand of his guards, marched over the mountains of Dauphiné upon Grenoble and Lyons. He counted, and counted justly, on the indifference of the country to its new Bourbon rulers, on the longing of the army for a fresh struggle which should restore its glory, and above all on the spell of his name over soldiers whom he had so often led to victory. In twenty days from his landing he reached the Tuileries unopposed, while Lewis the Eighteenth fled helplessly to Ghent. But whatever hopes he had drawn from the divisions of the Allied Powers were at once dispelled by their resolute action on the news of his descent upon France. Their strife was hushed and their old union restored by the consciousness of a common danger. An engagement to supply a million of men for the purposes of the war, and a recall of their armies to the Rhine, answered Napoleon's efforts to open negotiations with the Powers. England furnished subsidies to the amount of eleven millions, and hastened to place an army on the frontier of the Netherlands. The best troops of the force which had been employed in the Peninsula, however, were still across the Atlantic ; and of the eighty thousand men who gathered round Wellington only about a half were Englishmen, the rest principally raw levies from Belgium and Hanover. The Duke's plan was to unite with the one hundred and fifty thousand Prussians under Marshal Blücher who were advancing on the Lower Rhine, and to enter France by Mons and Namur, while the forces of Austria and Russia closed in upon Paris by way of Belfort and Elsass.

But Napoleon had thrown aside all thought of a merely defensive war. By amazing efforts he had raised an army of two hundred and fifty thousand men in the few months since his arrival in Paris ; and in the opening of June one hundred and twenty thousand Frenchmen were concentrated on the Sambre at Charleroi, while Wellington's

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troops still lay in cantonments on the line of the Scheldt from Ath to Nivelles, and Blucher's on that of the Meuse from Nivelles to Liège. Both the allied armies hastened to unite at Quatre Bras; but their junction was already impossible. Blucher with eighty thousand men was himself attacked by Napoleon at Ligny, and after a desperate contest driven back with terrible loss upon Wavre. On the same day Ney with twenty thousand men, and an equal force under D'Erlon in reserve, appeared before Quatre Bras, where as yet only ten thousand English and the same force of Belgian troops had been able to assemble. The Belgians broke before the charges of the French horse; but the dogged resistance of the English infantry gave time for Wellington to bring up corps after corps, till at the close of the day Ney saw himself heavily outnumbered, and withdrew baffled from the field. About five thousand men had fallen on either side in this fierce engagement: but heavy as was Wellington's loss, the firmness of the English army had already done much to foil Napoleon's effort at breaking through the line of the Allies. Blucher's retreat however left the English flank uncovered; and on the following day, while the Prussians were falling back on Wavre, Wellington with nearly seventy thousand men—for his army was now well in hand—withdrew in good order upon Waterloo, followed by the mass of the French forces under the Emperor himself. Napoleon had detached Marshal Grouchy with thirty thousand men to hang upon the rear of the beaten Prussians, while with a force of eighty thousand he resolved to bring Wellington to battle. On the morning of the 18th of June the two armies faced one another on the field of Waterloo in front of the Forest of Soignes, on the high road to Brussels. Napoleon's one fear had been that of a continued retreat. "I have them!" he cried, as he saw the English line drawn up on a low rise of ground which stretched across the high road from the château of Hougomont on its right to the farm and straggling village of La Haye Sainte on its left. He had some grounds for his confidence of success. On either side the forces numbered between seventy and eighty thousand men: but the French were superior in guns and cavalry, and a large part of Wellington's force consisted of Belgian levies who broke and fled at the outset of the fight. A fierce attack upon Hougomont opened the battle at eleven; but it was not till midday that the corps of D'Erlon advanced upon the centre near La Haye Sainte, which from that time bore the main brunt of the struggle. Never has greater courage, whether of attack or endurance, been shown on any field than was shown by both combatants at Waterloo. The columns of D'Erlon, repulsed by the English foot, were hurled back in disorder by a charge of the Scots Greys; but the victorious horsemen were crushed in their turn by the French cuirassiers, and the mass of the French cavalry, twelve thousand strong, flung itself in charge after charge on the English front, carrying the

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English guns and sweeping with desperate bravery round the unbroken squares whose fire thinned their ranks. With almost equal bravery the French columns of the centre again advanced, wrested at last the farm of La Haye Sainte from their opponents, and pushed on vigorously though in vain under Ney against the troops in its rear. But meanwhile every hour was telling against Napoleon. To win the battle he must crush the English army before Blucher joined it; and the English army was still uncrushed. Terrible as was his loss, and many of his regiments were reduced to a mere handful of men, Wellington stubbornly held his ground while the Prussians, advancing from Wavre through deep and miry forest roads, were slowly gathering to his support, disregarding the attack on their rear by which Grouchy strove to hold them back from the field. At half-past four their advanced guard deployed at last from the woods; but the main body was far behind, and Napoleon was still able to hold his ground against them till their increasing masses forced him to stake all on a desperate effort against the English front. The Imperial Guard—his only reserve, and which had as yet taken no part in the battle—was drawn up at seven in two huge columns of attack. The first, with Ney himself at its head, swept all before it as it mounted the rise beside La Haye Sainte, on which the thin English line still held its ground, and all but touched the English front when its mass, torn by the terrible fire of musketry with which it was received, gave way before a charge. The second, three thousand strong, advanced with the same courage over the slope near Hougomont, only to be repulsed and shattered in its turn. At the moment when these masses fell slowly and doggedly back down the fatal rise, the Prussians pushed forward on Napoleon's right, their guns swept the road to Charleroi, and Wellington seized the moment for a general advance. From that hour all was lost. Only the Guard stood firm in the wreck of the French army; and though darkness and exhaustion checked the English in their pursuit of the broken troops as they hurried from the field, the Prussian horse continued the chase through the night. Only forty thousand Frenchmen with some thirty guns recrossed the Sambre, while Napoleon himself fled hurriedly to Paris. His second abdication was followed by the triumphant entry of the English and Prussian armies into the French capital; and the long war ended with his exile to St. Helena, and the return of Lewis the Eighteenth to the throne of the Bourbons.

EPILOGUE.

Section I.—The Social Revolution, 1815—1914.

IT is impossible to relate here the crowded events of the century that followed the battle of Waterloo. The Napoleonic war itself was not more critical for the fortunes of England, nor more passionate in its conduct, than the desperate struggle of the nation to direct the industrial revolution into the way of freedom, and to unite the whole people in full rights of citizenship. In that hundred years every order and class in the State has been profoundly changed, and with these the State itself transformed in the theory of government, the source of power, and the exercise of authority. The whole body of Statutes has been changed in form or in substance till but few laws on the statute-book in 1804 now remain unaltered. English life had twice before been given a new direction in character through legislation imposed by powerful rulers, Henry II. and Henry VIII. ; but this third age of legislative change, this series of reforms unparalleled in English history, was the work of the nation itself. The undiminished force of the old English tradition of self-government and the spirit of freedom have directed the growth of national life at home, the shaping of the colonial empire, and in some degree the foreign policy of the country.

Social reform had all but ceased in an England deeply occupied with the struggle in America and the conflict with France. But throughout the century to come no grave outward danger threatened her. Through the sufferings of the long war, England had asserted her own independence and that of the European peoples. From all sides opened a great prosperity. Left without a rival by the destruction of the navies of France, Spain, Denmark, she absorbed the carrying trade of two continents, and shipped her own wares to be flung broadcast in the United States and in Germany, and as far as India itself, to undersell every competitor. Once more, as after the Armada, a lofty pride stirred the nation. "England," it was said, "seems destined by Providence to lead the moral condition of the world. Year after year we are sending forth thousands and hundreds of thousands of our citizens to people the vast solitudes and islands of another hemisphere ; the Anglo-Saxon race will shortly overspread half the habitable globe. What a mighty and what a rapid addition to the happiness of mankind, if these thousands should carry with them, and plant in those distant regions, our freedom, our laws, our morality, and our religion !" The hereditary faith of the governing

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classes in the Constitution, built up through long ages of effort, was unabated. "To sustain, to repair, to beautify this noble pile," Blackstone had written in 1765, "is a charge intrusted principally to the nobility, and such gentlemen of the kingdom as are delegated by their country to parliament"; and in 1830 Wellington, in the same spirit, declared that no improvement was needed—if he had to form a legislature for England, he did not mean to assert he could form such a legislature as they possessed now, for the nature of man was incapable of reaching such excellence at once; but he would try to form one that would produce the same results. The only fear of the old aristocracy was a dread of change. The terror of the French revolution had doubled their anxiety to maintain undisturbed the form of government which gave to them unchallenged security of political power and of property. With the fall of the ancient principle of primogeniture, they held, the pillars of the State would crumble—the parliamentary government of the landed magnates, and their command of county administration. With the division of great hereditary estates on which their power rested, the food of the country must perish.

The new
Classes

The ideal of the Tory aristocracy was a world where the rich should guide and protect the poor, who under this guardianship should obediently labour for a modest customary wage, while the welfare of all was secured by a changeless Constitution. They were confronted with new problems when the industrial revolution turned Great Britain from a thinly peopled agricultural land into a crowded workshop, and created a society unknown before—a middle class of prodigious wealth and activity, and a vast working class on the borders of starvation. Neither the leaders of industry nor the factory workers, alike shut out from a voice in the government of the country, saw any grounds of reverence for the "great juggle of the English constitution, a thing of monopolies and churchcraft and sinecures." The new industrial world had the confidence of pre-eminent ability. On the manufacturers depended the restoration of the country's wealth, and the payment of its enormous war debt. The men of science were with them, Davy, Herschell, Watt, Stephenson; religious philanthropists such as Zachary Macaulay, Clarkson, Wilberforce; and secular reformers, James Mill, Sir Samuel Romilly, Mackintosh, Huskisson, Jeremy Bentham, and many more, discussing universal suffrage, the ballot, reform of Parliament, freedom of the Press, just and equal laws. Above all the rest the call of Bentham rang out to free men through the country. Born of the middle classes he shared their ideals, and became at last their prophet. The end of all government, he proclaimed, must be utility, or the good of the governed. "The greatest happiness of the greatest number," such was the generous passion that was to direct his life: "At the sight of it I cried out, as it were in an inward ecstasy." Before the public need

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the long apathy of legislative stagnation must end: and reform of the whole law of England must be by act of the people, the guardians of their own welfare, in an omnipotent Parliament—a Parliament holding a real sovereignty. Legislation must henceforth be a science with fixed principles, and a legal procedure that would give to every man a certainty of protection. All laws must be open to free inquiry, and “the principle of utility” the sole test of worth. This principle was to strike at all abuses and selfish interests, at all offices or institutions which brought no benefit to the public. It was to abolish every needless restraint which limited the freedom of human existence. Such was the revolution that Bentham in his ecstasy foresaw, and preached with all the fervour of his original genius and lofty devotion. “Has a man talents?” he wrote; “he owes them to his country in every way in which they can be serviceable.”

“To the Tories,” said Bentham, “the principle of utility is a dangerous principle.” There were other heralds of revolution. Never before had such misery been known among the English poor. Half a million of men cast adrift at the end of the war wandered through the country, dying by hundreds and thousands of hunger. A more prolonged and universal agony followed the destruction of the old industrial system through the rapid development of machinery driven by steam. Ruin fell on the master craftsman—a manual worker employing his family or a few journeymen and apprentices in his home, owning his plant, and selling for his own profit—as labour was swept into new factories, and the factories gathered into hastily created towns, till by 1826 not a third of the population was left to live on the land. In eighteen years the power-loom increased from 3,000 to 100,000; and the hand-loom weavers, once an aristocracy as it were of labour, sank through extremity of want into the undistinguished mass of hired workers—life-long wage-earners with no economic interest in the product of their labour, and helpless under the autocracy of the all-powerful capitalist of the new industry. The simple local government of older days broke down; with the new doctrines of unlimited competition and every man for himself alone, the ancient protecting customs of the craftsmen disappeared. Economists contemplating the greatest national debt that any country had ever incurred, dazzled by the prospects of England in the world’s market, fearful of foreign rivalry, proclaimed the making of wealth and the full use of labour to be the first duty and right of the citizen, and the first necessity for the permanence of the State. The prosperity of the country, the virtue of its people, must depend on the competitive struggle for life, and the freedom of every man in whatever estate to make his own contract as best he could. The profit of a cotton mill, declared one, was obtained out of the work of the last

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hour. It was commonly averred that "in the lower orders the deterioration of morals increases with the quantity of unemployed time." On every plea, moral and economical, the day of labour was lengthened and the wage cheapened. There was not a single Act on the statute books to protect the worker in his bargain. While the employer was practically beyond the reach of the law, the worker accused of breaking contract could be sentenced, in a magistrate's private house, and without being allowed to say a word in his own defence, to three months' imprisonment. He had no remedy if he was defrauded of his wretched wage, and paid in food from the master's shop, and at his price ; or was given at cost price some of the goods he had made to sell as best he could for a livelihood. A few sanitary and moral rules were laid down for workers in factories—the washing of the rooms twice a year with quick-lime, the limit of twelve hours' work for child apprentices, separate dormitories for men and women, and the teaching to apprentices for one hour on Sunday the principles of the Christian religion ; but the Act provided no means to carry out this advice. Later Acts forbade children under nine to work in a cotton factory, and under sixteen to work more than twelve hours a day ; and limited young persons under eighteen to sixty-nine hours of labour a week. There was little means of enforcing such rules. Toil went on through day and night. Men were kept in at meal times to clean machinery. They were forbidden to carry watches, lest they should check the factory clock that prolonged the natural hours. There were frequent floggings, distortions from painful disease, accidents from unfenced machinery. Managers urged in defence of the system that thus alone could England defy the foreigner and keep her place in the world. As the growth of machinery for the first time brought in the labour of women and children to supersede that of men, they too were caught into the circle of misery. Their situation was one of unrelieved woe. Women toiled in coal-mines, chained like beasts of burden to carts which they dragged on all fours through the long galleries, traversing from seventeen to thirty miles a day. Children from five years old were sent into the darkness of the mines. In the model mill of David Dale children from five to eight worked from 6 a.m. to 7 p.m., after which they went into school. When a child reached nine the parish cut off relief, as it could then legally earn its own living by work for twelve hours, or often fourteen or sixteen. Children might be seen lying on the factory floors at night to be ready for work in the morning. Orphans and destitute infants were practically bought and sold as apprentices. We hear of blacksmiths kept at work forging fetters for them if they tried to escape, and of horses kept saddled to hunt down those who fled.

The
Towns

Nor was there relief for the workers in their homes ; where in the "dolorous chaos" of the new-made towns they were crowded under

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the most forlorn conditions, huddled in houses run up by speculators in tiny courts, in alleys like gutters, in lanes where a wheelbarrow could not pass, crammed with dunghills and human beings, the air tainted by perpetual exhalations, the pavement never dry, without water supply, or drainage, or scavengers' carts.. Mounds of filth were sold as manure to the farmers; and as late as 1844 only two towns were known where refuse was removed at the public expense from the quarters of the poor. Fever never left the courts, where the feeble waited for a "slow, mouldering, and putrefying death." Municipal bodies that had taken shape in another age and world were helpless before the new conditions. Each borough had its special customs, its peculiar way of conferring the freedom and the right to vote, its own form of Council. But all were alike in the original tradition carried down from merchant and trade guilds, which taught them to seek first and last the trade interests of their own members, and to exclude "strangers" from every privilege. As for the town property, said one of the Cambridge corporation, he thought it "belonged *bona-fide* to the corporation, and they had a right to do what they pleased with their own." Their finance was secret. There was no public control, and no representation on town councils, to protect the incoming multitude of workers—aliens crowded in the courts of death.

In 1816 agriculture was at the head of all other industries: while incomes from trade, handicrafts, and manufactures were reckoned at nearly $34\frac{1}{2}$ millions, the rents paid by occupiers of land approached 37 millions. But while agriculture advanced, while vast fields of wheat supplied ninety per cent. of the corn used in England, the rural labourers who formed the greatest industry in the country sank into abject dependence. A secular revolution had slowly transformed country life by the steady increase of great estates worked by landless labourers. After the judges of the seventeenth century yielded to landowners the right of tying up their estates by settlements the numbers of small holdings steadily decreased. There was no land to purchase. The "enclosures" of waste, forest, or common lands cut off the people's last hold on the soil. These changes proceeded rapidly under the rule of a landed aristocracy which from the seventeenth century had absolute control of legislation. Primogeniture with its aggregation of great estates held necessary for the stability of the State, was considered no less necessary for the economic production of food for the country. From the time of Anne when enclosures, once a matter of voluntary assent or arbitrary action, were carried out by private Acts, the anxiety of the legislature was to cheapen and facilitate the process, which was thought to be a national benefit. The need of food supply in war time, the demands of an increasing population, the cost of scientific farming,

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the new teaching of experimental economists—all these influences came to the aid of the powerful landed interest in their struggle to secure greater rapidity in enclosures, to lessen expenses, and overcome opposition. If reasons of State would have preserved a peasantry with a hold on the soil, all the reasons of class interest were for dissolving it. After a sharp parliamentary conflict a general Act to simplify and make uniform the working of private Acts granted under it marked the triumph of those who desired to force enclosure in all directions and on all lands, and the crushing defeat of their opponents. Two thousand Acts for fencing in commons followed in swift succession. Under the laws of settlement and of enclosures, the landlords' hold on the soil was secure. Royal Commissioners appointed to report on Real Property declared that "the law of England except in a few unimportant particulars appears to come almost as near perfection as can be expected in any human institution."

No doubt of the public advantage of enclosures, or consideration of the claims of the poor, arose till the middle of the nineteenth century. The great proprietors who made and administered the laws, and could alone bear the costs of parliamentary action and of fencing enclosures, had of necessity the determining voice. Compensation to the old commoners was often given in a form that did not alleviate their suffering: nor could any compensation ultimately atone for entire severance from the soil, and the sinking of the whole rural population into a body of mere wage-earners, owning less land than the labourers of any country in Europe; and by that fact, as we shall see, rendered more incapable of combination and resistance than even the wretched Irish cottiers. The destruction of cottage industries completed the ruin of the country people. Yeomen farmers and peasant proprietors practically ceased to exist: they drifted to the towns, or sank into workers at a daily wage. Not only small holdings but the lesser tenancies gradually vanished in a universal system of large estates and farms. On these the tillers of the soil fell into practical servitude. When with rising prices a wage of five shillings or so could not support life, a custom began of giving allowances of food to eke out the pay, and prevent wages from rising "to a height from which it would be difficult to reduce them"; and these pauperising doles from the parish came to be a part of the industrial system. Every labourer was tied to the place where he was born, and where he could be put on the rates. There, unchecked by any central control, village churchwardens and overseers had opportunity to abuse their power to private advantage; and the peasant had no appeal save to magistrates who were themselves landlords and employers. Fear and hunger were his lot. "I see scores of men," wrote Cobbett, "framed by nature to be rosy-cheeked,

athletic, bold. . . I see them as thin as herrings, dragging their feet after them, pale as a ceiling, and sneaking about like beggars." Many "are actually become a sort of skeleton." The workhouse which provided for the last extremity was worse than the prison. The sick and feeble there had no helpers. The children were sold out as apprentices, or given, with 3s. 4d. a week each for food, to a contractor to make what he could of them.

If no relief was given by statute to the workers severer laws were still invented to repress their discontent. Two hundred offences were accumulated for which a man could be hanged, and it is reckoned that from 1810 to 1845 more than fourteen hundred persons were executed for crimes that are no longer punished with death. Murderers swung in chains on gibbets. For stealing five shillings, or for burning a rick of hay, the bodies of men were left for hours on gallows in the market places as a warning. The punishment for picking a pocket of a handkerchief was seven years' transportation, and that after a few minutes' undefended trial; for even in 1824 and 1826 the House of Commons still refused to allow prisoners tried for murder or larceny defence by counsel. Perjurers in the pillory slowly revolved before the crowd. Landowners used spring-guns and man-traps, rating the life of a poacher below that of a hare; and gave sentence of seven years' transportation for stealing a pheasant. In vain Sir Samuel Romilly, known for his "anti-hanging laws," fought to bring some humanity into the code; at his death all his efforts had only exempted from capital punishment picking pockets and stealing from bleaching grounds. "Neither in private nor in public was there any refuge or kindness for an evangelical man"; nor could "Humanitarians" hope for toleration, even if Dr. Parr "was more shocked as a grammarian at the word than as a divine at the sect."

Workers so harshly trained from infancy learned often a fathomless resignation: and many were illumined by an impassioned piety nourished in the chapel and the Sunday school where they were consoled by humble ministers who had suffered the same tribulations. In the darkest courts and alleys we find records of a spiritual enthusiasm which, ignored by the Established Church, called men to an amazing heroism and tenderness to suffering. Parliament had constantly rejected bills to provide a system of national education, and not a penny was spent by the State for the instruction of the people. Philanthropic and ecclesiastical efforts were few and perverted in intention. A Friend, Lancaster, with the help of some Quaker philanthropists and Nonconformist ministers, proposed a scheme of "Schools for all"; and this was followed by the "National Society for the Education of the Poor in the principles of the Established Church." Their plan was to obtain some disused workshop which could contain a thousand children; to give to a sensible master a month's training;

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on opening the school to choose thirty intelligent children, who for half an hour before the rest of the school should be taught the day's lesson; after which each little monitor should instruct a class of thirty; while the master kept order over the whole. Mrs. Hannah More, a famous writer and philanthropist of her time, pointed out how an all-wise Providence showed to the poor by times of scarcity the advantages of the Government and Constitution of this country, and of the distinctions of rank and fortune which enabled the rich so liberally to assist the needy placed in their dependence. "We trust," she said, "the poor in general, especially those that are well instructed, have received what has been done for them as a matter of favour, not of right—if so the same kindness will, I doubt not, always be extended to them." In spite of all difficulties never had such a roll of distinguished men risen from the poor as at this time. Gifford, son of a small tradesman, was to lead Conservatives as editor of the Quarterly Review; Dalton, a weaver's son, was a famous man of science; and another weaver's son, White, was professor of Arabic at Oxford. Any real education the poor created for themselves in working-men's clubs, mechanics' institutes, debating societies, industrial classes, Sunday schools, or little libraries where the student paid a shilling a month for books and conferences. They learned to read, and had political tracts and newspapers. "Get knowledge," was the cry of the working-classes for the next fifty years, "for in getting knowlege you get power." They discussed political economy, and the new social order which was to put an end to the calamities and humiliations inflicted by the current system. Ministers sprung from their own class denounced the influence of the State Church, and the aristocracy that upheld it as a political force. Through the dark underworld of toilers, oppressed, miserably poor, feared and despised, there ran a ferment of thought, a passionate idealism, dreams of a new society, a richer education, a larger humanitarianism, and the hopes of a national fellowship of all who laboured. Not a single theory or scheme of reform emerged in the coming century that we do not find in these early years, the full seed-time of the coming harvest. Cartwright, who had spent his life since 1776 for parliamentary reform, opened Hampden clubs to advocate universal suffrage. Thomas Spence, a poor man, once a schoolmaster, preached that the land in every village should belong to all the inhabitants. William Lovett, born in a Cornish fishing village in great poverty, claimed for the poor "bread, knowledge, and liberty"; and with unquenchable courage and perseverance organised co-operative societies and associations to fight for political equality. Hodgskin argued that all products of labour should be distributed among labourers, manual or mental. Thompson of Cork, the most eminent founder of scientific socialism, urged that the worker should have the value he creates.

Place, a tailor, who in youth had suffered poverty and want, made his shop in Westminster the headquarters of radicals working for universal suffrage, annual parliaments, financial reform, freedom of speech and of assembly. Robert Owen, whose own energy had raised him from an apprentice to a wealthy factory owner, rejected such reforms as these to become the apostle of communism. His "new system of society" was to be an industrial democracy with co-operative ownership and control of industry. It was he who first put forward the idea of a factory act to limit hours of labour, of the "right to work," of a minimum wage, of the housing of the poor by provincial authorities, of a national system of free and compulsory education, of free libraries. He believed with an apostle's ardour that if he could win respite from poverty to give to but one generation of children a true education, they would form a new moral world, and carry out the emancipation of the working classes.

But it was from the country-side that came the greatest tribune the English poor ever possessed, William Cobbett, "born in a farmhouse, bred up at the plough-tail, with a smock-frock on my back." He had for twenty years toiled in vain to get possession of his holding; he had saved from his scanty food farthings to buy candles and paper, and in his hunger had cried like a child at the loss of a half-penny, the price of a red herring for his dinner. Serving as a common soldier he had trained himself by writing out an entire grammar three times, and reciting it once each time he stood sentry. In pity for the poor he abandoned his Tory creed to open a long fight with the possessing and educated classes—"the race that plunder the people." "England," he cried, "now contains the most miserable people that ever trod the earth." Penetrated by passion for the country-side, his indignant alarm was lest the poor should grow accustomed to their dependence and accept their degradation. The poor man must be freed from fear. He ought to have help as his "legal due." The domination of the aristocracy must be destroyed with all that lay behind it—the superstitious reverence for its capacity and public spirit, the habit of supposing that any country could live creditably which left the rich to think and act for the poor. The Duke's word of command, he insisted, had no effect on wheat, nor could his army of a hundred thousand men make it 10s. a bushel. In capital he saw only money taken from the labouring classes. Up and down the country, year after year, with a fury of eloquence, he drove home the lesson so that Englishmen could never again forget it, that for a people who had lost the right of voting taxes, and were denied free assembly and speech and combination, there was no hope save by reform of parliament and universal suffrage. "We must have that first or we shall have nothing good." The working classes as a body must unite in self-

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<p>SEC. I.</p> <p>THE SOCIAL REVOLU- TION</p> <p>1815 TO 1914</p> <p>1816</p>	<p>defence against the two great parties in the State. Cobbett formed, it was said, a Fourth Estate in himself ; he first gave to the people a journal written by one of themselves, and by his literary genius taught them the power of the Press. When he reduced "The Weekly Political Register" from a shilling and a halfpenny to two-pence, 50,000 copies were scattered over the country, and everywhere men gathered in clubs to hear the paper read by one of them who had schooling.</p>
<p>The Tory Govern- ment</p> <p>1818</p> <p>1821</p>	<p>Thus the old aristocracy found themselves confronted in the middle classes and in the workers alike with a new intelligence, an ardent questioning of the old traditions. It must, said one, "make those in higher regions look about them and be on the alert ; every man now feels that warning from the man immediately beneath him, and the stimulus is propagated. What it will come to God knows." "The same impulse of the times that makes one man a reformer will make others revolutionists." No one at that time, neither landlord, nor capitalist, nor economist, could understand the revolution that was overturning the old society and fashioning a new democracy. But already at the close of the Napoleonic war the social problem which was to fill the coming century confronted England. After the peace, government was carried on, under Lord Liverpool, by Wellington victor of Waterloo, and Castlereagh plenipotentiary at the Congress of Vienna. They brought to a country where statecraft and sound finance were needed the habits learned in war of wasteful expenditure, and a dependence on armed force. The French Revolution had bequeathed alike to aristocrats and plutocrats an abiding panic as to the security of property, and a terror of the working classes—"the basest of the populace." To save the State their own power must be maintained. Parliament was surrounded by troops while the landlords, who in the war had ploughed up their fields for tillage, passed a corn-law in their own relief, forbidding corn to be imported till it had reached eighty shillings a quarter. The successful agitation of Brougham against the income-tax, a movement supported by the plutocracy and the industrialists, and the repeal of the malt-tax, left a heavier burden of the national debt on the people. While the rich paid twenty per cent. on their wine, the poor paid two hundred per cent. on their beer ; and landed property passed without any charges, when duty was levied on the money and effects of tradesmen and farmers. Agitations of starving men demanding bread at a fixed price or wages to buy food, or assemblies for the suffrage and the ballot, were to the rulers crimes against the State ; they encouraged informers ; their secret committees of enquiry drew up terrifying reports of Radical schemes for new division of wealth and land. The Habeas Corpus Act was suspended, meetings forbidden, and Press laws issued against blasphemy and sedition. Five hundred</p>
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writers suffered fine and imprisonment between 1800 and 1832. In the hunger riots of 1818 fifteen hundred famishing men marched under a banner "Bread or Blood," demanding that the price of bread should be fixed: twenty-four were condemned to death, and five hanged at Ely. When the most powerful of the popular speakers, 'Orator' Hunt, held a meeting at St. Peter's Fields, Manchester, fifty thousand people gathered with banners flying — "Equal Representation or Death," "Liberty or Death"; in a charge of the yeomanry on the unarmed crowd a man was killed and forty injured. The dark day of "Peterloo" was followed by legislation of sheer panic. The "Six Acts" commonly known as the "Gagging Acts," gave new powers to suppress meetings and freedom of speech or writing. Since Cobbett avoided the stamp of fourpence on newspapers by printing no news in his *Political Register*, an Act was passed to subject certain publications to the duties on newspapers, so as to ruin the cheap circulation and influence of his "Twopenny Trash." Orator Hunt with other leaders was thrown into prison. Cobbett fled to America. Executions, transportations, military force, silenced the deep indignation of the working classes, and no serious disturbance troubled the rulers for ten years. It was almost safer to be a felon than a reformer, said Sidney Smith. So great was the terror that no Whig would join the Reformers in asserting the right of public meeting; nor stir a finger nor subscribe a shilling to help reform. No private person without the utmost danger could attempt to remove even the smallest public grievance.

It was the last triumph of the old Tory despotism. In the face of the new England the Habeas Corpus Act was never again suspended there. With the death of George III., and of Castlereagh, came the stirrings of a great change. Steadily the power of the monarch was limited. The peers had given to the Cabinet of 1815 more than three-fourths of its number; in 1823 nearly half the ministers sat in the House of Commons. Terror of progress no longer ruled among younger men who had forgotten the French Revolution. Even Tories themselves were drifting towards imminent change under ministers of the unavowed and painful transition: Canning, who succeeded Castlereagh as Foreign Secretary, and Peel the Home Secretary. Although he was a defender of the Six Acts, an enemy of Jacobinism, Canning's glowing imagination saw the coming of a new world: by the force of his lofty genius, his compelling enthusiasm and eloquence, he dominated the House of Commons, and in the five brief years before his death formed, out of Tories and Whigs, a group ready to move in the way of reform. Peel for thirty years stood before England as the tragic figure of the transition. "Leader," as he boasted, "of the gentlemen of England," proud, sensitive, hostile to every proposal for civil and religious equality, he yet by the tact in public affairs that made

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1828	<p>When Canning died and Wellington became Prime Minister, he was in fact confronted by a new country. All seemed unchanged. The fundamental laws and constitution of England stood in 1828 exactly as they had been in 1800, and the old complacency was undiminished. But within three years the ancient constitution was in fact new-made, and the modern world as we know it had begun.</p>
Catholic Emanci- pation	<p>The first trial of strength was a demand for the civil equality of all creeds. Catholic emancipation, first proposed in 1778, was passionately refused for fifty years. Since 1805 Parliament had fourteen times rejected bills for Catholic relief ; for twenty years the Whigs had fought for it, and Canning had given his life for it in vain. Catholics and Dissenters might die for their country since army and navy had been opened to them ; but no Catholic might serve it in a civil post, and no Dissenter save under the protection of an annual Indemnity bill. The manufacturing classes now procured repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts to free Dissenters from the sacramental test for civil office. Peel, "spokesman of the intolerant faction," vehemently led the opposition to Catholic relief, and Wellington declared it fatal to the best interests of the country. The next year they united to force through Parliament a bill admitting Catholics to Parliament and to nearly all civil and political offices. The first great victory of freedom was won. But no spirit of liberality had moved the govern-</p>
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ment. It was Ireland, long defrauded of the emancipation promised at the Union, that by an immense organization of a whole people compelled a hearing. The Catholic peasantry of Clare broke from the control of their Protestants landlords, and in a solemn national demonstration elected Daniel O'Connell as their member. Wellington was warned by his brother, Wellesley, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, that he might expect not only a general rising but a mutiny of the Catholic soldiers, unless the will of the people was heard. The Ministers' resistance broke down. The authority of Wellington and Peel alone could have forced the Tories to accept the bill. But Peel's anger was hot against the independent Irish tenantry. The franchise was to him a weapon of class ascendancy, and that weapon, as he said, "which the landlord has forged with so much care, and has heretofore wielded with such success, had broken short in his hands." In the same bill therefore by which he granted emancipation he abolished the franchise of the forty shilling freeholders, and threw Ireland yet more completely under the political power of the Protestant landlord. The Irish however had shown on their side the power of a national democracy in shaking the very foundations of English tradition in Church and State, and putting to the question its social order, and the power of parliament itself. From this time Irish influence was a potent factor in English politics. The liberalising spirit of the Celtic peoples, nourished in traditions of an old democracy, and in the pains of persecution, was strong in years to come to enfranchise thought and give a glowing life to social and political agitation in England.

The Catholic Relief Act, if it wrecked the Tory party, showed that after two hundred years the doctrine of philosophers such as Hales and Chillingworth was passing into common men's thought—"Protestants are inexcusable if they do offer violence to other men's consciences." At the same time the teaching of Hobbes had sprung into new life—that the end of all government was the weal of the Commonwealth. For if in the Emancipation Act the old Tories met their first defeat, they found their overthrow in the Reform Act. The control of the legislature by the hereditary landowners of England was by them held to be the only security for a stable government. During two centuries and a half Parliamentary representation had been untouched. For eighty-five years all protests had been successfully broken down. The urging of reform was judged sedition; five leading men of position and character, pleading "the eternal basis of justice," were tried and transported for this offence: "we were all mad," one of the jurymen said, looking back from thirty-five years later. On the renewal of the struggle a score of attempts for some degree of reform were defeated in twenty-two years. The landowners felt secure in their ancient authority. Supreme in the House of Lords, in the Commons they appointed the county members, and nearly all the

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boroughs were in their hands. There were "nomination boroughs" where the member was elected by the patron—possibly an uninhabited green mound, a ruined wall, a town no longer visible under invading tides; and there were "rotten boroughs" where the candidate was chosen by the lord's influence. In Newark, for example, on the defeat of his candidate the Duke of Newcastle evicted every tenant who had given a hostile vote—"Have I not a right," said the Duke, "to do what I like with my own?" The cost of elections kept representation in the hands of the wealthy. Lord Ashley spent £15,600 in Dorsetshire. There were towns where the patron or member was required to defray the municipal expenses. Some boroughs had for centuries been bought and used by magnates to pack the House in their own interest. Others had a tradition of four hundred years of restriction and privilege. Everywhere bribery, "more lamentable than all the other evils," cried Cobbett, could work its deep demoralisation. The established authority of the landed classes was however now threatened by the accumulating wealth of the commercial world, and by the rising multitude of workers—an urban population which from the beginning of the century grew at the rate of thirty per cent. every ten years. Their agitations continued for lightening of taxation, bread at fixed price, reform of justice, universal suffrage, and annual parliaments. With schemes of communistic settlements and modes of production, the word Socialism now came first into use. Grand General Unions of the several trades were formed to unite workers over the whole kingdom. An Irish Roman Catholic, Doherty, put forward the far-reaching idea of a Trades Union which should unite the different trades in one gigantic association; and half a century before the idea of a general strike had taken root in France it was preached to English workmen as the central idea of their movement. The terror felt by Whig and Tory alike was seen in barbarous prosecutions and attempts to gag the newspapers. Unorganised rural labourers who protested by rick-burning against starvation wages and pauper allowances, were broken by ferocious punishment. In 1830 there were wage-riots in which one rioter lost his life, while no one on the side of authority was seriously wounded: in expiation of their disorder nine men and boys were hanged, four hundred and fifty-seven were transported, and four hundred imprisoned at home. Through all agitations, however, Lord John Russell had since 1819 incessantly renewed the demand for some representation of the new commercial classes and the rising towns—a steadfast and passionless debater who admitted no check or defeat. As the movement grew the Canningites became reformers under Lord Palmerston. Lord Grey and Lord Lansdowne led the Whigs. Sharing the Tory fear of the "lower orders," they proposed a moderate reform to enfranchise "all the intelligence and respectability

of the independent class." "By the people," said Brougham, "I mean the middle classes, the wealth and intelligence of the country, the glory of the British name"; and Macaulay urged that such a scheme, safe, moderate, and final, would keep at bay the perils of universal suffrage. "Shufflers and cowards," retorted the working-men, "mere drawling Whigs." For fifteen years their clubs had taught universal suffrage. They were on the verge of revolution. But in this crisis the artisans showed a sound political instinct, and amid their bitter disappointment loyally supported the middle class rather than lose the beginning of reform. The workers were formidable in the unrepresented towns such as Birmingham, Leeds, or Manchester. In Birmingham where the population had risen from 90,000 in 1815 to 150,000 in 1832—a town denied even a single voice in Parliament, with no powers to preserve order, fight disease, or protect its workers—arose the first "Political Union of the Middle and Lower classes" for household suffrage; which became the model for others up and down the country. A "National Union of the Working Classes" advocated manhood suffrage as the only means for a true division of wealth: when the government ordered a fast to ward off cholera the members marched in procession, carrying a slice of bread and a piece of beef with the inscription "The true remedy against cholera."

It was at this moment that Wellington, through the speech of the new king William IV. at the opening of Parliament, threatened the seditious and disaffected, and praised the constitution which gave to England more true liberty and social happiness than had fallen to the lot of any country in the world. To the last Wellington protested against tampering with a perfect Constitution: he had to barricade himself in his house behind bullet-proof shutters. The King and ministers dared not drive through the streets to the Lord Mayor's dinner. When the Duke was forced to resign, his place was taken by the Whig leader Lord Grey, a reformer for more than forty years. Lord Palmerston joined him at the head of the Canningites. Lord John Russell introduced into the House of Commons the first Reform Bill, which swept away decayed boroughs, enfranchised the rising towns, and fixed for all a uniform £20 household franchise. Scoffing jeers of the Tories interrupted the reading of a bill which was to renew and repair the constitutional liberties first created by the genius of Earl Simon and Edward I. The second reading was carried by one vote. A month later an amendment was passed in Committee against the bill, and the King hastened to Westminster to dissolve Parliament. At the roaring of the guns that announced to the Commons his hurried approach there broke out an indescribable scene of violence, such a scene as had marked the memorable struggle of 1641—shouts of fury, ~~bats~~ ^{bats} waved aloft, and deep threatenings. The next time the guns

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were heard, a member cried to the Ministers, "they will be shotted and take off some of your heads." In the country the passion of the people swept aside all the old influences of corruption, and sent back the ministers with a majority of over a hundred. At the reading of the second Reform Bill the majority rose to 109. When it was rejected by the Lords popular fury broke out in riots and burnings. In Birmingham blacksmiths worked all night preparing arms, and balls with steel points to throw under the feet of cavalry. The third Bill won a majority of 162. The Lords by nine votes passed the second reading, and threw out the bill in committee. Wellington at the King's orders attempted to form a ministry, which scarcely lasted a week. The people threatened barricades and open war. Political clubs and unions ordered their members to pay no taxes unless the bill passed. The temper of the soldiers was doubtful. To force a failure of the banks placards lined the London streets: "To stop the Duke go for gold." Confronted with a nation in opposition, the King bowed to a final and complete submission. Grey was recalled, with power to create as many peers as he needed to pass the bill through the House of Lords. The peers sullenly yielded to the threat so far that 278 absented themselves from the House, while 106 Lords appeared to vote for the bill, and 22 against it.

"The King has thrown his crown into the gutter," cried the Czar of Russia. Englishmen were astounded at the vastness of a scheme which destroyed the old monopoly of power. The Tories lamented their "falling country": thirty years, they thought, might bring the imminent catastrophes of the bill, changes in hereditary estates, overthrow of the established Church, destruction of an independent House of Lords, or even annihilation of its existence. The working-men no less than the Tories foresaw a future that bore in it revolution. They knew that by "their manly, steady, and courageous conduct," the victory had been won. "This," said Place, "was indeed the first time they ever combined of their own free will for a really national purpose, and this it is which marks the era as of more importance than any former proceeding;" in a few years' time a new race of young men would have sprung up, "brought up very generally without reverence for authority; and imbued with notions of representative government," and by their moral power a wider Reform would at last satisfy the expectations of the people. "There must be a decisive quarrel with the Lords some day and the Lords will in the end be beaten." Such hopes and fears gathered indeed round the principle of the Reform Bill rather than its bare facts. The Act abolished fifty-six nomination or rotten boroughs, and left thirty others with only one member. A hundred and forty-three seats were set free for distribution, sixty-five new representatives were thus given to the counties, and the

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rest divided among Manchester, Leeds, Birmingham, and forty other rising towns. A £10 household franchise was established in the boroughs, and the rights of freemen to vote were restricted. In the counties copy-holders and lease-holders for years were added to the forty-shilling freeholders, and tenants-at-will paying £50 a year. The propertied classes in the House, however, with the design of protecting property and vested interests, and checking revolutionary ideas, had combined to make as little change as possible in the old order. The Act that enfranchised the commercial classes did not add 500,000 voters in the three countries, and the distribution of seats was so arranged that more than half the members were returned by three per cent. of the grown men in the kingdom. Five out of six of the people were still without a vote. The middle class was practically defrauded by a system which left half of them unenfranchised. As for the working-men, by whose aid the bill had been carried, they found themselves roughly and insolently thrown aside. The new Constitution proved to them in fact less democratic than the old. Many had lost the franchise they once possessed, and few indeed could find a place among the new £10 householders. They were utterly exhausted by their immense efforts; their leaders bankrupt, impoverished, or worn out by incessant labour. The House of Commons seemed in fact but little changed. The landed gentry still commanded the House by their numbers. Even half the boroughs were represented by them as before. For the next thirty-six years all ministries, Whig and Tory, were led from the House of Lords (save for five years when Lord John Russell was Prime Minister). But both friends and foes of reform were right in acknowledging the triumph of a revolution. The fetish of the fixed Constitution was gone. All was flung open to criticism and change. The "principle of utility," the reasoned good of the Commonwealth, had replaced the divine right of the ruling classes, and at the day of his death Bentham had reached the height of his success. The balance of power was changed. The last Act ever introduced by the personal will of the sovereign was the Bill demanded by George IV. for his divorce from Queen Caroline: it was almost the first measure which had to be abandoned before the popular fury. After William IV. no sovereign ventured to claim the right to dismiss Ministers. The "King's Ministers," who till then had been practically chosen by royal influence, were transformed into Ministers selected and dismissed by the House of Commons alone. For the first time in the history of England a Ministry was compelled to resign office as the direct result of a general election. The new sense of responsibility was shown when the House of Commons began itself to publish its division lists. Up to this time, as Gladstone noted, the peers by their command of the close boroughs had as it were "cushioned off" conflict between the Houses; but as

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this control vanished and the lower House gained in independence, there appeared a new opposition of the Lords to the Commons unknown before the Reform Act. That Act had, in fact, made of the House of Commons "the ruling and the choosing House"; and the daring principle laid down by Pym two hundred years before was now finally asserted as one of the bases of the Constitution—that in case of obstruction the Commons would "save the kingdom alone."

Ten years of office save for a few months lay before the Whigs—years of crowded legislation. Their first great Act, the Emancipation of Slaves in all British Colonies, was the triumph of Evangelicals of the older school. In home reforms the early ardour of the Commons was seen in a number of enactments, small in themselves, but each one establishing a principle which was to direct the action of the State for the coming century. The new influence of the middle class was seen in efforts to free Dissenters and Jews from religious restrictions, and to reform administration of the Established Churches in England and Ireland. When the House of Lords refused to open Oxford and Cambridge, the new-made London University was empowered to grant degrees to men of all creeds. Nonconformists for the first time since 1753 were allowed to celebrate marriages in their own churches. The work thus begun, the essential freeing of the spiritual life of the country from the bondage of political service, and the habit of worldly authority, was carried on through the century. No less honourable was the determination to give to every member of the Commonwealth equal justice and protection of law. A series of enactments secured evidence of competent witnesses on behalf of people accused, and gave all prisoners the right to defence by counsel. Before long the shameful pillory was abolished, with the barbarities of gibbets and common floggings; the death punishment still allowed for thirty-seven crimes was finally restricted to murder; public executions forbidden; and wide improvements made in courts of law to bring their remedies within reach of all. In the first year too the Reform Parliament discovered a dim sense that the State would have to answer for the education of its people—a duty long refused, whether from fear of the populace or from deference to employers and economists: "Men in power," wrote Place, "dread the consequences of teaching the people more than they dread the effect of their ignorance." Now for the first time a State grant was given, a sort of subscription of £20,000 divided between two societies representing the established Church and the dissenting bodies. Later a Board of Education was appointed with £30,000 to distribute among all denominations, including those that used the Roman Catholic Bible, and it was ordered that children should be taught for two hours a week. Even if busy districts with hundreds of thousands of people remained for long years without one school for poor children; even if

only one half of those that were taught could read when they left school, one in four could write, and two per cent. learned a moderate degree of arithmetic; still a principle of State obligation had been established which has never been lost. Factory legislation, revived by Michael Sadler, was forced on the House of Commons by a Committee of which he was chairman, and an Act introduced by Lord Ashley was carried which forbade the work of children under nine, and limited to twelve hours the work of all under eighteen. Through the influence of Edwin Chadwick the Act appointed four travelling inspectors from the Home Office for five years; thus inaugurating the first attempt, regarded as purely experimental and temporary, to establish the new and vital principle of central control. The zeal of the inspectors won for children some effective protection, the beginning of new hope. But this Act is further remembered as the opening of a controversy which was to fill the century. All economists of that day maintained the right of every Englishman to do his own business without any meddling, aid, or hindrance; so that the manufacturer should suffer from no ominous interference of the State; and that the worker should make his bargain as a free man, looking not to parliament but to his own manhood for success. There were others living closer to the poor, who saw in the "freedom" offered to an enslaved and famishing people a thing of words and delusion. Lord Ashley (better known as Lord Shaftesbury from 1851) in pity for the suffering, and overwhelmed by the magnitude of the despair he witnessed, became the impassioned apostle of the interference of the State. "Let your laws, we say to the Parliament, assume the proper function of law; protect those for whom neither wealth, nor station, nor age, has raised a bulwark against Tyranny." When the government sought to lower the age of protection, urging that children of twelve should be allowed to judge for themselves like their elders, and that sixty-nine hours of work a week would do them no harm, Ashley scornfully demanded why a Parliament which condemned slave labour and allowed no adult negro to work more than forty-five hours a week, should fling back into slavery children of the British Empire. His Factory Act marked the beginning of the battle between the Individualists taught by Bentham, and the State Socialists who held that every citizen of the State should of right claim the protection of the whole nation through its Government.

This year in fact may be taken as the starting-point of a new age. The Parliament, fresh from the amazing impulse of the country, breathed a spirit of liberty and justice. However timid and insignificant the first measures were, they heralded a time of brave thought and endeavour. The Poor Law of the next year, as it was a more ambitious effort, so it revealed more clearly the virtues and the

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vices of the legislators. Here too, as in the Factory Act, they set up a central control over local officials for the first time since 1640, cautiously proposed in an experiment for five years. They laid down principles of administration both original and beneficent—grouping the small and inadequate parishes into the larger union, and creating a new salaried class of officials wholly occupied in public work instead of the old voluntary guardians and overseers. On the other hand the theory and method of relief, in which the working-classes had no voice, only deepened their sufferings. The views of economists who then ruled opinion were bounded by certain fixed theories which, amid the bewildering changes of their time, they believed themselves to have discovered. They were obsessed with the fear that population would increase beyond the means of subsistence. They averred that wages, if not interfered with, obeyed natural “laws” which would not allow them to sink below the minimum of subsistence, nor to rise beyond what the trade of the country could fairly bear, but would fairly adjust their level according to the price of corn. They could allow no limitation or exception to their doctrine that economic success depended on the personal freedom of action of every individual, and the unaided efforts of his own capacity. On these principles it was held injurious to give poor relief save with the utmost parsimony, in cases of imminent starvation, and under conditions so harsh as to deter all but the despairing and desperate. Outdoor relief was ended, and pauperising doles of corn in aid of low wages. The labourer was thus enabled to move about more freely in search of work. His freedom was but nominal. Wages did not rise because doles were taken away, and when corn was over sixty shillings a quarter the people starved as before for lack of bread. Workhouses were multiplied, more forbidding and terrible than the gaol. It seemed to doctrinaires good business to combine the principles of economy and representation, by giving to those who held rateable property votes for the Board of Guardians in proportion to their rates, with the result that the first care of the Guardians was directed, as was said, not to the poor but to the poor-rates. The labourer met the harsh administration of the Poor Law with savage revolt, and a bitter class hatred which left a long legacy of evil. There was wild rick-burning in the country, and repression by authority as cruel as of old.

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A work less marred by error was the Municipal Reform Act—the great grant of local self-government, which was practically to end the long civic struggle by which the English towns had won their way, with many a failure and backsliding, from serfage to independence and social freedom. The measure was immensely more democratic than the Reform Act of three years before ; it doubtless seemed less formidable to entrust the local concerns of a borough to the people

than to allow them entry into affairs of State. Old outworn privileges and cherished monopolies were swept away, as merchant guilds and 'trade corporations disappeared before the new incorporated body of the burgesses, the general association of the householders, whose concern was to promote the common interests of all the inhabitants. Both the representative Councils elected by household suffrage for the common business, and the town officials, were now considered the servants of the ratepayers; so much so that a borough treasurer is legally bound to disregard even an order of the council to appropriate moneys out of the borough fund, unless the appropriation is authorised by the municipal laws and the constitution of the borough. It was many years before the new powers were fully used. We can only view with consternation the long agony of a few brave heroes such as Edwin Chadwick and Lord Shaftesbury struggling with indomitable faith against apathy, prejudice, and administrative difficulties, in their fight with pestilence and mortality, with ignorance and cruelty. A bill for ventilation, drainage, and building in the poor quarters of the towns was refused by Government, and there was scarcely an effort for housing the poor. But hope broadened for workers in the enfranchised towns. Municipalities, vying with one another in local zeal, began from the middle of the century to provide for the citizens water, light, paving, houses, libraries, transit, medical care, and to concentrate under democratic control the means of health and of education.

The impulse and inspiration of reform had so far sustained the Whigs. But their betrayal of the working-men brought its sure consequence, blunting their own sense of justice and honour, and destroying their good fame in the country. In two years the Liberal majority fell from 314 to 107. Meanwhile Sir Robert Peel rallied the moderate Tories under the new name of "Conservatives," first indicated by Canning and gradually coming into use: and led them towards a "middle-class Toryism," with a careful finance, an efficient machinery of government against popular agitation, and proposals for cautious amendment of such abuses as threatened danger to Church or State. In a series of weak Governments Whigs and moderate Tories or Conservatives were scarcely to be distinguished: both alike distrusted popular institutions, and greatly feared Radical agitation. The Reform Act of the upper classes proved to be no settlement, and for the next thirty years every popular association moved with fixed purpose to the one end—the bringing of the people within the constitution of their country. When Cobbett in 1818 roused the poor to the need of the vote there were 57,000 workers in the cotton factories; in 1839 there were 469,000, more crowded than ever, flung aside by the Reform bill. The artisans in fierce discontent and sullen anger drew apart. Henceforth, their leaders cried, they need

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trials for sedition, conspiracy, or treason showed the temper of the government, the misery of the people, and the fast-widening separation between the democracy outside Parliament and the Whig ministry within it. By experience the workers had learned how newly-enfranchised classes, busied in redressing their own grievances, could silence the cry of those outside. Henceforth Chartists, Anti-Corn Law Leaguers, Trade Unionists, Co-operators, Factory Reformers—under whatever name the working-classes were grouped—inevitably ranged themselves as so many regiments in the great army that demanded the emancipation of the people.

In the next decade every one of these associations was drawn into the battle. Lord John Russell, now leader of the House, that ardent reformer to whose incessant work the country owed the Reform Act, the Bill for municipal reform, the repeal of tests, much softening of the penal laws and religious disabilities, and the stirring of education—who in the House of Commons was for more than ten years Peel's chief antagonist, and for more than twenty years the dominant force in the Whig party—held that the Reform of 1832 was final, and the Constitution once more complete. In that same year the Chartists, led by Feargus O'Connor, flung themselves into the political struggle: "we will avenge ourselves on the Whigs," was the cry. The betrayal of Reform, the hated Poor Law, the severity of hunger in a falling trade, united radicals, socialists, trade unionists, and the considerable women's suffrage clubs, in a pledge to put aside all other questions till they had won the vote. When Peel's opposition to Factory Acts robbed the working-classes of all hope from the Conservatives, they saw no remedy for their distress save through the political movement of Chartism. The *Charter*, as O'Connell named it, demanded six points—vote by ballot; abolition of property qualification for a member of Parliament; payment of members; manhood suffrage; the division of the country into equal electoral districts; and annual elections. Peaceful meetings, monster petitions to Parliament (whose importance fraudulent signatures could not wholly destroy), a paper to urge their cause, by such means the constitutional Chartists hoped to persuade the Government, while through temperance societies and popular universities the people were to become their own regenerators and win for themselves true liberty. Another section, desperate from excessive poverty, turned to revolution and physical force. The ruling orders simply classed the whole of them together as infidel Communists, bent on destroying the throne, the Church, and the family: "Two great demons in morals and politics, Socialism and Chartism, are stalking through the land," lamented Lord Shaftesbury. Themselves weakened by divided counsels, ill-compacted under doubtful leaders, the Chartists were confronted with a highly developed military administration, with barracks ranged through the industrial districts,

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and with a newly created and well drilled police force. The Government, after all sections of the Chartists had been goaded into violence by the harsh imprisonment of their most pious and high-minded leaders, repressed them with cruel severity.

Their effort crumbled away, to awaken once more in 1848—a recrudescence due to distress at home and to contagion of Continental revolutions. The suffering of the poor had reached its extreme point when the last Chartist convention met in London, and as one after another rose to recount the intolerable misery of the people the Chartists again, after many trials and errors, renewed the passion and ardour of their earlier days. Their procession to carry a petition to Parliament failed before the military precautions of the Duke of Wellington and the London police. Chartism disappeared as the crowd turned hopelessly away. But its work had not been in vain. Ten years of struggle had revealed the growth of a new class, and united the workers as they had never before been united by common effort and endurance. Their word, too, had gone out beyond England, carried by Karl Marx, who had watched the preparations for the last convention: the Chartists of England, he said, were the real democrats, and by winning their six points they would open the way of liberty to the universe.

The Chartists in fact had been pushed aside by another upheaval of the people in these same years—the resounding conflict of the industrial classes against the landed proprietors and their corn laws. The fields of England could no longer provide bread for the crowded multitudes of the famished cities. Population was increasing by some 2,000,000 in every decade, and the mass of the people were living on barley and potatoes. Cobden declared that more goods were exported to Brazil in one year than were consumed by the whole agricultural peasantry in England. A series of bad seasons from 1837 brought general ruin; while wages were falling the price of food was mounting: and the increase by 1840 was put down at £36,000,000 a year, which was chiefly borne by the poor. Meanwhile the value of exports was less in 1830-34 than it had been in 1816-20, and with the decline of commerce the manufacturers' trade was dying. The Corn Laws, imposed by the landed class in 1815 and 1825, were denounced by the industrial leaders as the cause of the general ruin, of capital without profit and labour without wages. Richard Cobden, son of a farmer who had been ruined in the agricultural disasters of 1814, joined the Anti-Corn-Law League, with John Bright, a Quaker manufacturer of Rochdale. The two missionaries carried far and wide their burning message of Free Trade. They moved in a storm of political controversy. In their campaign organisation was given to classes hitherto unheard in the national councils: the gathering of seven

hundred representatives of the Nonconformist clergy was to the *Times* a "freak and drollery." Before this time politicians seldom spoke outside the House except on the hustings at elections, and members never appeared outside their own constituencies, but Cobden, who entered Parliament in 1841, and Bright in 1843, gave their finest powers to addressing mass meetings, where the people gathered in multitudes to find a political education which was not less important than the Chartist movement in preparing a new democracy and a new Reform bill. They called employers and employed to unite for the first time in a common interest. "The people of England," Cobden insisted, were "not the country party, but the people who live in towns, and will govern this country." Languishing industries, growing poverty, the needs of the hungry and the dying, the redemption of the labourer, the profit of the manufacturer, the wealth of oversea trade, the lifting of the people from feudal bondage into a free nation, the spread of peace and good will among all countries, arguments of business, aspiration, and philanthropy, met in the rich appeal of the Free Traders. The Chartists retorted that cheap bread would be cheap labour, that over-production brought uncertainty of wage, that the Whigs had already given them the Poor Law, sent their children to death in factories, cast their leaders into prison, and left them still burdened by a debt of £800,000,000, a load of pensions, an established church, hosts of officials and salaries, army and navy, local taxes, and landlordism. The impassioned answer was ready: "That which is the greatest enemy of the remorseless aristocracy of Britain must also of necessity be your greatest friend," cried Bright. A tenth of the people were in fact paupers, with poor relief at £7,000,000 a year. Distress as of old brought riots and a reign of terror; in one gaol alone 500 prisoners were tried by special commissioners.

During eight years of power the Whigs, deplorably ignorant of finance and economics, had piled up taxation without revision, only to increase year by year the deficit in their budgets. Sir Robert Peel returning to office once more took up the work he had begun in 1819; strengthened the revenue by relief of taxation, and restored the income tax abolished in 1816. To revive commerce and cheapen living he abated or repealed duties on 769 articles. But the duty on corn, by which the landed gentry had protected agriculture in 1816, was only slightly modified. The landed interest was powerful and party ties were strong. But as proof accumulated that the wages of labour did not vary with the price of corn, and that disorder followed starvation, Peel's opposition weakened. He measured the force and direction of the rising popular gale: and the approach of the Irish Famine became the occasion to overcome the force of old theories and associations. From the Tory benches he proposed a bill to repeal

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the Corn Laws. After a discussion of furious excitement, the division was called at 4 o'clock on a Saturday morning, and Free Trade in corn was carried. Once more, as in 1829, Peel averted a revolution, but it was his last service to his country. In that "sad fierce session" the vengeance of his party threw him from office on the day the Queen gave her assent to the bill.

Thus, after a ten years' fury of battle over the Corn Laws, the country party suffered their second great defeat, as significant as their overthrow in the Reform Bill. The exhaustion of the artisan by sheer hunger was lessened when in the next score of years food to the value of nearly £500,000,000 was brought into the country. New victories awaited them. By the Free Trade triumph, Great Britain was definitely and finally changed from an agricultural country which raised almost all the corn it used into a mainly industrial country fed by foreign wheat. In thirty-three years houses, factories, and warehouses had increased £26,000,000 in annual value. The revolution was quickened by gold discoveries in California and Australia, which raised the production of the world's gold from 5½ millions to over 30 millions; by the railways that linked every corner of England with the sea-ports, and the Cunard steamers that opened a new traffic across the Atlantic. Scientific invention had so multiplied man's powers of production that while the number of the people rose between 1811 and 1900 from 10 to 41 millions the average production was perhaps ten times as great. "What a nation is this!" exclaimed Lord Shaftesbury. "What materials for happiness and power!" It seemed, in the unexampled prosperity of some thirty years, that Great Britain was to become the workshop of the world. Old forces must decline, and the power of the artisan increase. Widespread and lasting combinations were encouraged by the new means of travel. The Act to carry mails by railroad drew together all parts of the country, and made possible the "nonsensical penny postage scheme," as it was called, which was "forced on an unwilling Liberal ministry by the clamour of a nation," and opened to the people unimagined opportunities of intercourse. Trade Unionists stood at the gates of a new world. The English working-men had already astonished Europe by the magnitude of their organisations and mass-meetings. A vital instinct of self-government, changing with each generation, shaping itself to meet successive difficulties, lifted Trade Unionism out of every crisis stronger, more highly organised and disciplined, democratic in a larger sense, and more conscious of its power. Two million workers had already united to throw back a reactionary government bill framed to widen the powers of justices in cases where masters had a dispute with their servants and artificers. But now was the moment of their great enlargement. From this time the Unions ordered

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themselves after a new plan, no longer directed by the old casual and amateur leaders, but by genuine working-men who were paid a salary and specially trained. The Amalgamated Society of Engineers, with 11,000 members, an income of £500 a week, a reserve fund and an admirable financial and administrative system, remained the model of new societies for the next twenty years. When working-men for whom their societies had gained security and good wages could become £10 householders and electors, artisans for the first time touched political power. Trade Unions began to discuss direct labour representation for winning through Parliament better laws, education, and larger opportunities. Parliament itself no longer despised a population which could begin to make itself felt at elections, and the notion prevailed that at least highly skilled artisans might be safely admitted to the vote. Other working-class organisations stood side by side with the Trade Unions, no less admirable in management—the Co-operative Associations. The Stores of the “Rochdale Pioneers,” which according to the law of the time had no legal status, found their sole and sufficient security against fraud and theft in the personal honour of members and officials, and in the spirit of enthusiasm and public service which illuminated the dawning communal life. In a few years hundreds of small Co-operative Societies were formed. Unlike guilds and trade unions of producers the co-operative associations of consumers had no vested interests to protect, and were open to the whole body of citizens. Every man who paid his shilling shared in the advantages and government of this working-class democracy, with its organised hierarchy of artisan committees elected quarter by quarter at open meetings of all the members, on the basis of one member one vote, men and women, whatever their stake, whatever their time of membership; the committee-men in their turn choosing the departmental managers. Not only did these pioneers of self-dependence reveal an amazing capacity for business, but in days when local self-government was little known they carried a new sense of communal life to remote villages and mining districts where the co-operative store was in effect the only school of citizenship—the school where the commonalty was trained in the use of free and deliberate choice, and the elected officers learned the pride of public service. The power of these trained masses of citizens was before long to be shown in the public affairs of the State.

While Trade Unionists and Co-operators, Chartists and Free Traders, were being driven into the conflict for the franchise, the struggle over the factory laws added to all workers a sharper and more poignant resolution. The artisans had neither voice nor influence in the laws which were to carry to them life or death. A demand for legislation to lessen their suffering had risen among

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humane men of all creeds and opinions. Michael Sadler, their chief leader before the Reform Act, was a reactionary, opposed to Emancipation and Reform, a forerunner of Tory and Christian Socialists; Southey, a preacher of Tory philanthropy; Oastler, a land-agent, Churchman, Tory, and Protectionist; with them was Edwin Chadwick once secretary to Bentham; Fielden, a Radical member; and Radical manufacturers and artisans, Anglican clergy, Wesleyan ministers, Quakers, Freethinkers, journalists, all stirred by a common pity. "We are just now," grumbled a spectator, "overrun with philanthropy, and God knows where it will stop or whither it will lead us." In Parliament however the workers had for long years one leading advocate, Lord Shaftesbury. A fervent Tory, an Evangelical of the old school, detesting alike Catholicism and infidelity, Republicanism and Socialism, he stood in the Commons till 1851 in daily conflict with capitalists, economists, mill-owners, doctrinaires, haters of "humanity-mongers," "not having in the House even a bulrush to rest upon"; alone to "attack every interest and one half of mankind" on behalf of the helpless who had neither voice nor influence. Liberals, who were willing to aid in protecting children, were united against any suggestions of State interference with the "liberty" to work of young persons and women. John Bright threatened to turn the key on his mills and throw on the legislators the responsibility of "feeding the millions whom they will not allow us to employ with a profit." Cobden maintained that workers should make their own bargains. Pease of Darlington proposed to close his factory if the labour of young persons was shortened to fifty-eight hours. The whole of the aristocracy held aloof: so did the clergy, "cowed by capital and power," and the evangelicals. Peel as Prime Minister put every obstacle in his way—"all Peel's affinities are towards wealth and capital"; the Home Secretary scoffed at "a Jack Cade legislation"; Gladstone, vice-president of the Board of Trade, never attempted to keep the House together for Shaftesbury, nor gave him a vote, nor said a word in his support. "I neither express or feel despair," Shaftesbury wrote in the darkest days. Of very singular distinction of mind, living in the Divine presence, he freely sacrificed ease, power, social ties, a place in the Cabinet, to the cause of the poor. "Should I deceive them, they will never henceforward believe that there exists a single man of station or fortune who is worthy to be trusted." Long effort was needed to get some relief (which Parliament had for forty years refused) for the "climbing" boys and girls, sometimes five years old or less, stolen, sold, or entrapped as sweeps, driven up narrow tortuous chimneys by wisps of lighted straw to put out fires, lying naked on the soot-heap all the night, and perishing of horrible diseases. He gave twenty-two years of labour on behalf of lunatics chained and starved, to carry a very imperfect lunacy bill; seventeen years to secure laws forbidding

night work. Partial attention had been awakened in those years, he said, "to the wants and rights of the poor; to the powers and duties of the rich." "The labour of 300,000 persons has been reduced within reasonable limits, and full 40,000 children under thirteen years of age attend school for three hours every day." But twenty years after the first effective Factory Act, Lord Shaftesbury was still pleading for 1,600,000 operatives shut out from any benefit of legislation: "until they are brought under the protection of the law I cannot take office."

So grudging a progress of Factory Acts, a bitter experience of Poor-law, the complicated strife of conflicting interests, ideals, and opinions, deepened the determination of the workers to redress the wrong done them in 1832. A dozen years of confused strife had brought a strange medley of success and failure: the Individualists had won their chief triumph in Free Trade, and the State Socialists their first success in a Factory Act; while in the Chartist failure the democracy was again thrust back from the polls. But in the same year, with the call of Karl Marx for union among the workers of all countries, Socialism began its modern work. Leaving behind the effort to secure reform by establishing separate societies and colonies, it henceforth aimed at renewing the whole social and industrial order by the power of democratic government. Current economic theories taught that men must inevitably choose either relief by legislation of the suffering poor or the welfare of the State, but could not secure both; since the source of all hope, and cure of social misery, must lie in the freedom of individuals liberated from restrictions and left to take their interests into their own hand. These doctrines were now challenged with increasing energy and passion. If the capitalist enjoyed such freedom through the enormous power given him by the industrial changes, against his autocracy Trade Unionists and Socialists were alike battling, whether by combinations of labour, or by State legislation, to recover in some degree freedom of labour for the hired worker—the life-long wage-earner now wholly cut off from any economic interest in the product of his labour. Amid problems transcending experience there was no certainty of guidance, nor any common consent as to remedies for distress. Groups formed and re-formed as friends and foes found themselves in shifting camps and met in strange alliances. John Stuart Mill, the prophet of the new age, was feeling his way to the conviction that since the struggle of individuals must deepen misery, the Commonwealth should provide for the good of all, restraining the power of the strong and shielding the helplessness of the weak, protecting children, controlling contracts, joint-stock companies, railway monopolies, and the like, aiding associations of people united for common benefit, and giving help to public services such

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as scientific expeditions and colonisation. Place on the other hand, in his zeal for free bargaining, would even have left the workmen at the mercy of the employer in the truck system. Both Bright and Cobden denounced Trade Unions; "they are founded upon principles of brutal tyranny and monopoly"; but while Cobden resisted household suffrage, Bright thought it essential to healthy national life. Conservatives such as Peel and Gladstone joined with Radicals like Cobden and Bright to oppose the bill of a Tory Lord Shaftesbury delivering women and children from mines and pits: and united with them again to secure free trade. Radicals and "Christian Socialists" supported Trade Unions, which Liberals condemned as bringing in a new despotism no less ominous, perhaps more formidable, than the tyranny of the State. Shaftesbury, friend of the people, resisted Socialism, the vote, and the ballot, gave a humbler place to Nonconformist ministers of the poor below the Anglican clergy, and opposed State aid in education to the most needy schools where the Roman Catholic Bible was allowed. When Gladstone advocated the opening of the Civil Service to free competition, Bright objected. Toleration was in men's minds, but every separate advance in religious equality—a grant to Maynooth, the election of a Rothschild, the allowing of Roman Catholic bishops in England, roused a new storm of excitement, and was denounced as the disintegration of English character and of the British Empire. Only amid harsh controversy were Nonconformists and Catholics freed by 1854 from most of their political disabilities; Jews admitted to municipal office in 1844, and in 1859 to Parliament; and Universities gradually thrown open in 1854 and 1871.

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and
Wealth
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It was in a world shaken to its depths that the first International Exhibition opened, marking the mid-way of the century. Englishmen hailed it as a pledge that free trade would appease the discord of nations, and endow their country with unbroken prosperity. They recognised with pride that English Liberalism had become the hope and model of the Continent. In England Cavour learnt his political lessons for Italy. From England Karl Marx took his ideas. Prussia recognised the better organisation of English labour by her system of protection, and had adopted for her workers the very factory law which Peel rejected. But the "Great Exhibition," inaugurated with such high hopes, was in fact to mark the end of the long peace, and the close of the legislative work of the reformed Parliament. After battles won and lost, there had come a pause with the passing of the old world, and the waiting for the new. Sir Robert Peel was dead, and Wellington dying—the leader of the old Toryism and the founder of modern Conservatism. The end of the Whig activity was marked by the resignation of the reformer Lord John Russell; since their refusal to lead the democracy against the peers in the free-trade

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campaign, power had passed from the Whigs, and no leader of Cabinets rose out of their decline. For ten years of slow transition the country was ruled by the last representative of the older world. Lord Palmerston had entered Parliament in 1806, and held office under the Tories from 1809 to 1828, when he became leader of the Canningites. He was adored by the mob for his love of sport, his reputation for liberalism, and the position he maintained on the Continent as the advocate of freedom and defender of rising nationalities. But to reformers at home he seemed, with no distinct policy or lofty teaching, a cynical degrader of public life. The young men growing up around him were held back by his "repressive force." No other chief, Bright declared, would again be found to keep as many people quiet as Lord Palmerston had been able to do. His traditions came from an age of immobility when the Parliamentary record was monotonously blank. In later times the statute-book had come to contain more new laws yearly than that of any other country : but under Lord Palmerston's rule the stir of legislation ceased. The House of Lords was known as the "dormitory." It acted as the mere registration office for the decrees of a House of Commons from which it had nothing to fear. Meetings no longer assembled to call for redress of grievances : "there is no worse trade than agitation at this time," said one. Formal Bills to enfranchise a few skilled artisans were from time to time brought in and dismissed with equal indifference. When Bright pleaded for household suffrage he compared his labours to flogging a dead horse. "We live in anti-reforming times," said Gladstone. No doubt the perils of the Crimean War and the Indian Mutiny drew men's attention abroad : but the ten years of political stagnation was perhaps mainly due to the entire absorption of the whole people in commercial and financial questions. With the diffusion of wealth a haste of speculation spread to classes never touched before, and the country was terrified by recurring financial catastrophes—in 1836 from the growing numbers of joint-stock banks unregulated by any public law ; in 1847 from a frenzy of railway speculation ; in 1857 from reckless overtrading abroad ; in 1866 from an outburst of senseless speculation, commercial fraud, and banking incapacity. So great was public alarm that a Select Committee was formed to consider "investments for the savings of the middle and working classes" ; another to examine into the law of partnership on a large scale ; and a Mercantile Law Commission for smaller associations or business firms. Men now began to demand of the State protection for the thrifty, and laws to prevent wrong doing and not simply patch up the consequences when it has been committed. In the interests of the working-classes co-operative associations were granted legal protection ; and after a series of conferences were grouped into general confederations,

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the English and Scottish Wholesale Societies and the Co-operative Union, into which thousands of citizens were gathered up—an army of organised and intelligent workers. The Co-operative Wholesale Society, originated by a little group of artisans who met in Manchester over a “sixpenny tea,” expanded during the next fifty years into a commercial enterprise exceeding any effort of private capitalism in its continuous success. Beginning with 24,000 members, it was in nine years serving 100,000 families; had started its own banking department which has now an annual turnover of nearly £20,000,000, and opened a boot factory with a present annual manufacture of nearly £8,000,000. It now manages five of the largest flour mills, and one of the largest tobacco factories; owns agricultural land in England and tea plantations in Ceylon: and is said to buy goods—and this for cash—at the rate of something like a thousand pounds in every minute of the working year. A scheme to protect the savings of the poor was inaugurated by Gladstone in the Post-Office Savings Banks, in which a fifth of the whole population now invest their economies: he also made it for the first time possible for the working-classes to acquire small annuities without risk of fraud or bankruptcy. The creation of Limited Liability Companies, instead of the old joint-stock companies and banking associations, was so effectually carried out by a series of Acts that the laid up capital of these Companies under the Act of 1862 increased to 307 millions by 1877, and by the end of the century to over 2,000 millions. The whole Company law was amended. The new notion that law should not only punish fraud but protect the public was seen in the Bankruptcy Act, which for the first time treated the merchant prince who fell into debt on the same terms as the small trader. With these innovations a silent reconstruction of society began. Wealth which had once gone to a score of men was diffused among hundreds of thousands, to the increase of small incomes, and the general rise of moderate comfort. The limiting of liability, which enabled individuals to trade without exposing all their property to the risk of loss, opened new opportunities for middle class business and investment. Year by year a larger number of men became practically traders, and as shareholders in companies had their part in the profits of the vast industrial and commercial activity of the country. Through the working of the limited liability system large shops replaced the smaller independent tradesmen. An immense army of men passed from a life of competition, risk, and independent private venture, into the new multitude of salaried clerks and officials of large companies and business firms—a class now so vast in numbers (with the addition of those in public employment) as to give a new tone to national character and policy.

These years were indeed full of significance. By the genius of

Gladstone the whole of public finance and account-keeping was revised, while the nation was called to a graver concern in the conduct of public business. Opening an attack on the system of political patronage and family influences under which the Civil Service had become a secure asylum for those debarred by incompetence from all other professions, he urged the throwing open of appointments to competition and promotion by merit—a revolution of the first importance for the public welfare, which was slowly carried out against powerful opposition. Reforms of taxation and finance begun by Peel were developed in the astonishing series of budgets which revealed Gladstone as the greatest financier in English history, and which by completing free trade, by lightening the burdens of taxation, and by giving a powerful stimulus to commerce, won for him the devotion of the merchants, of the severely-taxed ten-pound householders who had no power to protect themselves financially, and of the unrepresented working-men. Another searching reform followed. A Bill to rescind the paper duties, and thus make possible a cheap press for the people, was rejected by the Lords. Such a claim to “a revising power over the House of Commons in its most vital function” of finance was to Gladstone a “gigantic innovation on the constitution,” a very “quarrel of the Lords with the nation.” In spite of Palmerston’s strong opposition he asserted the authority of the Commons by a new practice of combining the financial measures of the year in a single Bill; and the paper duties were abolished. But the privileges of the House were from this time to be balanced by its obligations. Till now there had been no exact accounts of expenditure laid before the Commons, no serious examination of them, and no security for the orderly administration of finance. A real control was now established by the creation of a Committee of the House of Commons—the Committee of Public Accounts—and the appointment of a great Parliamentary official independent of the Government—the Comptroller and Auditor-General—who were charged to inspect and report to the House on past expenditure of every State department, to scrutinise the propriety of payments made out of parliamentary grants, and to call to account any official concerned in misappropriation. In this manner an effective power over finance, and the responsibility of Ministers and their officers to the House of Commons, was for the first time demanded and achieved.

“The English are a nation of shopkeepers” was the taunt of Napoleon I. In their intense concentration on business, no dim prevision of the advent of democracy now disturbed the commercial mind. Whigs and Tories were alike satisfied with the constitutional equilibrium which they had set up. “The working classes contribute almost nothing to our corporate public opinion,” Bagehot noted. The

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electors, awed by the great proprietors and capitalists, had proved "deferential. They have deferred to their representatives." The balance of the constitution seemed again fixed, and there was once more a complacent sense of security. "The great ends of freedom," wrote Erskine May, "have been attained, in an enlightened and responsible rule, approved by the judgment of the governed. The constitution, having worked out the aims, and promoted the just interests of society, has gained upon democracy." Suddenly from the gathering clouds fire fell and ran along the ground, consuming the stubble, preparing for a harvest to come. The voice of Gladstone called with its lofty utterance to the new society that unnoticed had been slowly taking form over the land. With the death of Palmerston the bands were loosed, and the old system crumbled into dust. "There is not a brick of the Palmerston house standing," men said astonished.

A world in fact had arisen which was not as the old world—a world changed in spirit and outlook. Faith in unlimited competition weakened as one trade after another passed from the management of private persons into that of corporate bodies created and regulated by the Government. The new laws of partnership under keeping and control of the State; the recognition of workingmen's associations and co-operative societies for the common advantage; the grant of monopolies to special bodies (as for example railway companies) under vigilant public control; the authority given to municipal corporations to replace the slow and painful efforts of individuals by communal services paid for out of the public property or general taxes, voted by the people themselves, and aided by State loans—such changes as these turned thought in a new direction. The Benthamite idea of a Government concerned only to abolish restriction sank out of sight, and a new socialistic vision arose of a State actively charged with securing the public good. How rapid was the change we may see in Mill's apology for speaking of the "labouring classes." Deeply influenced in turn by the Utilitarians and Individualists of the first half of the century and by the rising Socialism of its close, holding the Liberal doctrine of the uses of competition to force men to activity and intelligence, with the Socialists he forecast a time when industrial life would take new forms, when there would be no more "labouring classes," since all classes must in the end labour, and the produce of work be divided by consent; when the bitterness of strife between employers and employed parted into hostile camps should no longer endure. Already democracy was at the door. "The poor have come out of leading strings, and cannot any longer be governed or treated like children. To their own qualities must now be commended the care of their destiny." So wrote John Stuart Mill, standing between the old world and the new. Two leaders stood

ready for the duel of giants which was to absorb the next generation. "Genius better is than birth," was the refrain of later Tyneside workers when Gladstone came among them in his triumph as leader of the people. For the first time in English history the heads of the two parties were men born outside the old governing caste, William Gladstone, of Scotch descent, the son of a West Indian merchant, Benjamin Disraeli son of a Jewish man of letters. Their rivalry, begun five years after Gladstone's election to the first reformed Parliament, at the entry of Disraeli to the first parliament of Queen Victoria, was pursued when Disraeli as Chancellor of the Exchequer framed his budget, and Gladstone the next year produced his own from the same place; across the contest in successive years of their rival Reform bills; and to the rise within a year of the two leaders to the place of Prime Minister. Each of the new statesmen was destined, forsaking his early allies, to re-organize and lead the opposite party; for now again, as in the days of Canning and Peel, older groups were disintegrating under the rise of a new social force—the organized working-classes—and Tories and Whigs, who at the first Reform bill had united to keep the wage-earners at bay, became as the second reform drew near rivals for popular support. Gladstone, a Conservative follower of Peel, had supported coercion, defended the corn-law, maintained sinecures in army and navy, resisted religious equality, opposed the ballot and every effort to broaden the popular control of Parliament, refused lightening of the window tax, and abolition of flogging in the army. Like his master he was swept from his old bearings by the rising tide of passion in the people, but more than Peel by the ardour of his own nature—a statesman in whom the spirit of improvement was incarnate, said Mill; who did not wait to be pressed or driven, but sought out what might be bettered. A high Anglican, he boasted of Nonconformist ancestors, and drew the Dissenters into the movements of national life; the "old, old Whigs" were induced by his amazing authority of intellect and character to enter with the Radicals into untried paths of reform; business men admired him for his public thrift and his creed of peace and retrenchment as against ostentation of military adventure; by his generous hopes for mankind he stirred deeply the hearts of the multitude, and new life was kindled in minds long arid as with his fervid energy, his glowing intelligence, his voice so rich in cadences, he pictured the spiritual destinies of England, the august spectacle of a nation called to the great and responsible duty of pronouncing a verdict on governments, the consecration of the weak things of the world to war on injustice in high places. Such a strain of moral and religious emotion was entirely distasteful to his rival, Benjamin Disraeli. Of devouring ambition ("We come here for fame," he cried to Bright), a cynical opportunist, his adventurous spirit could have feared no bold

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Second Reform Act 1866	<p>No sooner was Palmerston dead than Gladstone, Chancellor of the Exchequer under Lord Russell, advanced a Reform bill. "Every man," he had already said, "who is not presumably incapacitated by some consideration of personal unfitness or of political danger is morally entitled to come within the pale of the Constitution": but though the cautious compromise he proposed left out more than four millions of working-men, and would have given to the wage-earning class, three-fourths of the whole population, only one-fourth of the electoral power in the boroughs and scarcely any in the counties, yet a timid Liberal parliament rejected even this meagre bill. A Tory government was formed by Lord Derby with Disraeli as his Chancellor of the Exchequer. Now it was that the artisans showed the strength they had built up in years of organization. The cotton famine of the American war had brought its harsh reminder of what workers might suffer under a Poor Law imposed by the upper classes alone. The importance of the vote for the working-man was newly demonstrated when a decision in the courts of law</p>	
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revealed that there was no reality in their legal status and protection for their funds which the Trade Unions supposed to have been won. Mill was teaching them that whatever might be the benevolence of Parliament the views of the working-man himself must be heard there, and must influence legislation. Bright reiterated the cry of Cobbett fifty years before. "If," he told the people, "a class has failed, let us try the nation." "The nation in every country are the dwellers in the cottages." The London Trade Societies marched through the capital. Mass meetings of working-men stirred tremendous agitation in the country and provincial towns; trade unions and co-operative societies paraded in their ordered ranks before Bright—a serried army to win enfranchisement. The failure of the Chartists twenty years before had turned to triumph. Disraeli, bending to necessity, or hoping to secure the working-men for the Tories as against the Benthamites, after many strange shiftings finally passed in a Parliament that showed more surprise than pleasure the most sweeping and radical Reform Bill that had ever been proposed—to add over a million voters from the great body of artisans in the towns. At the next election the new voters lifted Gladstone to power with a passion of personal popularity such as had not been known in England since the time of William Pitt. He stood to them as the finance minister who had tripled trade with France, as the giver of cheap food, the friend and defender of the common people, the minister of peace, the preacher of piety and righteousness. The cynicism of Palmerston was changed to an exaltation of enthusiasm as massed crowds heard the rallying battle-cry of Gladstone to virtue and civil duty, to a high place in the great affairs of nations, to the unbounded hope of the future; as they listened to the wrath of the prophet denouncing injustice; and bent awed before the noble music of his voice, and the commanding power of his gesture. Old antagonisms, he declared, were henceforth submerged in the new revelation of the State, in the latter-day confidence of the working-man in the law, in parliament, even in the executive government. All lovers of freedom in England, Wales, Scotland, or Ireland were to be called into the new fellowship of liberty, in a union of free will instead of the bondage of political subjection.

The story of 1833 was repeated in 1868. "The new voters," men complained, "have returned the old kinds of men," men who could spend vast sums on elections, sons of great families—not a single member of extreme democratic views among them. And yet, as in 1833, all was changed. Both Tories and Whigs stood "exceedingly afraid of the ignorant multitude of the new constituencies," whose combination might make them supreme in the country—a supremacy of ignorance over instruction and of numbers over knowledge. And

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in fact the great Whig families, who had led the Liberals for thirty-four years, saw their reign at an end. For the first time there was an altered social tone in the House, with the election of a troop of able young men not necessarily aristocrats. New boroughs sent Liberal members. The Scotch elected forty-six Liberals to seven Conservatives—a people, said Bright, perfectly instructed on the working man's questions, "the people who should have repeal of the Union, for that if they were separate from England they might have a government wholly popular and intelligent to a degree which, I believe, does not exist in any other country on the face of the earth." "The working classes," Lord Shaftesbury noted, "have become patrons instead of clients, and they both can and do fight their own battles." In 1869 John Bright entered the Cabinet, the first Nonconformist there, and the first nominee of the working-men; in 1870 the first working-man sat on a Royal Commission; in 1874 the first labour member was elected to the House of Commons; in 1875 Trade Union officials were called to sit on School Boards, and working-men were appointed Factory inspectors in 1882. But the pressure of the rising democracy had more profound results than these. Since the first Reform Act ministers had been chosen, not by royal influence, but by the House of Commons; after the second Reform Act, by a new development, the Prime Minister was understood on both sides to be the "elect of the nation." Disraeli admitted the direct verdict of the people when, beaten at the polls, he resigned without meeting Parliament. At the same time, as the power of the Crown lessened and the power of the House increased, the Ministers were bound in a closer discipline than of old. Queen Victoria had been taught to look on the Cabinet as the ministers not of Parliament but of the sovereign, and to regard the defeat of a minister as an "affront to the Crown," and a dissolution as a personal exercise of royal power. Under that older system Earl Grey in 1829 contended that a minister brought in a Bill merely as an ordinary member, and that the failure of such a Bill could not therefore decide the fate of the Government; and there were later cases when the Ministry was changed without any dissolution of Parliament, and when a Prime Minister ruled without a majority in the House. The Premiers however had steadily won the right to claim a dissolution not only against a hostile House of Commons but against an obstructive House of Lords. Through the assertion that Ministers acted, not from the sovereign's permission but by the will of the people, and by the strict enforcing of the authority of the House, the Cabinet was compacted into a body united in responsibility.

The new reformed Parliament recalled the unfulfilled pledges of 1833. A motion to repeal the Corn Laws had been defeated in 1834; the last remnant of duty, the shilling on every quarter of wheat, was now abolished. England was still behind every other great

country in the world, with two million of her children, two-thirds of the whole, left outside the schools; under a paid Minister of Education (1856), a scheme of national and compulsory education was now set up. Competitive examination for the Civil Service was established by Order in Council. A Local Government Board was set up charged with care of the public health and control of the Poor Law system. The sole influence of the aristocracy in the army was checked by abolishing the purchase of commissions and bringing the military force under the undivided control of the House of Commons. After years of conflict religious tests were abolished for students enjoying the privileges of Oxford and Cambridge; and for the first time a peerage was given to a Jew, and for the first time in living memory to a Roman Catholic. The Ballot Act finally closed the burning controversy by which throughout the century the people had been vainly demanding protection for those whose daily bread might depend on the secrecy of their vote: "the desire to conceal votes is a bad sign of the times," was the old answer: "it would destroy their character as Englishmen," and turn them into pitiful figures, ashamed to confess their political creed, "sneaking up to the ballot-box." A long series of reforms to end the extravagance, the inequality, and the delays of the law, were consummated by the Judicature Act, the constitution of a High Court of Justice, and a Supreme Court of Criminal Appeal.

But amid these changes, carrying out old pledges, two new Acts stood out—the Irish Church Act and the Irish Land Act. They marked a new stage in the controversy of Ireland with England. The disestablishment of the Irish Church, the Church of the minority and the ascendancy, sounded the doom of the old political theory (carefully preserved in 1833) of ecclesiastical authority as a necessary adjunct of the secular government of the State. A struggle with the Upper Chamber, which had already opened with the University Tests bill of 1866, was renewed with more intense animosity. "Never," writes Lord Morley, "was the political system more strained" than in the sharpness of the conflict with the Lords, who only yielded when the danger became acute. The Land Act, by which Gladstone boldly sought to assure to Irish tenants the Ulster tenant right, opened a controversy yet more prolonged and violent. "Tenant-right is landlord-wrong," Palmerston had exclaimed amid the cheers of a House mainly composed of landlords; but the first Irish Land Act was the death-knell of the landlord monopoly not only in Ireland but in England. Since the transportation of the Dorsetshire labourers in 1834 agricultural workers in England had known no change in their state; once more, led by Joseph Arch, a labourer and Methodist preacher, they began to form unions, asking sixteen shillings a week and an eleven hours day, and in a

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year had gathered nearly a hundred thousand members, meeting often by moonlight, facing dangers and sacrifices and universal opposition.

Energy of reform was followed, as in 1835, by quick reaction ; and the Trade Unionists felt their own special claims neglected. The party reconstructed by Disraeli triumphed in the first Parliament of the twelve since the Reform Act that remained Tory from beginning to end. Two years before he had proclaimed the new mission of Toryism : "the maintenance of our institutions, the preservation of our empire, and the improvement of the condition of the people." To use a phrase of the time, "All social questions had now advanced into regions of Imperialism." But his party was not yet one for revolutionary adventure. For Ireland there was the usual Coercion Act. The iniquity of "climbing children" was ended, after an agitation of a hundred and fifteen years. A Factory Bill for the health of women was added to a series of statutes which had gradually brought 2,500,000 workers under the protection of law. To the Trade Unions who had won his election Disraeli granted two Acts—one of which made the employer and the workman equal parties in a civil contract, while the other gave legal recognition to the function of Trade Unionism and to collective bargaining and peaceful picketing. Thus was ended the long conflict begun in 1824-5 to free Trade Unions from the law of conspiracy and its penalties. For the farmers there was an Act of Compensation for improvements, provided the landlord consented to come under the Act—a perfectly ineffectual measure. From social questions Disraeli rapidly turned to measures less contentious for his party—"the preservation of our Empire." He met the fears of manufacturers, alarmed at the competition of other lands which through their arts and arms, enterprise and wealth, skill, industry and freedom, might threaten the pre-eminence of England, by schemes of Imperial consolidation, an imperial tariff, imperial representation, an imperial military code of defence. Through Colonial expansion, and the pressure, not to say ascendancy of England in the councils of Europe, the glory of Elizabethan days was to be revived. A spirited foreign policy was to show the Continent that nothing could be done there without the authority of England. The purchase of the Suez Canal shares for four million pounds indicated a new departure. The next year England was magnified as an "Asiatic Power," and an "Oriental Empire" by giving to the Queen the title of "Empress of India" ; and Disraeli as Lord Beaconsfield entered the House of Lords.

Thus the modern Imperialism, as defined by the Tory Minister's glowing imagination and his dazzling vision of the imperial destiny of the island of Great Britain over the broad earth and in command of every ocean, went out over the country to become a new creed

of popular enthusiasm, and an all-important force in directing the course of English history in our time. Radicals and Socialists on the other hand contended that only by internal reform could England hold a high and secure place among the nations. They demanded that the people, lifted above destitution, should have the independence of free men, knowledge to use their liberty, and power to enforce their will. The whole country rang with the public controversy. "What was outside Parliament," Gladstone observed, "had mounted to an importance far exceeding what was inside." New weapons of war were forged. Mr. Joseph Chamberlain, the ardent leader of the Radical reformers, found in Birmingham material waiting for his shrewd business capacity. A new town of small masters and unorganized labour, without tradition of wealthy manufacturers, without effective Trade Unions, it was a society which he could exactly "hammer and mould into an electoral instrument at once more pliable and more dependable than any ever controlled by the borough-mongers of the eighteenth century." The Liberals of Birmingham were ranged under a rigid discipline, in which every candidate pledged himself to abide by the decision of the "caucus," as Lord Beaconsfield called it; every symptom of revolt was suppressed, and individual opinion subdued to an ordered plan of conflict. The "Birmingham plan" of Mr. Chamberlain's ingenious and despotic mind was extended to other towns: on his election to Parliament he grouped these associations into a National Liberal Federation with a central Council, and thus stood at the head of a democracy united for battle. While the caucus suppressed individual opinion among the voters, candidates for election were forced by the mere size of the new constituencies to accept submissively the authorized party programme as the only means of gaining a common consent. The Tories, overthrown in a general election by Mr. Chamberlain's driving force, copied in their turn the "Birmingham plan," when Lord Randolph Churchill as leader of the "Tory Democracy" formed a federation of Conservative Associations. In the passion of public debate both agitators called on the voters outside to support them by their drilled organizations in forcing on popular reform against the opposition of slower-moving leaders of their own parties within the House. Interest shifted from the House of Commons to the electors themselves, and the public quickly learned that for a political champion success in the country was more needful than success in the House itself. In former times no minister ever made important announcements outside the House, or laid proposals for legislation before electors devoid of any share in the initiation of laws; and as late as 1886 Queen Victoria objected to a Minister speaking outside his own constituency as tending to popular agitation. But the new classes that had entered political life were no longer to be shepherded

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<p>SEC. I.</p> <p>THE SOCIAL REVOLU- TION</p> <p>1815 TO 1814</p> <p>1879</p>	<p>behind such barriers. Gladstone, who on a public platform had announced to an astonished nation his intention of carrying his Reform bill (1866), and had amazed the country by speeches defining a popular budget (1874) not yet introduced into the House of Commons, now led the first campaign among the masses which had ever been undertaken by any leader of the government. It was in this "Midlothian campaign," "a romance of politics," as Gladstone called it, that in deep winter snow the old man of seventy, preparing for his twelfth election, moved in triumphant progress, and with an unexampled fervour of oratory called on serried masses of weavers, miners, artizans, farmers, to weigh their obligations in foreign affairs and home policy. Tories denounced this passionate pilgrimage of democracy as "an innovation on the constitution," "a positive danger to the commonwealth." But henceforth neither party could live save by direct appeal to the people. The Marquis of Salisbury himself, as Gladstone wrote to the Queen, "established a rule of what may be called popular agitation" by general public meetings. But all other efforts were surpassed by Gladstone's later processional progresses through England and Scotland in his crusade for the Home Rule bill, and his assertion to the Queen of his right to "the use of any means requisite in order to place (what he thinks) the true issue before the country."</p>
<p>1880</p> <p>1886</p> <p>Third Reform Act</p> <p>1880</p>	<p>The Liberal Parliament elected after the stupendous excitement of the Midlothian campaign, and led by the most intrepid reformer that had ever been Prime Minister, opened wide the road along which modern England, the England that we know, was to advance, and hewed out for Ireland a way of hope. For a dozen years, since 1872, Mr. Trevelyan had year by year vainly proposed the enfranchisement of the multitude of householders who lay outside the Parliamentary boroughs. Obstruction was swept aside as the power of Gladstone drove a new Reform bill through the House. In 1832 less than 500,000 voters had been added to the entire constituency of the three countries; and 1,364,000 in 1867-9: but 2,000,000 new voters were now brought in; and yet more remarkable, by the sheer force of Gladstone's fervour, Parliament was persuaded to raise the number of Irish voters from 200,000 to 500,000. The working classes of Great Britain, after a conflict of fifty years, had won the full citizenship denied them in 1832. As for the mass of the Irish people, it was their first admission to representation in the Parliament of the United Kingdom.</p>
<p>1884</p> <p>State Socialism</p> <p>1880-2</p>	<p>1884</p> <p>A sense of imminent change was in the air—the beginning of the effective Socialist movement in England. Henry George had started a new agricultural agitation, and had driven home among tillers of the soil and workers in the towns the Ricardian theory of economic rent and the landlords' appropriation of it in town or country.</p>

Quickened by the teaching of Karl Marx on the industrial revolution, and by the fervour of revivalist leaders, the workers were breaking through years of quiescent Liberalism and moving fast towards a "New Unionism." Trade Unions, once held to be an impenetrable barrier against Socialism, themselves insisted on the power and duty of the State to compel reform. Their Congress accepted Land Nationalisation, and an Eight Hour Day to be enforced by law. Since the first days of factory legislation the world had moved on, and the State was now neither "invoked as a parent nor as a beneficent master ; it is invoked as the agent, aye, as the servant of the people's will." In municipal government the democracy entered on a new range of power. Rapidly gathering into their hands all outlying and scattered remnants of local administration, widening their franchise to the single-room tenant and the independent woman, the towns carried beyond all experience the use of communal property and public taxes for the general benefit. The dream of Robert Owen became a reality. It is calculated that local bodies now administer for the public good, and by the will of the community, property of a capital value not far short of a thousand million sterling ; and that the services organised by the people for themselves and under their own control, whether in voluntary associations of co-operators, or in public bodies of borough and county councils, represent "an annual expenditure of something like two hundred millions sterling, or approximately an eighth of the whole personal expenditure of the United Kingdom." On all sides the principles that had guided the decisions of Parliament for fifty years were discarded. The modern demand was not for the mere abolition of privilege and protection of individual liberty, whether against the State or any form of combination ; it was for the active construction of a new society. Men were shaking themselves free from the old authority of economic doctrine ; Bentham was discredited ; havoc had been made of the teaching of Mill, the autocrat of his own time. But among the contending series of new doctrines sent abroad not one attained a recognised supremacy. Philosophic Liberals, struggling in the midst of economic anarchy, might protest in vain against the growing habit of political experiments, apart from any clear system of thought : "It is futile," wrote Jevons, "to attempt to uphold in regard to social legislation any theory of eternal fixed principles or abstract rights. All is a question of probability and degree." Mr. Chamberlain, then dominated by ideals of a reformed social State, gave to these for the first time the authority of a minister of the Crown, impetuously pouring forth from the Board of Trade one "unauthorized programme" after another—manhood suffrage, no plural voting, payment of members, free education, small holdings, the re-housing of the urban poor, the

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right of the State to take land for public purposes at the lowest market price, a graduated income tax, the breaking up of great estates, the "ransom" of the landed rich who would "neither toil nor spin." England was no longer to be "the purgatory of the poor." Swiftly the revolution spread beyond social reform, to the very foundations of the English constitution. All statesmen from the middle of the eighteenth century down to Palmerston had been agreed on the necessity of hereditary succession to unbroken masses of landed property, so as to protect by extensive agriculture the food of the country, and to maintain by primogeniture the constitution of the kingdom—in other words the position of the landed aristocracy. Half the land of England was in the possession of fewer than a hundred and fifty men, Bright told the people, and half the land of Scotland was held by ten or twelve. So carefully were the means of tying up property favoured that two-thirds of the land of England were said to be in strict settlement. Soon after the first Reform Act Lord Shaftesbury in a visit to Chatsworth had felt intimations of the end of the old order, and in that ultimate magnificence had seen his vision of "probably the last great effort of hereditary wealth, of aristocratical competition with the splendour of kings" and had known that the acquiring of immense properties by primogeniture "has reached the full and is now upon the wane." But under the second Reform Act even economists began to put in question the agricultural value of great estates, and proposed that land should be as freely sold and dispersed as personal property, and that primogeniture and entail should disappear. Moreover, those who denied that primogeniture was the pillar of agricultural prosperity were ultimately to question whether it was the necessary mainstay of the Constitution.

Conflict in fact had begun to harden between the two Houses of Parliament. After the Reform Act the Lords, unable to realise the new strength of the Commons, had sought by strategy to secure their old position and exercise their accustomed powers; but there had been gradual accommodation to the altered conditions. Under Lord Palmerston the Commons, in the absence of any serious strife, were accepted without question as "the depository of power." "The peers act as breakwaters and think as such," Lord Shaftesbury had said. "This is their office and they never rise beyond it." Lords and Commons, fearful that if they had a controversy "the great body of ignorant poor" would be called in to decide between them, long maintained a carefully balanced equilibrium through the family groups which till 1867 practically occupied both Houses. But immediately on Palmerston's death the controversy began which was to culminate forty years later. So long as the two Houses were similar in their essence, taken from the same class of the English gentry of ancient descent, no differences arose between them. The abolition of the old

property qualification had made no real change in the Commons ; and the landed gentry had easily come to terms with the plutocracy. But with the entry of new men carrying into the Lower House a spirit and tradition formed outside the old governing classes, strife became inevitable. The growing temper of the democracy, the revolt of the Commons against "our masters in the other House," found voice in the curt warning flung to the Lords by John Bright : "In harmony with the nation they may go on for a long time, but throwing themselves athwart its course they may meet with accidents not pleasant for them to think of." As the contrast between the Upper and Lower Chambers became more marked, the Lords tended to identify themselves with one party in the State. While conflicts with the Liberals increased, the peers only twice in the course of twenty years carried a vote against Conservatives—in defence of Palmerston in the China war, and in the reluctant consent to the Church Act. In spite of occasions of friction and delay, however, it was of advantage to the country that the House which represented the great body of landed proprietors should, by its separate consent, record their adherence to new measures, and that this powerful interest should thus formally associate itself with the general movement of the people. But the drift of the Lords to a permanent Tory alliance rapidly became a serious constitutional difficulty. At the death of Lord Beaconsfield the leadership of the Tories passed back to an ancient aristocratic house, and their fortunes were for over thirty years shaped by the Marquis of Salisbury and his nephew, Mr. Balfour. The great revising Chamber became, according to Goschen, "a simple Tory club," so that "if the country looks to the peers for their decision, it knows beforehand precisely on the lines of party what that decision will be." When their bitter and prolonged resistance to the Reform Bill was met by Gladstone's ominous threat of "organic changes in the House of Lords," the final conflict of the Houses was clearly shadowed out.

With this Act began the modern history of the United Kingdom. The double force of the two new democracies, English and Irish, was the measure of the coming revolution. Since 1815 the democrats had urged their propaganda. Nowhere else in Europe had they moved such masses of men, nor given such a spectacle of gigantic demonstrations and agitations, nor of such resource in practical organization. But in spite of enormous efforts their progress halted. Slow and partial reforms were grudgingly meted out to them only after repression had driven the populace to the utmost limit of patience. Fifty years of conflict trailed on before the town artizans were partially admitted to the vote ; seventy years before the country folk were recognised as citizens. Seventy years in fact might be taken as the normal time for carrying any popular reform. Emancipation, free trade, household suffrage, the ballot, were won by violent agitation,

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and conceded only when danger had become extreme. The dominant influence in the country was still the old England of the south, the centre of the court, the aristocracy, the law, the established church, a powerful press, high finance, the military forces of the crown, all the social powers of conservatism. This aristocratic England, severed in interests from the industrial population of the north, stood yet more aloof from Scotland, Wales, and Ireland, which had remained distinct by their social organisation, tradition, and religion. The Reform Act of 1884 not only created a new balance of powers, but brought a force into English politics which was to change the order of battle and accelerate the advance. The Celtic race, "the Celtic Fringe," as Lord Salisbury termed it, was reckoned an alien and inferior people. It was this despised race that now appeared to reinforce the English democracy. The Irish brought with them a problem already centuries old—the place allotted to Ireland in the Empire. The fall of three governments in a year marked the energy of their onset, and the confusion with which the new order was ushered in. As the conflict widened the fierce vigour of attack and defence recalled, as in 1832, precedents of the Great Rebellion both in violence of repression and in ardour of liberty.

The Union had left the Protestant landowners in unchecked ascendancy. With all the wealth and prestige that the sole possession of land could give, they were backed by the might of England, whose garrison they were; by the House of Lords, in which the Irish people had not a single advocate: by the House of Commons, to which members were sent at the bidding of landlords who at elections locked their tenants in outhouses and marched them under guards of soldiers to the poll; by the military forces of the crown, always at their call; by the press, which their influence controlled; and by the old English tradition of inveterate hostility to the Irish, flavoured with contempt. A wealthy Established Church was at their bidding, long trained in politics, officered by their sons and nominees. Special laws, unknown in England, to make eviction cheap and rapid, and perpetual coercion-acts (over and above sharp severity of the old English law) were administered by the landed class; who, themselves, their sons and their agents, filled all the posts of judges, magistrates, grand juries, sheriffs, bailiffs, police officers, and officials of all public departments. This unexampled power was used to maintain a land system utterly wasteful of human life and labour, under which four millions of peasants, tenants-at-will, lay in a more abject state of poverty than human nature could be supposed able to bear, rented to starvation point, fed on potatoes, housed in dwellings more wretched than any found by travellers among savages of the Arctic circle or the tribes of Asia; while they watched the fruits of their toil transported over-

sea to absentee landlords in England. Peel's corn-law was no remedy for the hunger of a population that never tasted bread. The free corn which gave cheap loaves to the English only doubled to the Irish the labour-rent for his patch of ground. In a land of abundant harvests, among a laborious people, recurring dearths culminated in the Great Famine, long foreseen and foretold. A million of people lay dead, and that in years when abundant harvest of the corn they had grown was being shipped to England under military guard to pay the rent of the absentees. "Monster evictions" cleared another million from the land. From the thousands of houses that were "tumbled" outcasts fled to the bog or ditch, or to the "coffin ships" that carried them to America. Lamentation and mourning filled the air as the shifting of a whole people began—an incredible funeral procession of a nation turning empty away from its holy places, its language and tradition and culture—a transplantation such as the world had not known since the feats of pagan kings of Assyria and consuls of Rome, and the onrush of Attila the Scourge of God. "The Celts are going, and going with a vengeance," said the *Times*. Ruin waited on the landlord as on the tenant, and the English remedy of an Act for the sale of Encumbered Estates completed the misfortunes of the country. The union of the two countries had brought immediate bankruptcy to Irish finances, and the course of taxation, invariably planned at Westminster to relieve the tax-payer of Great Britain, did as invariably increase the burdens of Ireland, where the conditions were wholly different. With the people flying from the stricken land, the Government added £2,500,000 to the permanent taxation of the country, an increase of 40% in ten years; and a Royal Commission recorded that in Great Britain the revenue raised per head on commodities was about half that raised in 1819, while in Ireland it had doubled. Nor were the taxes as in England spent at home. Three millions a year of Irish money remained in the English exchequer over and above what was spent on Ireland, till in ninety-three years no less than three hundred and twenty-five millions, "an Empire's ransom," had passed over the channel without return. The reign of Queen Victoria, to England a time of vaunted prosperity and progress, was to Ireland an age of unmitigated national disaster only to be compared to the reign of Queen Elizabeth. All forms of popular protest failed in turn. There had been deep religious resignation and fidelity. There were savage outbursts of local violence—cries of maddened suffering and despair which the ruling classes branded as "disloyalty" and "rebellion." Daniel O'Connell, in European opinion the greatest popular orator since Demosthenes, led a political agitation against the infamous system of tithes, the exclusion of Catholics from the vote, the whole method of the Union.

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Thomas Davis created a "Young Ireland" movement (1842-6) to revive the intellectual life of the country and unite all classes and creeds in the claim for national freedom. Smith O'Brien, driven to despair by the apathy in Parliament to appeals of a famine-stricken Ireland (1848), tried and failed to arouse attention by an insufficient rising in arms. A League of Tenants in north and south was formed. The Fenians planned a campaign in Canada and in Ireland, to shake off by open war a dependence made odious by tyranny and insufferable by misery. Isaac Butt led a party of constitutional Home Rule. To all these the English answer was the eighty-six Crimes or Coercion Acts that marked the century after the Union. Englishmen looked back with shame on the black reaction of 1819 under which the Habeas Corpus Act, the proud charter of British liberty, had been suspended in their own island; through the wide British Empire it had once been set aside for a few weeks in Jamaica: but in Ireland during the hundred years after the Union it was suspended no less than thirteen times. Law became a mere "course of discretion" under packed juries, political judges, partial magistrates, police shadowing, and informers. There was no constitutional remedy. The country people since Peel's legislation in 1829 were wholly unrepresented; the 30,700 borough electors were increased in 1868, by a reform very different from that of England or Scotland, to no more than 40,000. For nearly seventy years, till death and emigration had reduced the people from eight millions to five, the members allotted to Ireland by the Union were below the number allowed to the same population in England. In a permanent minority at Westminster of one to six, their entire helplessness was demonstrated when Irish Bills supported by all the Irish members for dealing with the land, with municipalities, parliamentary reform, finance, or education, were indifferently thrown out by the English majority. The hours at or after midnight were all that could be got for Irish Bills nor did that country ever obtain any share in the Government time. Every Irish question as it entered the House of Commons was transformed into a mere matter of English party politics. "Ireland had had no rulers who ruled for Ireland" said Bright. "I have not observed since I have been in Parliament anything on this Irish question that approaches the dignity of statesmanship"—men the most clumsy and brutal might suspend the Habeas Corpus Act, but for real government men of higher temper, genius, and patriotism were needed. Irish affairs always remained remote, unfamiliar, and distasteful to Englishmen, who cherished the constant belief that Home Rule was no more than "a little cauldron simmering."

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1875

"Ireland is a nation," Charles Stewart Parnell declared in his first speech to the Commons. In the name of a dying country, where the

remnant of the Irish population was still being flung out of their cabins to a "sentence of death" on the road-side, he demanded a National Parliament and a free people established in security on their own land. Elected President of the Home Rule Confederation, he repudiated the efforts at "conciliation" which had so notoriously failed: "policy must be pushed to extremes" to compel the attention of an indifferent and contemptuous England. By skilled obstruction he paralysed the House of Commons, forced it to shape the first rule for "Order in debate" that limited the ancient freedom of its members, and established a compact Irish Party in the House to threaten the old two-party system. In Ireland meanwhile the Fenian organization and the Land League opened war on the autocracy of the landlords. Evictions were raging as in the Great Famine; in 1880 10,657 persons were ejected, 17,641 in 1881, at the rate of nearly fifty for every day of the year; 7,000 for the first three months of 1882, and 15,000 awaiting eviction in the next quarter. In three days 750 persons were turned out on the bogs and rocks of Connemara. Their state in the west, said General Gordon, was worse than that of any people in the world: along the Atlantic shore gunboats might be seen carrying armed police to evict the inhabitants, and hurrying to the next harbour for charitable food-stuffs to maintain the people in the houses which were already levelled. Home Rule was pronounced by Lord Beaconsfield the issue of the next election: and in the new Parliament Parnell stood leader of 35 out of 103 Irish members. The House of Lords threw out a Compensation for Disturbance Bill passed by the Commons to mitigate the tenants' danger and distress. The peers had called the battle, and violence answered violence. Parnell and the Land League stood in the fore-front of an indignant people. The Government suspended the Habeas Corpus Act, and gave the Viceroy a power of random arrest and imprisonment on mere suspicion. For nine weeks Parnell and his followers fought the monstrous scheme with every insolence and violence of obstruction; nor were they defeated till the old liberty of the House was overturned by the "new and exceptional course" of the "closure," and the suspension of the Irish members from the House. In a few months over a thousand men, Parnell himself and many Irish members among them, lay in prison under the Act thus passed to suppress "village ruffians." Thence they issued the "No Rent" manifesto. It was amid this frenzy of popular rage that Gladstone, stirred by a nobler sense of statesmanship, framed a new Land Bill to secure for the Irish tenant fixity of tenure, fair rents, and free sale of his rights in his holding. It was "the single measure of a single man" in that session, none but the Irish shewing the slightest care or interest. He faced the entire apathy and indifference of the House; he met "difficulties such as no other bill of this country has ever encountered": though

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<p>SEC. I. THE SOCIAL REVOLU- TION 1816 TO 1914 1882</p>	<p>his scheme abounded in faults and needed much later repair, yet by his courage and authority Gladstone gave to the Irish tenant "the fundamental charter of his redemption." The gleam of hope was darkened by the murder of a new Chief Secretary, Lord Frederic Cavendish, and the Under Secretary, Burke, by a small group of desperate men; new coercion for Ireland brought fresh coercion of the House of Commons, suspension of Irish members, and more emphatic rules for closure of debate.</p>
<p>Home Rule 1884</p>	<p>Such was the situation when, in a speech that formed a turning-point in English history, Gladstone in the name of justice demanded for the Irish people the same franchise as the English: and in the Reform Act of 1884 gave them for the first time since the Union the chance of making their voice effectively heard at Westminster. Mr. Chamberlain desired to come to terms with the actual Irish members through a scheme of Local Government by National Councils, and a land settlement, but his plan was rejected by the peers in the Cabinet and by Lord Hartington, and at the threat of renewing the Crimes Act the Liberal Government fell. The Tories immediately passed a Land Act with Purchase provisions, and abandoned coercion. To demonstrate to England that the newly enfranchised Irish voters had through these favours lost their pretended desire for Home Rule, seventy-seven Tory candidates stood forward confidently at the election under the new Act, and five Liberals, to win Ireland from the Nationalists. Only a score of seats were left uncontested. Their rout was final and complete. By overwhelming majorities in Munster, Leinster, Connacht, every county, every borough, was carried by Nationalists, and half of Ulster. Nothing was left to the Tories but the north-east corner of Ulster and Dublin University, held by eighteen members. Parnell, "the uncrowned king of Ireland," led back a party of 85 members out of 103, returned by an almost unanimous vote, pledged not to take office under an English Government till Home Rule was won—a party which has remained unchallenged at elections for thirty years. Since in England the Liberal majority over the Conservatives was 86, Parnell held the balance between the parties; and the fundamental problem supposed to have been settled once for all at the Union again confronted England. The Tory Government, on the same day that it announced a Bill to suppress the National League, fell, as the last Government had fallen, before the Irish vote. In Gladstone's view it was "the office of law and institutions to reflect the wants and wishes of the country." When there was no longer possibility of doubt, when by their votes the people of Ireland had openly given their decision for the national cause, the question of Home Rule was to his mind settled. In a House thronged beyond all example, and stilled by suspense, he proposed his Bill to create anew an Irish Parliament. The willingness</p>
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of the public outside to grant Home Rule took everyone by surprise. But other influences dominated Westminster. England saw herself at the beginning of an unexampled prosperity. The new pride of Empire was at the height of its power, and men were intolerant of any apparent rift in the majestic scheme, and confident in the military force of England to compel the obedience of an Ireland depopulated and enfeebled. The maintenance of the Union in its actual form was held essential for the preservation of the Empire. It was believed that Protestant government and control was necessary to hold in check a Catholic population. Fear and anger had been awakened by the land war, the outrages, the revolutionary aspect of the island, the fiery denunciations of English administration there; and old hostilities and contempts of the Celt were intensified in England. Ninety-three Liberals voted against their party and Home Rule was lost by thirty votes. Ireland sifted and winnowed the forces of Liberalism, already divided and terrified in England by the Radical campaign of Mr. Chamberlain and his doctrine of "ransom." The great Whig magnates renounced their old tradition and secular alliance with the Liberal party, and at the Marquis of Hartington's secession they passed out of its counsels: as their power slipped away, and the Whig influence of the Liberal peers was no longer a force to be considered, the "ending or mending" of the House of Lords became inevitable. Plutocrats and commercial men followed, and with them went the tradesmen. The economists joined them, and the intellectual classes. The two external forces which were to mould the course of English history for the next generation, the Empire and Ireland, were sharply confronted in the general election that followed.

For twenty years, with one brief interruption (1892-5), the Conservatives ruled. The significance of the "Celtic Fringe" had been demonstrated in the elections, when Scotland approved the Bill by 3 to 2, Wales by 5 to 1, Ireland by $4\frac{1}{2}$ to 1, while England rejected it by $2\frac{1}{2}$ to 1; and from this time Unionists adjudged a different value to the representatives of various parts of the United Kingdom, giving to the English votes a predominant importance. Lord Salisbury's Cabinet, the most aristocratic of modern times, with its ten members in the House of Lords, was forced into new paths by the pressure of the Liberals and Radicals who had placed it in power, and gave to it the new inclusive name of the "Unionist" party. Lord Halsbury introduced a Land Transfer Bill, left by Lord Cairns, to abolish primogeniture and put real property on the same footing as personal property—a Bill rejected by the peers as "a sop to the Cerberus of Socialism" and "tantamount to a sentence of death and extinction for many ancient families." Parliament, which had once bent its energies to the increase of enclosures,

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carry prisoners in certain cases to London for trial—a proposal invented against “rebels” of the American war of independence—failed; and the Bill was driven through the Commons against Irish opposition by the developed closure nick-named the “guillotine.” Its provisions were put to use by Mr. Balfour as Chief Secretary, a post of more unrestrained authority than any other in the Empire. Convictions in land cases rose to 2,805, in more than half of which the rights of the prisoner would in England have been guarded by a jury. The battering ram became notorious. Eighteen counties were “proclaimed,” and twenty-five members of parliament imprisoned. A charge of complicity in crime was launched against Parnell by the *Times*, and repeated in the House of Commons by the Government. The accused was denied the constitutional remedy of a select committee of the Commons, and compelled to face a trial before a tribunal constituted and chosen by his bitterest political foes. “Other persons,” members of parliament and all sorts of patriots, peaceful and militant, were by the government’s decree joined with him in this general compulsory investigation, this unlimited inquisition. Political passion ran high as it had done in the seventeenth century, and Liberals protested that “for the first time in England since the Great Rebellion men were practically put upon their trial on a political charge without giving them the protection of a jury. For the first time in that period judges were to find a verdict on the facts of crime.” The proceedings dragged on for a hundred and twenty-eight days, to end with the suicide of the perjured impostor Pigott on whose forgeries the charges had been brought.

Calamity deepened over Ireland when a divorce suit against Parnell was followed by the demand of the Liberals that he should lay down his leadership. A tragic struggle was only ended by his death. But he had lifted Ireland to a place in politics which she was never again to lose. The Liberal Federation at Newcastle announced a policy of Home Rule, with disestablishment of the Welsh Church, electoral reform, payment of members, land reform, temperance and local veto, taxation of land values, and “ending or mending” of the House of Lords. The next year Gladstone, with a majority of forty for Home Rule, took office to plead again the cause of Irish nationality. In his last desperate fight for a people’s freedom he stood majestic at the age of eighty-three, with “that white-hot face, stern as a covenanter’s yet mobile as a comedian’s, those restless flashing eyes, that wondrous voice . . . the masterly gestures.” With deep indignation the Unionists saw the closure, framed to suppress Irish Nationalists, turned against themselves. The Home Rule Bill, accepted by a majority of 44 in the Commons, was summarily rejected in the Lords by 419 to 41. In the universal and humiliating wreck of all the other Government bills through the Lords’ resistance, the Commons

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could find but one point of advantage, and used their supremacy in money matters to introduce high death duties on estates, graduated according to wealth. Sir William Harcourt thus for the first time placed land on the same footing as other property, and established the principle that the greater inheritance should pay duty to the State on a higher scale than the smaller. Torn by divisions, disorganized by continuous defeat, without any constructive programme to follow their work of emancipation, the Liberals disappeared from power, their fortunes fallen lower than they had been for the last century. Gladstone had already left in gloom and defeat the House to which his labours had been given for sixty-one years, throwing his last passionate warning to the Lords that a power so recklessly used "will demand a settlement from the highest authority."

1894

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for
Ireland**

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1891

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1897

1898

1896

During the next ten years of Tory power all questions of reform were adjourned, and there was little legislation for England. In Ireland, after twice rejecting self-government, the Unionists sought by reforms to exorcise the spirit of Home Rule. The last Tory Government had created a Congested Districts Board to improve the lot of the forlorn tenants of bog and rock on the Atlantic shore; light railways traversed the waste regions of the west to open communications and markets; a new Land Act was devised to adjust rent, and aid the tenants to purchase; an Agricultural Board was formed to develop the resources of the country; popular local government was for the first time instituted by the creation of County and District Councils after the English model, with added compensation to the landed classes; technical instruction was encouraged. Irish revenue, after a century of confiscation, was at last directed to Ireland. On the other hand when a Royal Commission reported that Ireland, contrary to the provisions of the Treaty of Union, was overtaxed in proportion to her resources by some two millions a year or more, and that her administration was the most wasteful of any European country, the Report was silently ignored and no remedy proposed. The Irish race was kept in tutelage under an administration which remained wholly in the hands of the Protestant minority, a fourth of the people, and the system of Boards and doles was still directed to serve the political ends of England. In direct succession to the old Whig doctrine of 1843, "to purchase not to prosecute repeal," the Tory policy of "resolute government" balanced by the "killing of Home Rule with kindness" rested on the belief that national fidelity was but a fiction of agitators, and material prosperity the chief end of peoples. The system proved without power to check the flight of the people from their home-land in an emigration which was the wonder and scandal of Christendom: the exiles who sought refuge under the American flag from 1846 to 1900 cannot have numbered fewer than 5,000,000: and the 30,000 or

more young men and women in their best strength, now sent yearly across the Ocean from a still diminishing population of four and a quarter millions, surpass in numbers the emigration from the whole seventy millions of the German Empire. The very habit of tillage declined in a country which has in little more than the last generation lost 300,000 agricultural labourers. In an Irish phrase the people were "over-boarded and underfed." Nor did the national idea disappear. Fresh coercion opened the century, and under renewed "strong government" the greater part of the country was "proclaimed," and ten Irish members lay in prison. The declaration of Sir Antony MacDonnell, sent as Under Secretary, that "Irish ideas" must guide Irish administration, was resented with a fierce outcry of indignation by the ruling classes; but the Government decided by a great and courageous Act of Land Purchase to close for ever the devastating land war in Ireland. Through that Act the soil of Ireland is rapidly passing to peasant proprietors, and the older race, emerging from the barren uplands and bogs to which they had been driven, are creeping over their ancient plains and pastures. Such a close of the land conflict revealed how far the Irish landlord in his security had fallen behind his class in England in practical instinct. In the developed English system of enclosures and large farms the battle of the labourer, landless and working for a wage, was very different from that of the Irish tenant renting his patch of ground. The labourer could only refuse his labour and starve; the tenant could withhold his rent and live. Thus the Irish landlord, seeking the highest profits with the least responsibility, had himself established by his scheme of competitive rents the power that was to overthrow him.

England meanwhile had marvellously increased in wealth and in national self-confidence. The figures of modern trade are too prodigious to convey a clear meaning to the mind—the six thousand millions' worth of cheques that passed through the London Bankers' Clearing House in 1886 rising by 1913 to between sixteen and seventeen thousand millions; the capital supplied from the City of London for the opening of four hundred thousand miles of railway in the new countries of the industrial world; the volume of foreign trade increasing in the last eight years by more than forty-four per cent., to reach in 1913 the sum of over fourteen hundred million pounds sterling; the wresting from the earth about two hundred and eighty million tons of coal, over ninety-eight millions of which were carried to foreign lands. In the era of prosperity from 1846 to 1866, the Liberals had been in power, and by their commercial legislation the general wealth was still enabled to advance, in Gladstone's phrase, "by leaps and bounds." In this twenty years, from 1886 to 1906, presided over by the Tories, a broadening diffusion of wealth and comfort brought to the prosperous part of the population a vast

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1889	
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something under 1,000 trade disputes in each year, in 1913 the number has risen to 1,462: in 1911 nearly a million workers were involved, and in 1912 nearly a million and a half. The main difficulty of the unions lies in fact in the vastness of the problem, and general perplexity as to the true road of constructive reform. Immersed in laborious detail the working-class lacks thinkers. A system of education accepted from reformers of the middle class has tended, instead of raising the position of the crafts, to draw the more intelligent youths away from productive enterprise, and from the intellectual leadership of their own fellows, and add them to the amorphous middle world of salaried clerks and teachers. New forms of intellectual training may possibly be forced on the workers of this country by the stress of foreign competition. Their political activity has so far outstripped their zeal for education. They were careful to secure the election of working-men on municipal and other local bodies, where they have now a thousand labour members. They demanded a more adequate power in Parliament. A Labour Electoral Association of the trade unions was followed by the drawing together of various socialistic and other organisations in an Independent Labour Party; but neither of these groups gained much authority until a Trade Union Congress and a general Convention of all working-class associations united their common interests in a Labour Representation Committee to secure the election of labour members to Parliament. The influence of the working-class begins even now to reach beyond the borders of Great Britain. Already a Working Men's Association had attempted to establish international communications: and Karl Marx had sent out his appeal for the union of workers in all countries; once more projects were renewed for emancipation of labour through the union of "every trade, skilled and unskilled, of every nationality under the sun," and after twenty-six years of effort, an International Congress in London, and one in Paris, and the establishment at Basel of an International Union for Labour Legislation, to secure a uniform code for the workers in all civilised countries, affirmed a new brotherhood of labour. Such events have given to the people a wider outlook, have led to embassies, as we may say, of working-men from nation to nation, and have for the first time in history offered to the inhabitants of a country a concern in its foreign relations and a share of responsibility for peace or war.

Discordance between an advancing democracy and an aristocratic Cabinet became suddenly manifest when the Boer War ended and Mr. Balfour took the place of Lord Salisbury. An Act to reform the educational system raised the yearly cost to the country to nearly £30,000,000: but the provisions which allowed Church schools, while maintained from the rates, to remain outside complete national

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<p>1903</p> <p><i>Tariff Reform</i></p>	<p>Problems old and new stood at the door of the Liberal Parliament, imminent, no longer to be denied, diverse and inextricably linked together, grave beyond all former experience. The working-classes, co-operators and trade unionists, had demonstrated their political strength. The gigantic working-class organization of co-operators, which through its three millions of members represents a fifth of the whole population, had created the largest general supply business in the world, with a trade exceeding a hundred and twenty millions annually. Its fifteen hundred societies administered by 30,000 elected committee-men, and employing 50,000 salaried officials, proved in fact the most successful commercial venture of our time.</p> <p>1914</p> <p>In its factories the Wholesale Society has established a standard of minimum wages and hours of work more liberal than any decreed by law in 1912. The triumph of democratic industry, the training in affairs represented by yearly purchases of £80,000,000, the solidarity of interests, and habit of joint action, made this association of working-men a potent influence in the commercial controversy of parties. They were not only consumers but traders: their fleet bore from over sea the products of ten different countries; their whole-</p>

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*Place of
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sale society had sent the largest cheque ever paid in customs duties ; with a keen sense of prices they refused to believe that import duties were paid by the foreigner, and their two million voters were powerful in breaking Tariff reform. A Labour Party sat for the first time in the House ; thirty three-cornered elections, and the entry of twenty-nine labour representatives into Parliament, gave ominous warning to the settled order of parties and to old established interests. When a Trades Dispute Act (to remedy a decision of the House of Lords in 1901 on the Taff Vale case) was brought forward, the trade unions, throwing their entire force on the side of the Labour Party, rejected the Bill of the Attorney-General, and extorted from the Government a measure which put the unions outside the jurisdiction of the law in so far as to exempt them from being sued for torts, and their funds from claims for damages. Public opinion forced labour questions into the first rank of State affairs. A population which we have seen a hundred years ago hardened by suffering has become distinguished for compassion to misery and aversion from pain, as a new consciousness arose of the commonwealth as a whole, which must suffer with the weakness of any part. In 1842 it was thought an intolerable drain on the country to spend seven millions in saving the destitute from starvation : the public money now spent for the poorer classes reaches seventy millions a year, and two-thirds of that sum is separated from any association with pauperism or Poor Law relief. Medical inspection was given to children in schools, pensions decreed for the aged, compulsory State-aided insurance for all workers, special aid for the unemployed, sanatoria for the sick, new cottages and allotments for rural labourers. New grants for extended education gave a quarter of the accommodation in 885 secondary schools as "free places" for candidates from elementary schools. Arbitration in trade disputes became a duty of the Government. The old authoritative doctrine that the legislature had no power over wages, implicitly accepted for generations, was thrown over when Parliament accepted the principle of the legal Minimum Wage by establishing Trade Boards for certain trades, and by the Coal Miners' Minimum Wage Act—a principle adumbrated by Robert Owen in 1818 ; discussed since 1874 ; demanded in the strike and lock-out of 1893, the greatest dispute of modern times ; renewed in the great strike of 1912 ; and enlarged into a claim for a universal minimum wage by the two million co-operative voters in their Congress of 1913. The special difficulties of women as workers and as citizens were insistently urged on the Government. Economic pressure had driven women increasingly into daily toil. By the industrial changes and commercial legislation of the century they too were pressed into the democracy of hired workers. They too paid their price for Empire, as the men poured out to the new colonies or

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territories and the proportion of single and self-dependent women increased at home, till more than four millions of women over eighteen, almost a third of the whole number, are engaged in money-making occupations, and have become personally concerned in all social, financial, and labour legislation. Their trade unions, begun in the cotton industry, were of slow and difficult growth : but have extended rapidly in the last twenty years, and the number of members almost doubled since 1906. Meanwhile the old civic franchise by which women householders had a right to vote on vestries was extended to the new Boards of Health and Town improvement ; and later to the Municipal and County Councils. They were allowed to serve on School Boards, as Poor Law Guardians, as members of District and Parish Councils, and were admitted to the Civil Service. The new consciousness of a class pressing on to a more varied and independent life was shown by a vigorous movement for education and by the foundation of Women's Colleges. An opening to the professions was found by gaining a right to practise medicine. The London University and the Royal University of Ireland conceded to them degrees. An ever increasing body of trained women lavished their labour on public matters, and their influence throughout the range of social and industrial problems was recognised by the appointments of women as Factory Inspectors and on Royal Commissions. The growing importance of this army of workers during the last fifty years may be traced in a series of laws to secure to women their property and their earnings ; and in the reiterated demand for the full rights of citizens. As long ago as 1776 Cartwright brought in a scheme of parliamentary reform which included women ; and their claims were again urged with considerable strength by the Women's Clubs in the Chartist movement, which were however closed lest they should retard the universal suffrage for men. Twenty years later the most ardent advocate of the enfranchisement of women, John Stuart Mill, revived their neglected cause in the House of Commons itself : and in these last years the repeated Bills introduced into the House have shown the urgency of the problem. The hundred thousand pounds a year spent by the suffrage societies is an outlay far greater than that of any public movement of the time. Factory workers, women employed in a host of minor occupations, and practically all the brain-workers in responsible posts and professions, have been united in the suffrage agitation, and as the struggle for enfranchisement draws this mass of active and intelligent women for the first time into alliance with the Socialists and the Labour Party, a new force is being added to the revolutionary movement of our day.

The pressure of social movements had meanwhile forced on grave constitutional changes. Party strife was intensified, and in a sense justified, by the growing subjection of the House of Commons to the

Government in office. Each Ministry in turn awakened by its absolutism new fears, and by its social legislation new resentments. In stress of battle all questions were treated as a test of confidence in the Cabinet. "The time and strength of the House of Commons came to be more and more regarded as the time and strength of the Government"; and the liberty of members, so scrupulously preserved by the old rules of the House, was gradually limited—by the "Rule of Progress" applied first to the Committee stage of Bills and later to Supply; by disuse of certain forms of motion that the Speaker do leave the Chair; by rejection of proposals that redress of grievances should precede Supply as no longer in consonance with constitutional conditions, "inasmuch as the Government were now the servants of the House"; and by restrictions in debates. The accumulation of party funds, the defraying of election expenses of favoured candidates, the power of the Whips in selection of speakers, the necessity of obedience in every detail to secure the strategy of the whole campaign, even the newly decreed payment of members—all combined to force all parties alike under a military discipline. Further strength was added to the Cabinet by the ever widening powers of the State departments. Foreign affairs were practically withdrawn by Lord Salisbury from the House of Commons, and the naval and military defence of the country: and government by departments generally established. We have seen in 1834-5 the first cautious and tentative efforts to establish a new principle of State control in factory and Poor Law, and how the experiment for five years became a lasting rule, and widened out to cover the whole of urban and county administration, till in the course of two generations every local authority was brought under direct control of the Government. The highly centralised administration of home affairs was recognised by Parliament when it placed the heads of the Board of Trade and the Local Government Board on financial equality with the Secretaries of State. When the sums allotted to local bodies from the national exchequer and parliamentary grants in aid rose in fifty years from less than a million to twenty millions (in addition to the forty millions raised by local rates), the central authorities gained further rights of inspection, advice, and control. With this increase of statutory duties, the departments acquired also large and arbitrary powers, both judicial and legislative, which were extended in turn to every Government office. To the bureaucracy has been given the whole administration of all social reforms inaugurated in the last years, from which local bodies have been excluded. Former checks imposed on officials by courts of law or by Parliament in important questions both of law and policy have been overcome or evaded, and the State departments, with power themselves to interpret and judge what the law

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is, and to make their own statutory rules and orders, have been enabled to exercise authority over property and rights till now almost exclusively reserved for Parliament. With the practical introduction of "administrative law" into this country various encroachments have been made on the rights of subjects and the control of the House of Commons. The Treasury refusal to admit supervision by the Auditor-General or the Public Accounts Committee in administration of the Old Age Pensions (where in two years fifteen thousand disputed claims have arisen), was received with silent acquiescence. Every influence combined to depress the independence of the members and to elevate the Ministers as the sole source of authority and the only spring of legislation. In the complexity of modern affairs the drafting of Bills became too intricate a business for any but official experts, and the Commons, who had practically lost all opportunity of initiating laws, presently lost control even over the form of new Acts. As new authority was pressed on him from every side, the Prime Minister became the most powerful Minister of any modern State. He found profit even in the democratic movement to lessen the power of the Crown: for, if jealousy of Royal interference had through the reign of Queen Victoria constantly curtailed the personal action of the sovereign, the people had welcomed Royal privilege when it passed from the Crown to the Minister to be held in trust for the nation. With the growth of democracy the actual power of the Crown was increased, but its exercise was altered. Old prerogatives were revived, and new were granted, till the English executive has now become legally the most powerful Government in the world. Sovereignty, Sir William Anson has said, now lies in the Cabinet. Through the nineteenth century the head of the Cabinet had no formal recognition as such among his fellow-citizens, and in the case of Gladstone, for example, stood in the social order as a commoner with the sole rank of a privy councillor. For the first time the Prime Minister was given a status by royal proclamation of Edward VII., that he should henceforth share the dignity, as ancient as the British Constitution, of the two Archbishops and the Lord Chancellor, in taking precedence, after the Royal Family, of the officers of the Household and the whole peerage.

Meanwhile the conflict of Lords and Commons was accelerated by new disputes. The Tories, who throughout the century had stood as a bulwark to guard the ancient constitution from change—a break-water to check too violent an inrush of new thought—had turned to an active policy of innovation, advocating a new fiscal system, and even beginning to move in the direction of a modified Constitution. As the sense of tradition and its ancient authority declined, the term Conservative gave place to the word Unionist, the

aristocratic conduct of the party weakened, and the most powerful influences tended to fall back from the landed to the commercial classes—a transformation typified by the choice of Mr. Bonar Law, Canadian by birth, Presbyterian by religion, and manufacturer by profession, as leader in the place of Mr. Balfour. At the same time the House of Lords, radically transformed by the frequent creation of peers from another class, and by the militant energy which followed the alliance of the Tory magnates with the Whig aristocracy and the mercantile plutocracy, had become completely identified with the new Unionist policy. Abandoning their constitutional attitude of impartial revision, the peers for the first time in their history cast their whole force invariably on the side of one political party. The old defence of the House of Lords, in which Whigs and Tories had agreed, that its function was to maintain a check on democracy, was set aside for a new theory: that the office of the Lords was to give effect to the considered will of the people, even against their parliamentary representatives. Burke had reckoned the House of Lords in his time as “by itself the feeblest part of the Constitution.” “The Lower House is the ruling and the choosing House the Government that can rest on it has nine-tenths of what it needs the support of the Lords is an aid and a luxury”: so Bagehot had recorded in 1872. Now, however, the peers claimed to be not merely a constitutional revising chamber, but as it were a political Court of Appeal; asserting the right, as guardians of the democracy, to judge of the representative value of the popular verdict at the polls, and to refuse any important alteration in the law without compelling a dissolution from which they themselves would return unchanged. Thus to all the other crowding controversies of the time there was added the menacing conflict between the two Houses of Parliament, foreseen at the Reform Act, and steadily drawing nearer for the last forty years.

“The parts of our Constitution,” said Burke, “whilst they are balanced as opposing interests, are also connected as friends: otherwise nothing but confusion could be the result of such a complex Constitution.” This confusion had now arisen, full of peril and disturbance to the State. The doctrine that the government held its authority from the direct will of the people had been carried beyond all precedent by Mr. Balfour’s sudden resignation during the recess after hostile bye-elections. There remained the question of how the will of the people was to be discovered, and how enforced. During the last ten years no government bill passed by a Conservative House of Commons was rejected by the Lords, nor was any amendment pressed which Conservative ministers disliked. But a Liberal Government, fresh from the greatest Liberal victory since the Reform Act, found itself in four years of “rebuffs and humiliations” unable

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of the
budget*

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to pass a single measure, even if carried by majorities of from one to two hundred, which the Conservative minority opposed. By the alliance between the peers and the Tory party, it was possible for the Tory leader in the Commons, in or out of office, to decide in consultation with the Lords the fate of any contested bill. The claim of the peers put in jeopardy the dignity of the House of Commons and the authority of representative government. The Liberal Cabinet made proposals to strengthen representative institutions by electoral reforms and short Parliaments, but their Bills, passed by enormous majorities, were uniformly rejected. The answer of the Commons, under Sir Henry Campbell Bannerman, was a Resolution that the veto of the Lords must be so curtailed that the final decision of the Commons should prevail within the limits of a single Parliament. Under the new Prime Minister, Mr. Asquith, the unwelcome conflict was still delayed. There were sharper retaliations, aggressions, and the stretching of privileges on both sides beyond all precedent. A government which was refused legislation in the customary way was tempted to increase, as we have seen, the legislative and judicial functions of the departments it controlled outside the House. Within the House it introduced Bills in which political matters were inextricably interwoven with financial questions. Revision of any Bill became a farce on the part of either Chamber. The rights of the subject and the rights of members of the House were crushed aside in the confusion of strife. Battle was finally joined on a question of finance. The Unionist proposal to benefit the working-classes by a protective system which, they alleged, would tax the foreigner on his manufactured goods and provide full employment for British workers, was met by the Liberal budget, which offered to find money for social reforms by a fresh incidence of taxation to fall on the unearned increment of building-land values—a value unexpectedly created by the rise of towns after the industrial revolution. Mr. Chamberlain from his sick-bed protested that the passing of this financial scheme, the Free Trade answer to Protection, must indefinitely postpone the triumph of Tariff Reform; and the Lords, claiming an impregnable position behind the ancient constitution, rejected by 350 votes to 75 the Budget which the Commons after a session of extraordinary length had passed by a majority of 230. Never in English history had such a power been exercised or even claimed. It had moreover been supposed that Gladstone in 1860 had asserted once for all the power to impose and remit taxes in such manner “that the right of the Commons as to the matter, manner, measure, and time, might be maintained inviolate.” In the public excitement two elections were held within the year. The first Parliament met to repudiate any right in the Lords to throw the finance of the year into confusion, bring the administration of the country to a

standstill, and force a dissolution. A Bill was introduced that the House of Lords should henceforth be disabled by law from rejecting or amending a money bill, and that for all other bills their right of veto should be restricted to a single Parliament: while the preamble stated that in due time the Upper Chamber should be reconstituted on a popular and not an hereditary basis. The Budget once more sent up was passed by the peers. The second Parliament was required to express the national consent to the Parliament Bill. As the battle developed the Lords, by a series of bills and resolutions, sought too late to meet attack by hurried schemes of reform. Renouncing the principle of primogeniture, once held as of the very essence of the Constitution, the assurance of its existence, and the basis of the English land system, they introduced a scheme of combined birth and public service, of election and nomination. They urged a right to reject or amend such financial bills as were "bills producing social and political effects," a claim which would have given them equal control with the Commons over finance. They proposed to decide contested questions by joint sittings of Lords and Commons. They desired to call for a "referendum" whenever the Lords, or a combination of malcontents in the two Houses, required the special verdict of the people on any point—a grave innovation and full of menace to the whole system of representative government. But the time for such proposals had passed. The exasperation of feeling over the rejection of the Budget had left no room for discussion or compromise. The Parliament Act was sent up to the Lords with the threat, as in 1832, that if necessary sufficient new peers would be created to overwhelm opposition. In a House packed to the doors, fevered with excitement, the result was doubtful even at the very last moment. Out of six hundred and thirty-six Peers seventy-eight Liberals voted for the Bill, and a hundred and fourteen extreme Tories against it: some fifty moderate Tories gave their votes on the Liberal side, as many as were necessary to avert the swamping of their order by the creation of five hundred new Lords. The Act was passed amid shouts of reproach and indignation such as had never been heard within that Chamber. As the clamour penetrated into the House of Commons new vociferations rang beyond the walls of Parliament, to acclaim this final proof that the supreme prerogative of forcing the Lords to yield to the will of the Commons remained in the hands of the people, and was held in trust for them by the Prime Minister, the "elect of the nation."

The House of Lords, the oldest assembly in the world, saw at once the loss of its independent power, and the doom of its ancient hereditary tradition. The full circle of change had come. Men were at last confronted with the issues foretold by opponents of the first Reform Act, that it must bring large and organic changes, and destroy

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the independence of the House of Lords, if not altogether annihilate its existence. At the second Reform Act Bagehot had warned the peers that the storm which should destroy the House of Lords would carry away with it both hereditary estates and great aggregations of property and social power: "the whole body of the Lords have an incalculably greater influence over society while there is still a House of Lords than they would have if the House of Lords were abolished." Like prophecies had attended the third Reform—"a measure which will affect the tenure and transmission of property in every form, as the other measures have affected the principle and action of political institutions."

**Ireland
and the
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A change so prodigious might even at the last moment have been still deferred if the decision had been left to England alone. The difficulty of getting from the country a separate sanction for any single act of legislation was shown in the confused result of the elections of 1910, when the voters divided their interest between the Second Chamber, Tariff Reform, the Union, and a Budget raising the whole question of social legislation. In England parties stood balanced between the industrial districts and the rural counties—274 Liberals and 272 Tories, with an outlying group of 41 Labour members. Scotland and Wales supported the Government, but on different grounds. Various interpretations were given of the verdict of the people. In this confusion of interest and balance of forces, Ireland accelerated and determined the conflict. Before they would give consent to passing the Budget, now a year delayed, the Nationalists joined the extreme Radicals in demanding that abolition of the veto should precede all other business, and that the Government should pledge itself irrevocably to carry through the Parliament Bill and leave the way open for Home Rule. By one of the revenges of history, a people cut off from self-government at home had long held power to direct and confound English politics across the sea. From 1801 to 1886 ten British Ministries fell on the Irish question. After the enactment of a Union designed in the darkest period of political reaction and panic, Irishmen had wandered among the English working-classes as missionaries of democratic liberty, had given them models of popular organization, had provided leaders to plan the first "National Trades Union," and to inspire a Chartist agitation. It was the Irish who in the Emancipation Act struck the first tremendous blow at the dominance of the Established Church, in the Tithe war at its extravagant claims to property, and in the Disestablishment Act at its political importance. In the Land question the Irish had forced the order of battle. They gave to English farmers and labourers a new motive and impetus by the spectacle in Ireland of an unrestrained landlordism, of its political and social bankruptcy, and of the power of a national movement; while they

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compelled the English aristocracy to enter the lists crippled by their alliance with an agrarian system in Ireland developed under penal laws and maintained by coercion. In fourteen years the power of the landed gentry in Ireland was shattered, and the reverberations of the battle were felt in England. The first Irish Land Act was followed by the first agitation among English rural labourers since 1834, and by a first vain attempt to give English farmers compensation for disturbance. The second Act was followed by the first lightening of the game-laws under which, Bright had told the country-people in 1845, five thousand of them were yearly fined, imprisoned, or transported; and by a more effectual compensation for farmers—with no voice now raised for “the sacred right of freedom of contract.” Into the chasm that yawned between England and Ireland England had thrown, said Mr. Goschen, “concession after concession. . . . We have toppled into it great boulders of principle: we have made gigantic Parliamentary sacrifices.” It was not eternal principles that had gone; it was but the form of constitution which England had established for herself before the Union, and thought to maintain unchanged after it. A century of Irish coercion obscured in the governing country Bentham’s teaching of a scientific procedure and regular method of law as the subject’s best protection, and allowed to creep into popular opinion a notion of legal administration as a course of discretion, and of resistance to law as carrying with it no crime. Ireland cost the Commons loss of old liberties through the “rules of debate” to carry coercion, the closure to suspend the Habeas Corpus Act, and the guillotine to enact a perpetual Crimes Act, and to force the Commission for the Parnell trial. The system of two-party government, which England had evolved to suit her own conditions, was overturned in the more complex State created by the Union, when the Irish Party, representing separate interests, became the model for new groups. Irish passion was enlisted against their old antagonist the House of Lords, to which their people had ever appealed in vain, and within a generation the hereditary authority of the aristocracy was broken and the dominant power of their House. Before the union of the Irish people with the working classes of Great Britain fell the ascendancy of primogeniture and the power of great estates, shaking to its foundations the old English Constitution. Ireland had not ceased to put in question her relations under the Union with Great Britain, and to rend English parties by her reiterated demand of Home Rule. A fourth attempt in the course of twelve years was made to solve the problem, by a scheme of Devolution embodied in an Irish Councils Bill; and when this was overthrown as inadequate, it was followed by a new Bill to restore an Irish Parliament and Executive responsible to it, which now stands before Parliament. Such a project of Home Rule has opened discussion,

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not only of a new government for Ireland, but of a Federal Constitution for all the members of the United Kingdom. The great Earl of Chatham in the eighteenth century had repeatedly refused to entertain the idea of a Union which must deluge the British legislature by an addition of Irish peers and commoners. It would not be easy for modern observers to say which class ultimately proved the most dangerous to the old balance of the State.

Thus the Irish, flinging into England their separate problems and their imported energies, might accelerate or even deflect its progress, and confuse the grave political issues of the United Kingdom and the Empire. But, as we have seen, the steady movement of the English people towards the full accomplishment of democratic self-government had pressed on through the century by its own resistless force. The main achievement of that hundred years on the people's side had not been the lessening of suffering (however great that was), but rather the lifting of every rank into the dignity of full citizenship, till the people of Great Britain stood forth as the foremost pioneers in the world of popular government. The instinct of self-government, fostered and trained among the voluntary associations of the working-classes, developed in the middle-classes through local administration in town and country, and reaching on to the control of Parliament and Cabinets, has been far beyond the power of Ministries to check or to direct. While governments and parliaments hovered on the edge of the future in an uncertain opportunism, unable to foresee their destination, the revolution of the last century pursued its unchanging course, whatever might be the ignorances, perplexities, or projects of men. Among English leaders in that age of change Gladstone alone may be said by his personal energy to have compelled the events of his time and left on them the mark of his dominating will ; forcing England into the centre of the torrent, to learn the full power and velocity of the popular and national demand. The efforts of political parties indeed have not turned aside the current ; it has broken them. It turned the Tories into Conservatives, and the Conservatives into Unionists, while they seek a more permanent name. It turned Whigs into Liberals, and Liberals into Radicals, about to fall into new groups. Labour has offered to all in turn its formidable alliance. All classes, overwhelmed by changes unprecedented in English history, have been moving among issues hidden and unknown. The landlords of a hundred years ago, engrossed in their scientific cultivation and their enclosures, felt no warning that a system which broke down among the rural labourers the old hereditary attachment to the ancestral cottage and the village common, and turned the yeoman into a hired labourer, was to end in the doom of their ancient House of Lords. If the political economy of the day was justified, the Tory principle of heredity

and the pride of ancient rights was severed at its deepest roots in the national life. So also the plutocrat saw no omens in the future from the huge accession of personal power brought to him by the industrial revolution. Wealth indeed might accumulate while the master-craftsman and the journeyman were alike joined to the undistinguished mass of hired workers ; but the solidarity of these life-long wage-earners in their multiplied necessity, and in the effort to recover power over their own lives, has created a new House of Commons, the end of whose present transformation we cannot foretell. If the Upper Chamber has to discover a power of impartial revision, the Lower Chamber has still to find safeguards for the free and independent expression of the will of the people through freely chosen representatives. The past offers no guidance in such problems of the future. Never perhaps in English history has the reverence for tradition fallen so low, nor has pride in the ancient State been abandoned with so little questioning. Conservative classes who a century ago upheld the English Constitution as a well-nigh perfect creation of man are now eager advocates of revolutionary change. The labour world, refusing to accept the tradition of those who claim their title of rights from the past, asserts a power of the people based on the foundations of the present, and declares the millions of the nameless and obscure to be the true and veritable framers of the new world. Dangers that shadow the advance into the future are contemplated with the unquestioning confidence of men who have behind them a long tale of difficulties surmounted : they count on the discipline of their trained organizations, on the habit of public work, on the enlargement of the corporate sense of common interests and responsibilities, to carry democratic government through the perilous tests that lie before it. It may be by a virile self-confidence, or it may be by the new-bred habit of change, that men find emancipation from the concentrated devotion and anxious fears which swayed an older House of Commons when it was threatened with a breach of its privileges : "there were a hundred weeping eyes, many who offered to speak being interrupted and silenced by their own passions."

A hundred years ago when the call of great principles was sounding, and insurgent masses were storming the gates of freedom, there were impassioned poets to inaugurate the passing of darkness and triumph of a new age. As the century advanced, the militant note disappeared amid the general prosperity, and the satisfaction of the middle-class in the liberty and progress they had achieved for themselves was reflected in a gentler poetry, where the tone of revolt was no longer heard. In later years when the idea of equal liberty and opportunity for all citizens was secured in theory by the common consent, the national task became one of elaborate detail, of mechanical

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adjustment so as to give effect to accepted doctrines. The aspect of life took on a duller hue. Material considerations filled the foreground, and the very mass of detail blotted out from view the enthusiasms and passions of the earlier fight for glowing ideals of freedom. Literature was not concerned with such details of humdrum toil. But if inspiring motives of action shine with a lesser brilliance in the material business of to-day, the range of moral ardour and conviction has gained with the ever-increasing number of devoted workers in the public cause, and with the incessant effort and vigilance demanded in these years of preparation for the next scene in the great transition. At no time in the history of England were the issues of constitutional changes so momentous, or the claims so great on the wisdom and mutual allegiance of the English people. The defection of any class may ensure failure. If it is left to the working population alone to supply the higher impulse and the driving power for progress, if the demand for a larger measure of material comfort and ease is pursued without intellectual insight and direction, if it is met only by distrust and reaction on the part of the wealthy and leisured classes, if these fail to infuse into modern civilization a finer intelligence of social interests, all alike will have had their share in the triumph of materialism. We are approaching dangers foreseen by a great ruler of a free people, President Lincoln : "It has long been a grave question whether any government, not too strong for the liberties of the people, can be strong enough to maintain its existence in great emergencies." The world has yet to see how many trials, catastrophes, and rebirths lie before the peoples who are determined to discover the ultimate secret of human liberty.

Section II.—Foreign and Colonial Policy, 1815 to 1914.

The new
age

After Waterloo the social and political progress of Britain was no longer carried on under the old national conditions, and the influences that were shaping the new England were profoundly changed. As at the end of the war she took her way over the great oceans, and detached herself from European affairs, interest in continental thought also declined, and its higher literature had perhaps less effect on the English mind than in any former century ; till with the passage of a hundred years it was revealed how deep were the ignorances of the country as to the vital forces which were about to transform the European scene. Two conflicting streams of political influence

meanwhile were perpetually beating on the island from the farthest places of the world, as the empire extended over a fifth of the globe. The ever-increasing number of administrators from distant dependencies, trained on lines of paternal government by a higher race, carried back an experience and a habit of mind opposed to the democratic tendencies at home. On the other hand was the unceasing pressure from the colonial democracies, where the great wind of freedom swept with violence, overturning old conventions—a pressure whose vigour England now begins to understand. With the congress of Vienna in fact England entered on an age vast and crowded beyond any that had gone before, incomparable in its tangled complexity; and to meet new emergencies her whole foreign and colonial policy was recast.

There ended in 1815 an era of war and revolution which had lasted for nearly thirty years. The nineteenth century opened amid unwonted disorder; boundaries had shifted like the sands; there were thrones without sovereigns, and sovereigns without thrones. Faced by this aftermath of a desperate conflict, statesmen had to effect the reconstruction of a continent where the people were powerless, bewildered, and inert. The time proved unpropitious for the conclusion of a lasting peace. Passion burned fiercely, distrust was rife; questions of boundaries, indemnities, and safeguards absorbed attention. Calm consideration was prevented by the return of Napoleon from Elba. The Congress of Vienna concluded its work in haphazard fashion, and a series of treaties were hurriedly sealed. Kant had propounded a project for perpetual peace, and the Emperor of Russia, Alexander I., had suggested the establishment of a general system of public law, but with the renewal of strife which ended at Waterloo all such schemes were brushed aside. Our representative, Lord Castlereagh, who had hoped for a permanent Concert, rejected an international police; he foresaw that it must be mainly Russian, and feared lest Alexander should prove a second Napoleon. Statesmen were divided in interests; though a declaration of the congress announced the abolition of the slave-trade, "the affair of the negroes," as Talleyrand called it, was postponed through the jealousy entertained of our sea-power and the distrust of our claims to a right of search. Talleyrand, the most experienced and subtle diplomatist of the time, took advantage of the general mistrust to press his definition of a "legitimate" government as one whose possessions had an historic basis; by this means the Bourbons were restored in France, in Spain, and in Naples, and the "people were penned like so many cattle." The doctrine ignored nationality and destroyed the hopes of smaller nations, who, having helped to overthrow the common tyrant, were made once again the victims of dynastic ambitions. The dreaded national unity of Germany was set back by forming a loose Confederation of thirty-

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nine German states under the leadership of Austria, who was to hold the perpetual presidency in the federal Diet of Frankfort, closing the way to national union or to a strong central government; thus the Catholic south and Protestant north were thrown into antagonism, and Prussia was driven into her fifty years' contest with Austria for the headship of the German people. Finns were handed over to Russia, Norwegians to Sweden, Belgians to Holland; Italians were left subject to Austria, or to the temporal power of the Pope, and the Poles remained the victims of an iniquitous partition. The fire of revolt was stamped out, though some small sparks escaped the trampling of the feet.

Under Castlereagh's guidance England was connected more closely with the continent than ever before or since. In the wars with the French Republic she had frankly allied herself with the principle of reaction; but the later struggle of Napoleon was of a more complex character, when side by side with the insistence of despotism had arisen movements of national life in Germany and Spain, bringing elements of Liberalism into the new conflict. After Waterloo, however, the triumph of reaction was complete. England at the Congress of Vienna raised no protest on behalf of the subject nationalities, she helped to restore the Pope to temporal power, allowed the worst forms of clerical reaction in Italy and Spain, and admitted the petty despotism of the German settlement decreed by Prince Metternich, the Austrian Chancellor. She was pledged to the Bourbon monarchy; for Louis XVIII., smuggled back to the throne "in the baggage of the Allies," was imposed on the French by British soldiers, and ruled on the lines of our constitution. But in spite of failures, the Congress had accustomed men to talk of a Concert of Europe, and thus set a precedent for later hopes. For seven years the effort persisted to direct the relations of the European peoples and the fortunes of the various states by common action of the great powers. But two imminent dangers threatened the Concert. The passion for liberty, the ceaseless protest of peoples condemned to servitude, which had been the motive force of the revolution, was ready to break forth anew, intensified by faith in national rights. But this danger was less feared by European governments than the menace of England herself—an England lying outside the continental circle, individualistic and self-dependent, with her outlook far beyond the bounds of Europe. Great Britain was indeed the first to break from the European circle; she was the strong forerunner of a new imperialism which in the following century was to spread among the nations, shattering the European concert and overthrowing the balance of European powers by the ambition of world-empire.

Empire
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power

From the Napoleonic wars England had emerged with so gigantic a reputation for sea-power that for a hundred years no country

ventured to challenge her navy. To her older possessions the wars of the Revolution had added Heligoland in the North Sea ; in the Mediterranean a new footing at Malta ; in the Indian Ocean the Cape Colony, the island of Mauritius, and Ceylon, with its land-locked harbour of Trincomalee ; while Trinidad and Demerara gave her valuable stations in South America. After the peace Singapore was annexed, and a series of wars added Lower Burmah and Assam. While conquest was pushed forward in the East to establish secure frontiers, to quell border tribes, or to protect missionaries and traders, a second empire was being created by the colonization of new territories hitherto untouched by white traders, as in Australasia, or by peopling vacant lands in Canada and South Africa, where French and Dutch had already led the way. Five thousand colonists were sent to South Africa, and with the annulling of old restrictions imposed when soldiers were needed at home, a long line of emigrants escaped from poverty and tyranny to the lands oversea. Cobbett noted that already under George IV. the word " empire " began to replace " kingdom," and the title " sovereign " that of " king " : and papers which had once been " submitted to the King " were now " laid at His Majesty's feet." On the seas England alone owned as many trading vessels as all other nations together, while her harbours were the international market for the produce of the outer world. Every bale of Australian and South African wool passed through London : all Europe took its cotton from Liverpool : manufactures from Lancashire looms were poured out over India. The tea of China, the tropical produce of the East and West Indies, the riches of South America, were carried in English ships. For the protection of these world-wide interests every route was guarded, every point of vantage watched. At the outlet of the North Sea Belgium, the old " countescarp of England," was no less jealously observed than the coast of Ireland ; it was the same in every country on the European seaboard. Lisbon was a naval base of the first importance, for the routes to Brazil and to the Cape and the defence of Gibraltar ; Spain had traditional rights in Morocco, commanding the entry to the Mediterranean ; Naples held the passage of the narrow seas ; Austria controlled the commerce of the Levant ; Turkey, as lord of Egypt and Syria, commanded the routes to the Persian Gulf and the Red Sea, by which the sea-borne trade of India poured into the Mediterranean. But no power was feared like Russia, as she advanced towards the passes of Afghanistan or, pressing southwards over the Caucasus, threatened to intercept the trade of the Persian Gulf, where for three hundred years English ships had policed, for a distance greater than that from Plymouth to Gibraltar, those distant waters lying between fiery stretches of desert gaunt and sun-scorched, had put down pirates, set buoys and beacons, and guarded the lines

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of her old commerce with Persia and the direct way to the harbour of Karrachi and Bombay. England was forced to recognize that her existence depended on the sea. The industrial revolution which had transformed a nation of farmers into a manufacturing people made new markets necessary for their produce and for the supply of raw material and food; and the European seas became the passage of England to the world beyond. Her vast territories, her command of the oceans, the scarcity of food for her industrial workers at home and their tumultuous discontent, all causes combined to the same end; and in the next hundred years led to the building up of the greatest dominion which it has yet come within the power of man to accomplish, and the development of a government which in its originality and variety has no example.

In the European settlement meanwhile Castlereagh, architect of peace, was resolved that no accident should destroy the fabric. At the Congress of Vienna his just and sober attitude made a considerable impression, and he was admired for his dignity of manner and simplicity of dress. Though some foreign statesmen accused him of fear of parliamentary criticism and of British disregard and misunderstanding of continental affairs, he was in fact, as conciliator and arbiter, the most effective guardian of the peace of Europe. He furnished the Congress with a plan of action, and enforced on Europe the Grand Alliance of Great Britain, Russia, Austria, and Prussia. In Castlereagh's view peace, the first necessity of Europe, was to be secured by a just equilibrium of states, by the support of those powers whose exertions had "saved Europe," and by indulgence even to the offending peoples. It was his desire to bind together the great powers with a more enduring sanction than a treaty, and pledge them by a general accord and guarantee to unite their arms against any mutineer or disturber of the continental settlement. His hopes were thwarted when Austria, Russia, and Prussia joined in a pact of Christian sovereigns designed by the visionary Alexander I. In the "sublime mysticism" of the Holy Alliance the dogmas of religion were mingled with the elements of Rousseau's Social Contract; the princes were to be as brothers, their peoples as their children, and their acts founded on the principles of the Gospel of Christ. At periodical meetings they were to consider salutary measures for the repose and prosperity of the nations and for the peace of Europe. The grandiose intentions of the Alliance were soon perverted. Despotism was provided with the garment of religion, and under the cloak of Christianity Metternich attacked constitutional and national aspirations. He stifled Alexander's Liberal sympathies by playing on his fears; the conversion of the Tsar was rendered more easy by acts of violence—a riot of students at the Wartburg, the murder of a Russian agent in Saxe-Weimar, the assassination of the Duc de Berri, and the Cato Street conspiracy.

At each successive outbreak Metternich strengthened the system by which he strangled Liberalism in its cradle ; he suppressed the gatherings and dissolved the societies of students, forbade their songs and the wearing of their colours, and sent his secret police to invade the lecture-rooms of the Universities. Castlereagh, convinced that our constitution satisfied every need, was determined not "to let his country burn for the sake of a few poets." But while England exercised at home the utmost rigour, she used, as Metternich said, "two weights and two measures," and where her interests were involved condemned extreme repression abroad. The Holy Alliance had agreed that in case of a revolution a German State could invoke help from the armed forces of the whole confederation—a measure which caused a speaker in Parliament to picture the day when Hyde Park would be crowded with Cossacks to prevent the agitation for reform. But when the lesser German states were threatened, Castlereagh's protests were precise ; he could not allow his sovereign to connive at the overthrow of Liberal constitutions in Germany, since George IV. was also king of Hanover, the gate through which the German markets were supplied with English goods. On the other hand he declined to defend the constitutional hopes of the Neapolitans against the special interest claimed by Austria in Italian affairs. His attitude to the Alliance was one of deprecation rather than protest, and there were Whigs who grumbled that England was reduced to the position of a second-rate power.

Castlereagh's first concern in fact was for the British Empire, whose power had excited enemies and rivals on every side. He had inherited from Pitt a lively jealousy of Russia, and his suspicions were quickened by reports of her designs on Asiatic Turkey and her intrigues at Madrid, threatening two main centres of English influence in the Mediterranean ; in every maritime and colonial question Russia raised her hostile challenge. France was equally suspect for her relations to Spain and Portugal, and her colonial aspirations. The central powers seemed to offer an alliance against both dangers. To Prussia, the point of contact of Hanover with Europe, England looked to guard the Rhine and protect Holland, to hold the Baltic ports and the Polish frontier, and on east and west to raise an impenetrable barrier against French and Russian aggression. In hope of German support Castlereagh gave to Austria Lombardy and Venetia, and desired to give Saxony to Prussia if she would have allowed the restoration of the Polish kingdom in agreement with Austria. He would even have ceded Hanover in order to check France and Russia. Thwarted in his schemes by Russian influence over Prussia, he drew closer to Austria and France—an uncertain alliance with two powers whose interests conflicted with those of England—Austria in Naples and France in Spain. For it was Castlereagh's aim to establish English

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influence as supreme in all the peninsulas of southern Europe—a policy which he handed down to Canning and Palmerston. To safeguard the Balkans he had attempted at Vienna, though in vain, to bring the Porte into the circle of the Allied powers; and when the Greeks revolted against Turkey he held that the only interest of England lay in maintaining the integrity of the Ottoman Empire. As regarded Italy he refused, amid much obloquy, to join the Holy Alliance in their proposed coercion of Piedmont. In the case of Spain he was prepared to defy Europe. During the wars an enfeebled Spain had lost the greater part of her possessions in South America; one by one Bolivia, Chile, Colombia, and Peru asserted their independence, with support from the United States, who proposed to exclude Europeans from the new continent and themselves secure its wealthy commerce. Castlereagh was at all times willing to mediate between Spain and her revolted colonies, on the terms that no force should be used, that an amnesty should be granted to the people of South America, and their commerce opened to all nations, with moderate duties and a reasonable preference for Spain. The colonial empire of Spain had been an old offence to England, and her determination was fixed to secure against all rivals her own trading pre-eminence. Russia and France were vehemently hostile, and Spain sought her profit in dividing the European powers. With all the continental statesmen Castlereagh dreaded that the United States, propelled by the more ardent revolutionists, would foster new republics. He staved off American recognition of the colonies by skilfully concealing from Washington the dissensions of the powers, while he hoped that the persuasion of the Tories might win the revolted provinces for the principles of monarchy. But in his anxiety not to leave to the United States the credit and influence of first recognizing the aspirations of the colonies, Castlereagh was gradually forced along the new road of Liberalism, till he contemplated not only admitting the independence of the new nations, but even assisting constitutional revolutionists, if in no other way he could safeguard British interests. By what right, he wrote, could an English government force a population freed from an oppressive government to replace itself under the domination of that same government? When the Holy Alliance assembled at Verona to discuss the disorders in Greece, Italy, and Spain, Castlereagh protested against interference in the internal affairs of Spain, and resolved to break with the Alliance over the South American Republics. Before his death he knew that the European system which he had endeavoured to uphold was perverted and outworn.

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Canning
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His successor, George Canning, breaking away from the reactionary bonds of the last thirty years of English history, burst upon Europe, in Metternich's words, "like a malevolent meteor." Like Castlereagh, he was of the planters of Ireland, but to his English stock was added

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the blood of an ancient Irish race. In his defiance of despotic courts on behalf of constitutional liberty, he "inspired foreign powers with respect, domestic Tories with hatred." His brilliant personality of body and mind won to him many of the younger Whigs ; but when Canning raised his toast in the Whig Club : "The cause of civil and religious liberty all over the world," he was no mere knight-errant of freedom. If liberty was his guiding intention, he never failed to regard England's commercial interests, and followed Castlereagh in his imperial policy. Foreign statesmen distrusted the growing isolation of the English temper, a habit of thought more insular than European. "Every nation for itself and God for us all," said Canning. In a brief four years he defined the independent policy of England, and admitted the principle of national revolt. When Spain refused to admit trade with her colonies, or abate a rigid protection, Canning, who had no panic about revolution and cared little whether South American states were republican or not, decided that the commerce and maritime power of his country would gain by their complete emancipation. The crisis came when the Holy Alliance, acting through Louis XVIII., restored to Spain the exiled Bourbon king, Ferdinand VII. ; and Ferdinand proposed that the powers who had made him king should call a congress to recover his American colonies. English merchants and shipowners petitioned Canning for aid, and the Whigs demanded war. He refused intervention in the Peninsula. "We had disappointed the hopes and excited the indignation of every man who loved freedom and independence throughout Europe," complained Russell. But Canning struck hard for English interests in another hemisphere. "We will trade," he said, "with the late Spanish American colonies, whether France likes it or not." He made a meeting of the Holy Alliance impossible by refusing to share or take part in it ; and he boldly accepted the policy of the United States. His open rupture of the solidarity of Europe alone made possible the declaration of the new American departure. President Monroe in his famous message to Congress recognized the southern republics, denied the continent of America to the colonization of European powers, and renounced interference of the United States in European affairs. The Monroe doctrine, vague as it was, asserted the right of South America to a deliberately chosen form of government, and certain Tories looked askance at the encouragement thus given "to every disaffected Irishman by recognizing rebellion in the New World." Canning had no such fears. First among European statesmen he accepted the independence of the South American peoples, and signed commercial treaties with the new sovereign states. "I resolved," he said, "that if France had Spain it should not be Spain with the Indies ; I called the New World into existence to redress the balance of the Old." Nor did he favour any extension of a Portuguese empire in America. When Dom Miguel was driven

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from his country it was arranged that Dom Pedro, son of John VI., should have the remote heritage of an independent Brazil, while his young daughter, Dona Maria, was maintained as queen in her unstable inheritance at home. Portugal was thus at once guarded from foreign adventure and protected in her dependent state of tutelage; and the naval base of Lisbon, so necessary for Canning's Mediterranean policy, was secured against France.

The revolution thus openly begun gave its character to English foreign policy for the coming century. The might which Nelson and the Tories had carried to its culmination, and invested with the monopoly of sea power, was under Liberal influence mainly turned to support the cause of constitutional freedom. Englishmen recalled the promise of the Allies: "The object of the war, and of the peace, is to secure the rights, the freedom, and the independence of all nations." The Congress of Vienna left two great problems, constitutional and national, which overlap at times; and Englishmen, while they failed to appreciate or understand the new ideal of nationality, were deeply interested in political freedom. The Whigs attacked systems of government which suppressed popular liberty and checked reform. England had saved herself by her exertions, and they would now have her save Europe by her example; the words of the younger Pitt were transfused with a constitutional meaning. From 1815 England provided the political pattern for reforming states who battled for free institutions and sought to enlist her sympathy. The word Liberal crept into party politics—at first as a term of reproach, hurled at those who denied that it was the business of the smaller nations to wear "one universal grin," and who preferred a balance of power to a uniform agreement for suppression. The true Liberal, such as Brougham, saw in England and her legislature the succour and solace of the oppressed wherever tyranny was rampant. The word stood for a principle of foreign policy, identified with the struggle for self-government. At times their intervention appeared aggressive—the help proffered by a nation confident of its own security and mindful of its own importance; to continental statesmen our posture seemed capricious, while the antagonistic aims of Whig and Tory, and the ruthless coercion of Ireland, gave force to the taunt of "perfidious Albion," and to the continental comment that English doctrines of liberty were "for export." But the Whig was consistent in supporting a policy of freedom which accorded with the political spirit of the English people.

**Canning
and
Greece**

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This new spirit of sympathy with suffering peoples was lifted to a height of romantic passion in the cause of Greece. The Balkan States had long been inspired by the dream of emancipation from Turkey and of a new Byzantine Empire. Serbia was first in revolt

and, unaided by the powers, had won a measure of freedom. But as the other states were severally defeated Greece alone remained to fight, not for an empire but for a nation. She fought single-handed, for Metternich, in the name of the Holy Alliance, persuaded the Tsar Alexander to support the doctrine of legitimacy rather than that of the Cross against the Crescent. In the first war of independence Castlereagh regarded the insurrection as a matter to be left to the Turkish government. But the struggle against the Mohammedan tyrant caught the popular imagination and volunteers streamed from every country in Europe. On all sides lovers of democracy and freedom hoped that Greece would renew her ancient glories, and saw visions of an ideal republic taking shape under her clear skies. Shelley extolled the cause of the Greeks in impassioned lyrics; Byron set aside his detestation of their intrigues and jealousies, raised a considerable loan, enrolled volunteers, and sailed to Greece only to die at Missolonghi. Lord Erskine, a lover of liberty, appealed to England's honour in an eloquent pamphlet. The advanced Liberals demanded immediate intervention and accused the ministry of lowering the lofty and independent character of this country in pursuing a neutral policy which was a disgrace to Christianity and a discredit to their manhood. But Turkey had her defenders; men of the older school regarded her as an "ancient and faithful ally," and a Tory told the House that he had always found the Turks "very honest fellows, although they had a way of governing people by taking off their heads." Canning had no wish to embark on a "wild crusade," but when, to protect English commerce from lawless piracy in the Levant, he recognized the Greek flag and the Greeks as belligerents, he took the first step towards the recognition of a new nation. In the darkest hour of the Greek fortunes he sought by untiring negotiations to win Russia to the cause of her liberation, determined, as he said, to avoid war and "to save Greece through the agency of the Russian name." Such a policy foreshadowed later projects for the Balkans. It was in part the outcome of a hope that in an independent Greece, which aspired to restore the empire not of Athens but of Byzantium, there would be found an Orthodox power able to counteract Russian influence in the Turkish Empire. But Wellington, whom Canning chose as envoy to the new Tsar Nicholas I., belonged to Castlereagh's day, and carried on the tradition that the menace of Russia must be met by maintaining unbroken the integrity and strength of the Ottoman empire. The protocol he signed gave self-government to Greece, but left Turkey as suzerain. Metternich characterized the document as a "feeble and ridiculous production," but was bound to admit that it had dissolved the Holy Alliance. Austria and Prussia withdrew from such a crazy scheme: "the thicker the darkness," said a statesman, "the sooner will the meddlers in it

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break their heads." Russia, France, and England alone met at a conference in London to convert the protocol into a treaty. In the protracted anxieties of this arduous settlement Canning gave his last services to the cause of "liberty all over the world." His death came a week before the treaty was presented to the Porte, and with it ended the hope of peace and of a permanent settlement. Turks and Greeks alike refused to lay down arms, and when the ships of Russia, France, and England followed the Turkish fleet, commanded by Ibrahim Pasha, into the bay of Navarino to demand securities for peace, the aggressive movements of a Turkish fireship brought about a desultory cannonade, which developed into a naval engagement. In a few hours the Turkish fleet was sunk. The disastrous news raised a bitter conflict in England. Liberals claimed Navarino as an honest victory, a necessary consequence of the treaty of London, and a manifestation of the brilliant success which had attended the introduction of a Liberal system into foreign affairs. But the Tory government under Wellington was aghast at the tidings, and urged that such an "untoward event" should not disturb the traditional relations between Great Britain and the Porte. Canning's work was undone by the withdrawal of the English fleet. Political troubles hampered France, and Russia alone remained the guardian of the Greeks. Enraged by the disaster of Navarino, Turkey declared war upon the Tsar. After two years of desperate fighting she was forced to accept the treaty of Adrianople, through which Greece obtained her independence under the guarantee of England, France, and Russia. But the Greece for which the Bavarian prince Otto, a lad of seventeen, was provided as king, was a Greece disappointed through Wellington's determined support of Turkey of her richest province, Thessaly—a Greece but half delivered, and purposely left at the mercy of the Porte. Russia regained all her influence, and England found herself driven to the old policy from which Canning had attempted to escape. English sympathy however remained true to Greece, and thirty years later, when Otto's incompetence and errors led to his deposition, and a prince of the House of Denmark was elected as King George I., England voluntarily ceded the Ionian Islands to Greece, on condition that constitutional government should be preserved.

Canning's work indeed could not be wholly destroyed. He stood forth as the statesman who had broken the despotism of the Holy Alliance, and supported the first national revolution against the settlement of the Congress. The task that lay before England was the endeavour to work out new principles of public action to take the place of those which had guided her regrettable alliance with the reactionary monarchs; and from the stubborn situations as they arose to hew out some sort of purpose and method for the defence and the advance of freedom in Europe. A second rising of a small nation for

independence renewed the controversy among English statesmen as to the true direction of their continental policy. The grant of Belgium to Holland as compensation for some of her lost colonies had been designed at Vienna as a barrier to France. But the union had already broken down before inherent differences of race, religion, and language, aggravated by unequal administration. The freedom of the Scheldt and the prosperity due to expanding colonial markets failed to reconcile the Belgians, while the revolution by which the French cast out the Bourbons and installed their "citizen king" raised excitement in Brussels to the highest point. An opera teeming with revolutionary sentiment was staged amid frenzied applause, and the next day the standard of Brabant was raised. Nobles and merchants joined the popular rising and threw back the Dutch troops. Bitter disappointment awaited the king of Holland when he appealed to the five great Powers to defend the "stability of all thrones and powers" and maintain the "political system" of the Congress. The principles of the Holy Alliance failed before the revolution that blazed across Europe. Russia was faced by a national rising in Poland. Outbreaks in Brunswick, Hanover, Hesse Cassel, and Saxony, and a threat of war from France, checked Prussian aid to the Dutch. Before the end of the year Austria had to meet a revolt in Italy. France, the exemplar of the Belgian revolution, was wholly sympathetic; and England, having broken with the Holy Alliance, found herself the ally, hesitating and mistrustful, of a liberal France which had escaped from the servitude imposed on her at Vienna. Both countries felt the gravest preoccupation at the Russian protectorate of Turkey, and each desired the other's help. Both needed peace, whether to secure Liberal reforms in England or to establish the new monarchy in France, and Talleyrand was determined on alliance with England whether under Whig or Tory. A common wave of thought had drawn the two peoples together, for the study of our economic conditions formed a bond between the Liberals, and Guizot, statesman and historian, had expounded our constitutional history at the Sorbonne. The "July revolution" which set Louis Philippe on the throne was a compromise not unlike that which England had framed in the Bill of Rights. By many influences the minds of the two countries had been prepared for their first partnership in the cause of liberty.

Thus secure from interference Belgium in a national congress proclaimed its independence. The question aroused in England sharp party conflict. The Tories, who had gained repose for Europe, deplored any sign of change; their prime minister, Wellington, regarded the recurrence of revolution as a "devilish bad business," and when William IV. met his first parliament, the speech from the throne threatened all disturbers of the peace. The Belgians were described

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as "revolted subjects"; the Whigs resented the phrase and ardently adopted their cause. Constitutional aspirations and foreign policy were linked together; the reform bill and the independence of Belgium became a single purpose. Hume declared that the greater portion of the people rejoiced over the revolution; Cobbett, unsympathetic to Greece, was loudly in favour of the union of Belgium with the great democracy of France; Brougham resisted interference on behalf of tyrants—"the people of England," he said, "are enamoured of their own liberties and they are friends to the liberty of others." O'Connell, famous throughout Europe as orator and champion of nationality, protested that, excepting the union of Great Britain and Ireland, there was no fouler blot in the page of history than the annexation of Belgium by Holland. The Tories replied that England was bound to uphold the treaty of Vienna; a country, they said, which had so often been the arena on which the great powers of Europe decided their quarrels, "should have learned by the sad experience of former calamities to seek all other means of redress before turning to the power of arms." Had Wellington remained in office, Belgium would have found neither help nor sympathy; but within two months the Tories were defeated, and scarcely had the Belgian Congress met when the friends of the Reform Bill returned to power. The foreign minister, Lord Palmerston, had learned much from Canning, if he was without his passion or his genius, and under his influence the conference of the powers which had assembled in London for the settlement of the Greek question proclaimed the dissolution of the United Kingdom of Holland and Belgium. The triumph of the Anglo-French alliance was marred by jealousies and fears. Palmerston's main dread was the absorption or occupation of Belgium by France and the possibility that the accession of the Orleanist dynasty might be celebrated by a revision of the French frontier. When the Belgians elected as king a son of Louis Philippe, he refused to admit so close a family bond; at his warning that "our desire for peace would never lead us to submit to an affront either in language or in act," Louis Philippe withdrew his son's candidature, and a German prince, Leopold of Saxe-Coburg, reigned in Belgium. Indignant at the liberal terms granted to the new king by the London conference—contrary, they said, to the "irrevocable" promises of the powers—the Dutch sent an army which in ten days overwhelmed the Belgians and occupied Liège and Louvain. French troops hastened to drive them out; but the moment the French stepped upon Belgian soil England was up in arms. No accusation was too extravagant for the Tories. They suggested that Belgian disturbances were used to prepare a way for the freedom of Ireland: "the centre of the bigoted army was in Paris," said one, "the right wing was in Brussels, while the left wing was looking on in Dublin." They demanded that all

correspondence should be laid upon the table of the House so that Parliament might have its part in matters of peace and war. Peel protested against secrecy, though he offered to sacrifice his desire for information "in the public interest." During an angry debate Palmerston stated the constitutional functions of his office ; maintaining that decisions on war and peace belonged solely to the royal prerogative, and that any power to conduct negotiations was vested in the Crown. He therefore refused papers until the matter was settled. In this sharp conflict the cabinet, and with it the Reform Bill, were saved from defeat by Talleyrand, who dreaded the downfall of the Whigs and persuaded his unwilling government to withdraw the French troops. Belgium was established under the guarantee of the Powers as an independent and perpetually neutral State, its neutrality being made a foremost clause in the constitution. But harder terms than before were dealt out to a defeated people, stripped of part of Luxemburg and Limburg, and forced to pay dues to Holland on the Scheldt ; while the Dutch refused to give up the citadel of Antwerp. Palmerston dared not let France alone drive them out, nor dared to join with her against the will of the merchants, who opposed war with Holland. William IV. meanwhile, with his "Jack Tar animosity," deplored a tendency to subscribe to democratic theories current in Paris and cursed his advisers for taking the hand of France. Only when the desperate struggle at home ended in the triumph of the Reform Bill was Palmerston strong enough to take his own way in foreign affairs. A French army at Antwerp and an English fleet in the Scheldt scourged the Dutch back "to their phlegmatic swamps," declaimed an Irish patriot, "knocked their flag and sceptre, their laws and bayonets into the sluggish waters of the Scheldt," and "on the ramparts of Antwerp" taught "the right of a nation to govern itself." But as with Greece the settlement was marred. The king of Holland long refused to recognize a free Belgium. Six years later, seizing his opportunity when its only supporters France and England had quarrelled, he persuaded the powers to enforce the harsh terms of 1831. Palmerston, who was then negotiating with Metternich, demanded immediate submission of the Belgians, and only through the mediation of France was some alleviation granted. By the treaty of London the neutrality and independence of Belgium were again placed under the guarantee of the five great powers.

The settlement of Vienna had within seven years begun to crumble under the pressure of national revolts and of rivalry for oversea commerce. In a single generation every problem which now confronts the nations had taken form. Decrees which fixed a few proprietary dynasties for Europe, and artificial boundaries for their peoples, were challenged. The Prussian Zollverein slowly broadened into a commercial agreement which included some thirty-eight

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German States and foreshadowed the national union of Germany under Prussian leadership. At the same moment Mazzini inspired the "Young Italy" movement, and raised the banner of "Unity and Independence"; and Charles Albert came to the throne of Sardinia with a mission to end the rule of Austria. The kingdom of Russian Poland, reconstituted at Vienna from the old Duchy of Warsaw, and given by Alexander a brief hope of life, was thrust into subjection by Nicholas; and thousands of Poles, the remnants of a nation, were dispersed through Europe to preach revolution. Magyar nationalists in the fight with Metternich turned back to their history and the memory of their heroes: "an independent nation we mean to live with our own language." In their revival of literature and tradition the Slavs were moved by a common impulse, and each isolated group of their scattered peoples felt itself to be part of a mighty race. Bohemia pointed to the example of Ireland and O'Connell as a call to national liberty. The Croats and Southern Slavs dreamed of the "Illyria" planned by Napoleon, the home of a liberated race. In the Balkans after the Serbian example Bulgaria and the Danubian States demanded from Turkey, and in part secured, some form of autonomy and national privilege. Roumania already aimed at the union of all her peoples of Bessarabia, Transylvania, and Bukovina. During the wars of liberation Russia made her formal entry into the Balkans as the protector of the Slavonic races as well as the head of the Orthodox Church; with Russian influence established on the lower Danube, the monopoly of Austria disappeared, and the conflict opened between the Teutons and the Slavs for leadership of the peninsula. The "mouldering empire" of the Ottomans, shorn of a province by the Greek rising, entered on its long period of slow dismemberment and political dependence; and the threat of an independent Egypt, and the closing of the Dardanelles to foreign warships, brought Europe to the verge of war. Prussia took up her part of military instructor to the Sultan by sending to his army von Moltke with other officers, who first proposed the exploitation by Germany of Asia Minor. Beyond Europe, meanwhile, another struggle had begun, to some extent in emulation of the British Empire, for race dominion in the world. Russia had entered on her Asiatic empire: she had crossed the Caucasus, contested Armenia, and fortified the Caspian; her wares reached Lahore; she excited suspicion and apprehension by her trade rivalry, her exclusion of British vessels from the Circassian coast, her opposition to efforts for a mail route to India by steamers on the Euphrates, her intrigues in Persia. A few years later she had pushed to the Pacific coast in Kamschatka and on the Amur. France, meanwhile, turned to Africa and the Pacific for the creation of a new colonial empire. She celebrated her resurrection from a long abasement when Louis Philippe opened

the Arc de Triomphe and consecrated Versailles to the glorious deeds of France. Enthusiasts believed that the winning of Algeria would be to her what India was to England, and when Lord Grey demanded its evacuation, colonization was carried on half secretly to avoid hostility. The new-made "Government of French Possessions in North Africa" penetrated from the littoral to the interior, and presently menaced Morocco. "I desire the French to restore Roman Africa," said Marshal Valée; "wherever at my bidding France sets her foot, I shall form lasting stations." Since Napoleon's time she had kept watch on the gate of the East; her officers had trained the army and the navy of Mehemet Ali, viceroy of Egypt, and England feared her growing influence in this richest province of the Ottoman empire. In the Pacific her patrols, protectorates, and schemes of settlement startled England into the colonization of New Zealand. Already in Asia, Africa, and the Pacific, the European powers learned the risks of colonial rivalry, which henceforth gave to alliances a suspicious, temporary, and uncertain character; for the relations of the home governments were at best insecure while a dispute on the other side of the globe could threaten to wreck their understanding.

In this world of universal agitation and revolution Palmerston, equally ready to make British power felt and to profit by the quarrels of other peoples, opened his vigorous policy of intervention on behalf of English interests. For thirty-five years, with but one considerable interval, he guided our foreign policy; admired by the trader, for whose glory or fortune he was prepared to throw down the gage of battle; by the sportsman, who followed his colours at Epsom or gazed on the fine horses that champied their bits outside the Foreign Office; by the democrat, who forgave a want of interest in reform to such a doughty assailant of despotism. Abroad he was looked on as a dictator—brusque, violent, and fearless. Not to count upon the foreigner, but to make the foreigner count upon England; such was said to be the programme he designed for a great industrial people protected by its isolation. Regardless of the name of "Jacobin," and of his opponents' charge that he made us "generally detested by the nations of Europe," he constituted his country the champion of the smaller states. His partnership with France in the liberation of Belgium was felt as an outrage by the Tsar, who renewed at Münchengrätz with Austria and Prussia a Holy Alliance in support of "divine right" against the two powers which had "the courage to profess aloud rebellion and the overthrow of all stability." But Palmerston, pupil of Canning and Castlereagh, followed a single guiding line of policy—the imperial interests of England. He viewed with suspicion French advance in Algeria and French influence beyond the Pyrenees; incessantly on guard lest Spain should become a satellite of France and draw Portugal into her orbit, thus shutting English ships out

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<p>SEC. II.</p> <p>FOREIGN AND COLONIAL POLICY</p> <p>1815 TO 1914</p>	<p>of their strategic position in the Tagus. Each country had the same dynastic misfortunes—child queens crowned at the ages of three and seven and supported by Liberals, while Absolutists and Clericals rallied round the two Pretenders. In Portugal they favoured Dom Miguel; in Spain Don Carlos. After ten years of reaction, in which Spanish Liberals had suffered the vengeance of the “Society of the Exterminating Angel,” followed the “seven years’ war” of factions. Talleyrand thought of intervention; but Palmerston’s “great stroke” was a treaty of alliance with the Liberals of Portugal and Spain which he suddenly presented to the Cabinet. With the later adhesion of France it became the Quadruple Alliance. The moral effect of the treaty, in Palmerston’s boast, intimidated the pretenders. On the other hand, France saw in it a definite purpose to fetter French policy, to forbid her assertion of any authority beyond the Pyrenees, and to turn the Spanish troubles to the exclusive advantage of English power. Louis Philippe deserted his headstrong partner, while Palmerston went forward alone. Without committing his government to intervention he suspended the Foreign Enlistment Act, and a legion was raised in aid of the Liberals. Tempted by high but precarious pay, the adventurers fought with great gallantry until, destitute of stores and ill-supported by the Spaniards, they were with difficulty extricated. Exhaustion alone brought about the downfall of the Carlists and the close of the civil war. Against critics of his intervention in a domestic affair, Palmerston contended that commercial and political interests would profit by constitutional government, and claimed that he had prevented the dictation of other powers. “Spain for the Spaniards is the maxim upon which we proceed,” said he, “and we considered that the independence of Spain was more likely to be secured by a government controlled by a representative and national assembly than by a government purely arbitrary.” His arguments could not conceal the danger of his policy, and how gravely he had prejudiced the relations of England and France.</p>
<p>England and Turkey</p> <p>1808</p>	<p>A new conflict intensified the French view of Palmerston as an enemy bent on checking their country at every outlet. In the east the French had long been patrons of the famous Mehemet Ali. He had served with the English against Napoleon; but as Pasha of Egypt he defeated an English force that attacked Alexandria, and exhibited in Cairo an avenue of posts bearing the heads of a thousand British slain; while by the advice of the French consul the prisoners were returned without ransom. With the aid of French officers he created a navy and an army and built up a dominion from Crete to Khartoum. His powerful help alone enabled the Sultan to hold out against the Greek revolt. To exact his promised reward—the Pashalics of Damascus and Syria—he sent his son Ibrahim to conquer the whole of Syria and advance over</p>
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Asia Minor. The English envoy to the Porte, Sir Stratford Canning, a believer in the possible reform of Turkey and in a nascent Young Turk party, desired help from England; but the English fleet was occupied on the Dutch coast in defence of Belgium, nor could the French interfere, since their troops were besieging Antwerp. Mehemet might have ruled in Constantinople, but for a Russian army which landed at the Bosphorus. From the grateful Sultan the Tsar wrested the treaty of Unkiar Skelessi, by which in effect the warships of every nation but his own were excluded from the Black Sea. England and France protested in vain against handing over the keys of the Black Sea to a rival power, while Turkey remained little better than "vassal to the Russian Government." On the other hand the Tsar, deeply incensed at the two revolutionary countries of the West, whom he considered outside the Concert of Europe, refused to allay their fears by communicating to England the decision of Münchengrätz which bound him to maintain the integrity of Turkey. Mehemet, meanwhile, proposing to set up his independent rule from Egypt over Syria and Arabia, stood across the two routes to India, the Red Sea, and the Euphrates valley to which the invention of steamers had given increased commercial importance. Copying Western methods, he had trifled with the idea of a parliament, but to prevent inconvenience he selected both the government and the opposition. As an industrial and commercial reformer he set up huge cotton mills, whose expensive machinery fell to pieces through want of care; and bound down every profitable industry from silk to vegetable gardens under his government monopolies. To defeat his system of protection Palmerston won from the Sultan a commercial treaty of free trade throughout the Ottoman empire, and to enforce it required the cession of Aden—a sun-scorched fort which from the crater of an extinct volcano dominated the entrance to the Red Sea—the first new territory of Queen Victoria's reign and the forecast of a greater harvest to come. The commercial treaty was the turning point of the struggle. Mehemet threatened to declare himself independent and the Sultan answered by war. A vast army (with von Moltke among other Prussian officers) hurled against Ibrahim, was annihilated in the battle of Nezib. Within six days the Sultan was dead, and his fleet had sailed from the Dardanelles to join Mehemet Ali. A year of embittered controversy followed. Palmerston had a single purpose—so to restore the old boundaries of the Turkish empire that it should remain in occupation of the roads to India. The French, on the other hand, whose influence was powerful in the eastern Mediterranean, and throughout Greece, Egypt, and Mesopotamia, saw in Mehemet an invincible bulwark against English power; believing that the Turkish empire must inevitably be dismembered, they advocated the independence of its detached provinces

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and the union of Egypt and Syria. Casting France aside, Palmerston entered into mysterious dealings not only with Austria and Prussia but with Russia, and received the Tsarevitch in England. In the Convention of London the four powers pledged themselves to secure the integrity of Turkey by maintaining the neutrality of the Dardanelles, and required Mehemet to renounce Crete, northern Syria, and the holy cities of Arabia; if his answer was delayed for twenty days, all his other possessions might be withdrawn. As six years before Palmerston had sprung on the country a Quadruple Alliance to secure its hold on the west Mediterranean, so to protect her place in the east he now threw England into a Quadrilateral arrangement with the despotic powers under Metternich's influence. France was neither informed of the treaty nor invited to sign; she had now to choose between the desertion of her old ally Mehemet and a conflict with all Europe. The Tsar detested the government of Louis Philippe. Throughout Germany passions of hatred and vengeance sprang to life with the revival of the Napoleonic legend in France, the second landing of Louis Napoleon in the moment of the most intense exasperation at the affronts of the London conference, and the bringing of the great Emperor's bones to Paris from St. Helena amid the tears and acclamations of a people. Prussia professed a fear of French revenge for 1815. The anniversary of the battle of Leipsic was in its ardent celebration like the birth of a new nation. The isolation of France gave Palmerston his opportunity. "If Mehemet Ali would not yield he must be chucked into the Nile," he declared: it was "to England's interest" that the Sultan should retake Syria and Egypt. He had already in June prepared a rising in Syria. Now, before it was possible to have an answer from Mehemet to the terms offered, he sent a fleet, aided by Austria and Turkey, to bombard Beirut. The excitement in Paris was extreme, and inflammatory denunciations of England were shouted at every street corner. "I know your king better than you," said Palmerston to a Frenchman; "he will never make war." He spoke truly. In an outburst of national rage Louis Philippe was christened "the Napoleon of Peace." Thiers was forced to resign. The fall of Acre, till then held impregnable, cut Mehemet off from Syria, and Napier sailed to bombard Alexandria. But Palmerston's pertinacity was at last checked by the intervention of France and the other powers. In a new conference of Five Powers at London Mehemet's hereditary possession of Egypt was asserted, and in spite of Palmerston's prolonged resistance and many intrigues was established; while he was presently given for his life the basin of the Nile into the far Sudan. France in vain proposed the freedom or the neutrality of the Suez and Euphrates routes, or pleaded the wretched case of the Syrian Christians thrown back under the savage rule of Turkey.

England was now the leading power in the Levant, having thrown back France and Russia and secured her way to India. In the capitals of Europe and throughout the East the fame of Palmerston resounded for his alert diplomacy and the vigour of his blow, while Englishmen in general agreed that the foiling of French policy and a naval victory had raised the honour of the country higher than it had been since Waterloo. He had, however, to meet strong opposition in Parliament. The Radicals condemned a policy which caused the "signal calamity" of a rupture with France and made England an accomplice of the "sinister motives" of Russia. Monckton Milnes cried out against "an armed people, a peace without its profits, a war without its stimulants, and without any of those circumstances which could make war tolerable." Disraeli, insisting on the value of alliance with France, declared that since 1830 England had witnessed her foreign system changed and reconstructed, while Parliament, absorbed in domestic affairs, had not a single debate to discuss the principles of her action abroad. But Palmerston never trimmed his foreign policy to the pattern of the House of Commons; his support was outside its walls. He could rely on the traditional hatred of France. He caught the ear of the people, and flattered them by his assertions of the power of Great Britain. They loved his racy speeches and the boasts of his least scrupulous intrigues. "How was it we did drive him out of Syria?" he told his constituents. "Merely by giving a few muskets to the people of the country; by sending a few hundred marines on shore to aid them and saying, 'Go it, my boys; if you want to get rid of Mehemet Ali, here we are to back you; if you intend to act, now's your time.' They took us at our word; they kicked him out neck and crop, and his army too; they hailed us as their deliverers." Later years were to show the cost of Palmerston's success. The Ottoman empire was now under the joint protection of all the great powers; henceforth it would be the battlefield of them all. Mehemet Ali ruled in Egypt by the will of Europe—a new diplomatic situation. The case of the Syrian Christians held already the menace of a great war. An attempt by the Porte at internal reform succeeded at least in organizing a powerful military force against the Christian subjects. As for the neutrality of the Dardanelles, in a dozen years the fleets of France and England, whatever the protocol might say, were to pass into the Black Sea. Russia, fully sensible that it was through England she had lost the position won in 1833, was determined to regain her predominant influence at Constantinople, even if she had to break with her dangerous ally. Another sinister change appeared in Europe from the moment when France, betrayed by England, turned to Austria; for Prussia, threatened on her western and southern frontiers by the alliance she most feared, prepared her weapon for self-defence by closer

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SEC. II. FOREIGN AND COLONIAL POLICY 1815 TO 1914 The Tory policy	<p>union of the German states. All Europe was convulsed with fears and ambitions, and a settlement of the "Eastern question" in which each power, with narrow and short-sighted outlook, was bent on its sole interests, regardless of the ultimate peace of the continent—such a settlement could only be the prelude of new wars to come.</p>
1841	<p>There was a change in foreign policy when the Liberals fell, defeated on a budget which attempted some concessions to free-traders. Since Wellington the Tory policy was that of peace and friendliness to the autocratic sovereigns of the Continent. Sir Robert Peel, the new premier, inculcated on his ministers "strong aversion to extension of territorial responsibilities, and a frank admission of the equal rights of foreign countries." Reversing the system of Palmerston, which he abhorred, he introduced relations with foreign powers more sedate and conciliatory. A series of disputes into which Palmerston had entered with the United States were settled so as to secure American friendship. Since 1812 relations had been courteous; the two countries had joined hands over the Monroe doctrine;</p>
1842	<p>the Ashburton-Webster treaty solved an old dispute dating from 1783 over the frontier of Maine and New Brunswick, and other misunderstandings, and Peel's proposals stilled the cry for war over the boundary of Oregon.</p>
1846	<p>In Europe the Queen's favourite minister, Lord Aberdeen, had but a lukewarm sympathy with oppressed nationalities, and saw no bulwark against war save the treaties of Vienna; under him England drew to a better understanding with Austria and Prussia. Intent on resuming good relations with France, he refused to regard the clamour of rage when a French admiral, exceeding his instructions, annexed Tahiti, or when the French war in Algiers widened into Morocco and threatened the transport trade between Tangier and Gibraltar. Louis Philippe, uneasy about the security of his throne, welcomed the renewal of English friendship, marked by two meetings with Queen Victoria in France, and a visit to Windsor.</p>
1843-1845	<p>An attempt was made towards a joint settlement of the perennial problem of the Spanish succession; the young Queen Isabella was allotted to a Bourbon prince, and her sister to the youngest son of Louis Philippe, provided that an heir to the throne was previously born. But the chosen Bourbon was so depraved and effete that the accidents of revolution or lack of issue might have given the throne to the grandson of Louis Philippe.</p>
1846	<p>Three years of sordid intrigue came to a sudden end when Palmerston returned to power, with his known determination to prevent the Orleanist alliance. Spain and France—alike alienated by his dictatorial dispatch on the marriages, which directed the Spanish government to abandon at once arbitrary rule and return to the ways of the constitution—agreed to have the two marriages celebrated on the same day.</p>

Once more Palmerston had severed the understanding between England and France. Alarmed at the growth of a republican party, Guizot restricted the freedom of the press and of meetings; while, as if by contrast, Palmerston extended his patronage broadcast to Liberal ideas. He sent a mission of sympathy to Italian States struggling for reform, hoping in fact to counsel prudence and to check the wearing of the red cap of liberty—"to teach diplomacy," scoffed Disraeli, "to the country where Machiavelli was born." His action led to an alliance between Metternich and Guizot when the people of Switzerland broke into revolution. Seven Catholic cantons threw off their allegiance to the Federation, formed the Sonderbund, and appealed to arms; on their defeat by the Federal Diet in a brisk campaign, Guizot endeavoured by means of a European Conference to bring about intervention in favour of the Catholics. But Palmerston, upholding the right of the Swiss nation to control its own affairs, did little to further the Conference until the war was at an end. The powers were soon engaged with greater issues, for in a few months the example of Switzerland was universal. "Liberty," said Bright, "is on the march." Nationalists and democrats asserted their claims throughout Europe. The risings began in Sicily, and every post brought news of a revolution or a dethronement. Radicals and republicans expelled the house of Orleans, and Louis Philippe fled to our shores; Metternich escaped to London in fear of his life; the Emperor Ferdinand abdicated, and was succeeded by Francis Joseph who links the revolution of 1848 with the war of 1914. Encouraged by this turmoil the Magyars revolted, and within a year Louis Kossuth had proclaimed the independence of Hungary. The Czechs rallied the "South Slavonic nations," and the Slav congress at Prague, and the Croatsians at Agram, demanded their constitutional rights; Rome ejected the Pope, and Mazzini and Garibaldi set up a Roman Republic. Sardinia endeavoured to drive the Austrians from the north of Italy; Prussia demanded a constitution. Of the great powers England alone, confident in such political and economic freedom as she had won, afforded a shelter to the refugees, king, statesman, and revolutionist alike. Beyond this Palmerston remained a "passive spectator"; intervention would have had no limit, and common action was impossible. At length authority gained the upper hand, and rebellion was slowly crushed. The Socialists of France tried a series of experiments, which led to disastrous conflicts, and paved the way for the rule of Louis Buonaparte. Austria defeated Sardinia at Novara; with the help of Russia, she drove Kossuth from the plains of Hungary, and forced him to take refuge in Turkey. The Republicans were thrust out of Rome. For nearly two years panic and violence possessed every court in Europe and reigned

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in every mob. Though Great Britain sternly held down a famine-stricken Ireland, and suppressed the Chartists, Palmerston was not indifferent to the Liberals of other nations; he supplied arms to the Sicilians, protested against Russia's intervention in Hungary, and denounced the atrocities of Austria. No answer was sent when the Austrian minister, in a pungent retort to Palmerston's admonitions, reminded him of "unhappy Ireland" and of the empire throughout whose vast extent England was accustomed to maintain "the authority of law, were it even at the price of torrents of blood. It is not for us to blame her." From advice Palmerston proceeded to action. When the despots tried to force the Sultan to expel Kossuth and the Hungarian refugees, the British fleet was sent to demonstrate in support of Turkey. To admonish King Otto for his hostility to Turkey and friendship for France and Russia, he diverted the fleet to the Piræus and exacted exorbitant compensations for a strip of land taken from Finlay, the historian, and for the depredations of a mob in the house of Don Pacifico, a Jew born in Gibraltar. The protests of France and Russia, our co-guarantors of the kingdom of Greece, were alike neglected, and war appeared possible. A violence so overbearing was repudiated by the Lords, and their censure compelled Lord John Russell to discard his foreign minister, to justify his policy, or to resign. A motion was brought forward expressing confidence in the spirit and principle upon which our affairs were conducted; "its defeat," said Russell, "would inspire joy in the hearts of all the lovers of despotism, and all the haters of liberty throughout Europe." Palmerston's work for the past twenty years was reviewed in all its phases. The Conservatives abjured "the alluring and dangerous doctrine" of intervention, and affirmed that Palmerston's interference was capricious; they attacked his provocative language, declaring that by encouraging "what were called Liberal principles" he "paved the way for Jacobinism and anarchy, which eventually led to reaction." England's mission, said Gladstone, was not that of a "universal schoolmaster": he denied to any one country a position of peculiar privilege, and raised the debate to a higher plane when he associated all Europe with the obligations of Christendom. Peel, unconscious that he was addressing the House for the last time, denounced aggressive diplomacy as costly and mischievous, and asserted that constitutional liberty was best ensured by the efforts of those who aspired to freedom. Russell in reply defended intervention: "Besides the general interest of mankind," he said, "it is our particular interest with regard to Europe that freedom should be extended." A display of enthusiasm beyond example in that generation burst forth at the premier's closing words: "So long as we continue the government of this country, I can answer for my noble friend that he will act not as the minister of Austria, or as the minister of Russia, or of France, or of any other country,

but as the minister of England." But the most vigorous defence came from Palmerston himself, who appealed confidently to the principles of justice and freedom which had actuated his general policy. Denying that the Greek affair was a matter of intervention, he claimed that the Briton abroad, "whether his house be a palace or a cabin," should have the protection of the flag, rather than submit to the indifferent justice of foreign tribunals. He invoked the remembrance of Roman citizenship, and affirmed that "a British subject, in whatever land he may be, shall feel confident that the watchful eye and the strong arm of England will protect him against injustice and wrong." The cheers which greeted his bold peroration echoed throughout the land; the vote of confidence was carried and Palmerston's popularity assured.

It was in this debate that Richard Cobden appeared as pioneer of that school of thought which embodied the doctrines of Kant and the aims of the Congress of Vienna. Cobden possessed a considerable, though biassed, knowledge of foreign affairs; he had studied the Egyptian question while Mehemet Ali was still a power; had visited America and Prussia; had discussed the state of Ireland with Metternich, and economics with Bastiat; he was an active member of the peace conferences held in Paris and Frankfort; and was an advocate of arbitration. In the Greek debate he displayed a "sovereign contempt for diplomacy" with its superfine distinctions of terms; had the people, he said, been fully acquainted with the contents of the blue-books, they would have subscribed the money necessary to compensate British subjects in Greece, rather than coerce a small country. "If I have one conviction stronger than another," he declared, "it is in favour of the principle of non-intervention in the domestic concerns of other nations." His hopes were centred in international law; since it was seldom easy to be sure of the rights of a quarrel in foreign countries, and the heat of contention, and the platforms of "ignorant and excitable constituencies," were the worst time and place in which to arrive at a correct judgment. The keystone of his political arch was free trade. On that he based his confidence, and regarded the exchange of goods as an object-lesson in the benefits and practice of peace. He brought the aspirations of the Abbé de St. Pierre into the House of Commons, and though he reluctantly admitted war in defence of honour and interests, he looked forward to a day when it should become as obsolete as the duel. Towards this consummation the English people were to lead the way. "It is precisely because Great Britain is strong in resources, in courage, in institutions, in geographical position," he wrote, "that she can before all other Powers afford to be moral, and to set the example of a mighty nation walking in the paths of justice and peace." But peace had to contend with many enemies;

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and Cobden lived to see slavery abolished by force of arms in the country which next to his own he regarded as a pattern to the world. While he was at the height of his power, Italy was still a "geographical expression," and the German empire was a medley of races preparing for unity through a policy of "blood and iron." Cobden ignored the danger of being unarmed in a world of armaments. His theories were stoutly assailed. "Whatever can be called principle in the Manchester school," said a politician, "depends upon the price of cotton"; and Tennyson ridiculed "the huckster" who would put down war. More cogent was Disraeli's criticism that it was madness to think of universal peace because America and England were rich and prosperous, since "wars are made not by the powers which are contented and satisfied, but by the race or prince who agitates for a position." But a peace party steadily grew, educated either on economic lines by Cobden, or by a friend of humanity like the Quaker John Bright; and foreign policy had henceforth to reckon with criticism from the standpoint of ethics. The Liberals held fast their right of interference for Liberal ideas, the Conservatives advocated peace with security, but the Radicals unfurled a new banner, inscribed with a message of goodwill between nations, and endeavoured to give effect to international law.

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The Manchester school built vain hopes of peace on the success of the Great Exhibition, and on the sudden downfall of Palmerston from the height of his triumph. For the last four years he had been in conflict with the court, where the Queen asserted a new authority in the direction of foreign affairs, and where all influences were German in character and reactionary in sentiment. Palmerston's neglect to submit to the sovereign the final drafts of his dispatches; his high-handed rebuffs to Austrian, Greek, and Prussian ambassadors; his open sympathy with Louis Kossuth, had already offended the Queen, the Prince Consort, and the Premier. At length, without the consent of his colleagues, he gave official approval to Louis Napoleon, whose *coup d'état* had made him President of the French Republic. Palmerston believed the new ruler to be no despot, but willing to restore constitutional government. He foresaw in him one of the dominant forces of the next generation, and in face of dangers threatening England's policy in the East a power whose support she would need. From the court and the cabinet came angry demands for a foreign minister who could act "without offering the right hand to rampant despotism, and the left to democratic conspirators," and Palmerston was dismissed. His downfall was regarded throughout Europe as equally grateful to despots and dangerous to liberalism. Russell's government survived his resignation for a few weeks only, and his successor Lord Derby fell a few months later. As the panic spread that France under the new despotism would become once

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more a powerful military state, a war-fever swept through the country, and Wellington's last speech in the Lords, in support of the Militia Bill to arm England against a new Napoleon, marked the height of the agitation. Before the year was out however Queen and ministers were obliged to reverse their policy, and to give public recognition to Napoleon III. as Emperor of the French. The court soon found that the fallen minister had not lost his influence. Palmerston had left a tradition which criticism could not destroy, and the lapse of time cannot wholly obscure. Since England was to him the champion of justice he interpreted intervention as a right, and was always on the side of the people when democracy and despotism fought out their battles abroad. When a mob of draymen at a brewery assaulted Haynau, "the butcher of Hungary," Palmerston laughed at the outrage, and prepared so haughty an explanation for the Austrian Ambassador that Russell was forced to tone it down. The Radicals who presented addresses to Louis Kossuth, with "too much gunpowder" for Cobden and too much "knight-errantry" for Bright, knew that Palmerston had dismayed the government by proposing to receive Kossuth, and had allowed a deputation at the Foreign Office to denounce the emperors of Russia and Austria as odious assassins. So complete were the admiration and trust won from the Radicals by his democratic sympathies, that his colleagues as a whole preferred to cling to the coach rather than dispense with a reckless driver. The middle class saw in "Pam" a statesman prepared at all hazards to defend their country's rights; and the merchant repaid the minister by earning a reputation for commercial integrity. Though the Queen was convinced that he exposed the court to constant risk of alarming complications, there came a time when she realized that her later advisers obliged her to take the military measures which Palmerston refused to threaten. He accorded well with an age in which violent action and humanitarian sentiment contrived an odd companionship: they met in what he looked upon as his "greatest achievement," the forcing of the Brazilians to give up their slave-trade. Though at times opposing arbitration, as contrary to our honour, he suggested a treaty with the United States by which, if a quarrel arose, the two nations should have recourse to the mediation of some friendly Power. At the same time he saw that our navy and our colonies excited such jealousy that it would be difficult to discover impartial arbiters. Even as a staunch free-trader, he had no delusions as to perpetual peace in a world untuned to its reception. Unlike Cobden he would arm first and talk afterwards; he exhorted his country to remember that England, unarmed and unprepared, betrayed her friends, proved unjust to herself, and was unworthy of her mission. The flag was in his eyes an emblem of freedom, and a guarantee of protection. "I look only to the honour and advantage

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of England," said Palmerston frankly, "and to what offers the fairest prospect of extending her commercial relations, and the system of her influence and power."

Since the great peace the foreign policy of England had been guided according to principles of party, Whig or Tory. But in the confusion and general disruption which followed Peel's acceptance of free trade, the breaking of all ties of party allegiance, and the failure of traditional rules left Russell's ministry without solid support—"a government on sufferance." After its fall the Conservatives lingered a few months in office, till they in their turn were displaced by a coalition of Whigs and Peelites under Lord Aberdeen. Palmerston was relegated to the Home Office, while Russell, and after him Clarendon, conducted foreign affairs. With opposing ideals, and distracted by dissensions, the ill-assorted Cabinet made a sincere effort for the next two years to guide the country through an uneasy period of transition. Within a year the ministry had involved England in a great war, and broken the forty years' peace. The problem of the Ottoman empire, half buried ten years before, was rising in a more ominous form. The Tsar Nicholas believed that the time had now come to recover the predominant position in Turkey which he had won at Unkiar Skelessi and lost at the Conference of London. An excuse for acting was at hand. Since 1774 Russia had claimed the right to protect the Orthodox Faith within the Turkish Empire; dignitaries of the Greek Church guarded the tombs of the Christian kings, appointed the door-keeper for the Holy Sepulchre, or tended the roof of the Chapel of the Nativity. France, on behalf of Latin Christians in Palestine, had a claim of over twelve hundred years to similar privileges, which had been practically lost in the Napoleonic wars. Louis Napoleon, as President or Emperor, was determined to abandon none of these historic rights: and the duel between France and Russia begun at Constantinople was urged on by the clerical party, and embittered by Napoleon's anger at the Tsar's contempt for his imperial title. To give the Latin monks a key to the Shrine of the Sacred Manger, a cupboard and a lamp in the Virgin's tomb, three great powers were dragged into war. Nothing seemed more remote than the participation of Great Britain. But the government was undecided; to support Turkey was an article of political faith, and the fear of Russian menace to the British position in India was now the dominating influence in foreign policy. The Tsar was misled by the reports of his ambassador and by the speeches of public men as to the will of England to go to war on behalf of a moribund empire; while he himself had long been under the illusion that a permanent conciliation between Russia and England might be effected by a division of power in the east, which would allow to Russia an issue for her ships from the Black Sea, and to

England control of the Red Sea route to India. His proposals to divide the inheritance of the Turk, the "sick man of Europe," were practically the same as he had urged on Aberdeen in his visit nine years before. For a free hand in the Danubian provinces, he offered to England Crete and Egypt. His prevision was remarkable, but we mistrusted the giver. An effort to stave off war by urging moderation on France, and on the Porte reform, was vitiated by the choice of a mediator. Russell, before giving up the Foreign Office to Clarendon, appointed as ambassador to the Porte Lord Stratford de Redcliffe, the Stratford Canning of earlier times. Clarendon distrusted Stratford, but could not recall him; Stratford had a grievance against the Tsar, and had no faith in Russia. Menschikoff, Russian Ambassador at Constantinople, assumed that Russia and Turkey were alone concerned in the dispute, and demanded a protectorate over all Greek Christians which would have given his country a pretext for interference in any part of the Turkish Empire. At Stratford's instigation, the Porte resisted a proposal which left it but a fragment of sovereignty. Russia retorted with an ultimatum, withdrew her ambassador, and occupied Moldavia and Wallachia. British and French ships were dispatched at once to the Dardanelles, and warlike preparations, which tended to inflame rather than allay the crisis, were hurried on. In a last attempt to avert disaster the representatives of Austria, France, Prussia, and Great Britain met at Vienna, and drew up a note for presentation at St. Petersburg and Constantinople; but the diplomats failed at their own trade, for the note was couched in such ambiguous terms as to be of little value. Russia accepted an arrangement which could be interpreted in her favour; Turkey suggested amendments, and had the secret support of Stratford. Feeling assured of English help, an assurance strengthened by the presence of the fleet, she demanded the withdrawal of the Russian forces from the Danubian provinces, and sent troops to enforce the demands. Tentative engagements took place, while the diplomats worked for a settlement. But Napoleon had determined to defy Russia, and we had as much to apprehend from our ally as from our enemy. Aberdeen and Clarendon desired peace, though they saw England "drifting towards war." No resolute word was spoken, but the British fleet was ordered, in spite of the treaty of 1841, to pass through the Bosphorus for "defensive operations" in any part of the Black Sea. Measures vacillating yet provocative failed, as they failed at the time of Navarino. Another "untoward event" confounded diplomacy. In reply to an attack upon their army near Bucharest the Russian fleet sank a Turkish squadron in the bay of Sinope. At the news all hope of peace was destroyed. Troops were moved to Malta, and the British and French fleets sailed into the Black Sea. Diplomacy made its final effort, but on Russia's refusal to evacuate the

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provinces war was declared. Such was the effect of divided counsels ; Aberdeen was irresolute while Palmerston was determined, and an aggressive and uncontrolled Liberalism hastened a conflict with the champion of autocracy—a contest not for the Holy Places, but against the remnants of the Holy Alliance, and the despotic principle which had triumphed in 1849. Russia's attack upon Hungary, her treatment of Poland were counts in a long indictment ; but above all these was jealousy at her steady approach towards India and her designs upon the Dardanelles.

War was opened with a light heart. Immense crowds cheered the soldiers and hardly gave them room to pass ; the navy left Spithead escorted by the royal yacht. It was soon seen that the Foreign Office and the War Office had failed to work together. The navy was well over the two-power standard, but the army was scarcely larger than that of Belgium. With ill-timed zeal the government separated the departments of Colonies and War. The Duke of Newcastle began work with an entirely new staff ; mobilization was a farce ; there were no reserves ; arms and clothing were insufficient, and no preparation was made for a winter campaign. In four months 11,000 men were landed in Turkey, to fight side by side with the Turks and the French. There was jealousy in the chief command ; the active and brilliant St. Arnaud did not see eye to eye with Raglan, whose experience dated back to the Peninsular war, and who was close on seventy. To threaten the communications of the Russian army and force it to fall back, troops were landed at Varna. The next step was to secure a base for operations in Russia and to destroy her naval power by the capture of Sebastopol. At the opening of the war its fall was a daily rumour, but the Allies were far from success. The first engagement took place at the river Alma, north of the fortress. The Russians were posted upon the heights above the stream, and were dislodged after a tremendous struggle. They retreated in good order and were unpursued. In the time gained Menschikoff rendered an attack from the north almost impossible, blocked the harbour by sinking his own ships, and brought up reinforcements. Taking the offensive, he endeavoured to break up the British position at Balaclava. The resistance of our infantry was clinched by a dauntless charge of the heavy cavalry, who routed many times their number. To crown the day by a further success, Raglan sent the Light Cavalry Brigade into action. His orders were misunderstood, and six hundred and seventy-three troopers dashed through a valley towards the Russian batteries. One hundred and ninety-five survived the famous charge. The officers and men were magnificent in daring, and in the next engagement they displayed astounding valour. A sortie was made against the British lines at Inkerman, a position held by the Guards. Masses of Russians

came on in the grey dawn, only to be driven back ; when ammunition failed our men clubbed their rifles or used the bayonet, and some even fought with their fists. Yet owing to the numbers of the enemy no assault could be made upon Sebastopol, and the soldiers' battle remained a pointless sacrifice. A winter of arctic severity found the troops totally unprepared. The picturesque uniforms were in rags ; there was neither food nor forage, no shelter, no succour for the wounded ; disease and death were everywhere. A terrific storm tore up the tents, destroyed vast quantities of provisions, and caused incredible suffering. The state of the men leaked out through the correspondent of the *Times* newspaper : "Sharp misery has worn them to the bone ; they have lost all the bravery of war. They are ragged, shoeless, besmeared with mud, infested by vermin, and tortured by scorbutic disease. Their life has been one long troubled miserable dream." Florence Nightingale, by her labours to alleviate their sufferings, became the heroine of the soldiers. The unflinching gallantry of the troops was recognized by the Victoria Cross with its motto "For Valour." But the country, appalled by the revelations of incompetence and mismanagement, called for an inquiry into the conduct of the war. The ministry, involved in disputes and recriminations with the military and naval leaders, at length resigned, and after some hesitation the Queen was compelled by public opinion to send for Palmerston. From the pitch of expectation to which it had been led, the country fell into a corresponding gloom. Peace seemed impossible until some of the disgrace was wiped away, and the pacifists, Cobden and Bright, were burned in effigy. Negotiations opened at Vienna broke down upon the neutrality of the Black Sea, but the prolongation of the war called out no protest from the public. The command of the sea enabled a steady stream of men and supplies to reach headquarters, and the Allies were reinforced by fifteen thousand troops from Piedmont. The chief officers were changed, there were gallant attacks on the various redoubts by French and Sardinians : and while the English troops were repulsed in an assault on the Redan, military pride was saved by the heroic defence of Kars under General Fenwick Williams. He had held the town from the beginning of the war, and the flag was still flying when Sebastopol fell, after a year's siege, though he was forced at last to surrender. From the destruction of Russia's naval base on the Black Sea England would have proceeded to destroy Cronstadt, bombard St. Petersburg, restore Finland to Sweden in return for her alliance, and utterly break the power of Russia in the Baltic. But Napoleon refused to hear of a diversion of the war from its first purpose, and insisted on ceasing hostilities.

The popular war produced an unpopular peace : "There was no indication," said a Frenchman, "as to which was the victor and which the vanquished." Reviews and illuminations could not obscure the

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truth ; Britain had sacrificed lives and treasure and obtained little in return, while France secretly concerted with Austria the terms of peace which with slight changes were accepted at the treaty of Paris. For the first time in the nineteenth century the Sultan signed a treaty which did not diminish his territory or authority ; on his mere promise to grant to his Christian subjects equality with the Mussulmans, they were left absolutely at his mercy ; the neutrality of the Straits and the Black Sea was guaranteed by the great powers. Turkey, secured within and without from European interference, or from Russian attack at sea, obtained what Castlereagh would have given her at Vienna, a place in the concert of the Powers and in the public law of Europe. By the forbidding of all vessels of war and arsenals on the Black Sea, England secured the abolition of a Russian navy which might some day have passed into the Mediterranean. Austria gained the withdrawal of a Russian protectorate in Wallachia and Moldavia, and their independence under Turkish suzerainty ; by her insistence a strip of Bessarabia was added to Moldavia. Little did Austria know, commented the Russian ambassador, how many tears and how much blood this altered frontier would cost her. In twenty years the treaty was a dead letter. Turkish reform died. Russia sailed her ships on the Black Sea, fortified its shores, and took back Bessarabia. Guarantees of integrity for Turkey were forgotten. England accepted, not Crete but Cyprus, and occupied Egypt. The only relic of the Conference was the Declaration of Paris, which laid down laws for maritime warfare. England had always asserted, contrary to the general opinion, a right to confiscate enemy goods in neutral vessels. On the invitation of France an attempt was made at an international system. It was agreed that privateering should be abolished ; that the neutral flag covers the enemy's goods, except contraband of war ; that neutral goods, except contraband of war, are not liable to capture under enemy's flags ; that a blockade, to be binding, must be maintained by a force sufficient to prevent access to the enemy's coastline. Such a code chiefly affected Great Britain, whose islands form the heart of a diffuse empire, and whose only safeguard is a navy which in time of war should have the fullest scope. With other nations it was different ; each had an interest in the diminution of British sea power, and welcomed a code which effected it. Clarendon signed the Declaration without consulting the government, and though it was never formally ratified by Great Britain nor by the United States, its principles were accepted. The omission to define contraband left us entangled in a net of "juridical niceties." Naval experts deplored a step which made our position insecure, and journals announced the news with their pages in mourning.

Results of
the War

The results as well as the motives of the Crimean war were in many respects a gain for liberal principles. The profits of the war had

indeed fallen to Napoleon III. From his place at the head of the Congress of Paris he might look back proudly to the Congress of Vienna. After the struggle, in which England had helped him to win military prestige, largely at the expense of her own, he stood forth as a brilliant leader in European politics, inspired by romantic visions of knightly deeds from Circassia to Mexico, and by his imperial obligation to renew for his country an age of glory. The dread of France, which corresponded to the dread of Russia in the next generation, and to that of Germany to-day, reached its height after the Crimean war. Fear of Napoleon's aggrandizement, which was shared alike by Liberal and Tory, by the court and the whole nation, culminated in the universal panic at the increase of the French fleet, and in the Volunteer movement to avert a dreaded invasion. But France under Napoleon's rule was in the main a liberal power with regard to lesser nationalities. And not the least result of the Crimean war was his success in breaking the alliance of Russia, Prussia, and Austria, and thus preparing the way for the liberation of Italy. In Russia, meanwhile, the corrupt and reactionary system gave way before the anger of the people, who believed it to be the cause of their failure in the war. Moved by the popular impulse, the new Tsar Alexander proceeded to free the serfs and gradually to liberalize the government. Deeply angered at the "ingratitude" of Austria in standing aloof during the Crimean war, Russia denied to her in 1859 the aid to crush Italy which she had given in 1849. With Great Britain a long and embittered hostility had begun. Arbiter of Europe in 1849, Russia now saw her power decrease; against England her bitterness remained. The Tsar resented English friendship with a Mohammedan potentate, and distrusted her obstinate blindness towards the corruptions of Turkish rule. Checked in her march towards Constantinople, Russia bided her time until the Black Sea could be reopened, and turned with the steady pressure of a glacier towards India and the Persian Gulf.

The reverberation of the Crimean war was first felt in India. In that strangely isolated country, cut off by the desert and high lands of Baluchistan, by the Himalayas, and the forested hills of Burmah, the only external attack that could threaten English dominion was from Russia. Afghanistan was the sole road by land to India, and behind its mountains and valleys the steppes and deserts and hills of Turkestan, Khorassan, and north-east Persia were themselves a formidable barrier. At the first advance of Russia towards the deep passages of the north-west England had sent a small army and a few civilians to occupy Kabul, and having expelled the Amir, Dost Mohammed, the friend of Russia, restored his rival to the throne. An insurrection of the Afghans drove out the foreigners, and in that terrible retreat a single survivor escaped through the snow-covered

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passes to carry the news to the nearest English post. After a few months the tragedy was partially avenged ; and an ostentatious triumph was announced with "prancing" proclamations. But Dost Mohammed returned in peace to his throne in Kabul ; and the practical defeat of British policy and action lessened British prestige in India. It was somewhat restored by the military successes which followed on Sir Charles Napier's unprovoked aggression on Sind ; and by the victories over the Mahratta chief of Gwalior. A more important matter was the Sikh war. Ranjit Sing, the ruler of Lahore, had died, and his Sikh generals were anxious to measure their strength against the British. They crossed the Sutlej into English territory ; but within a brief period their military power was broken at the pitched battles of Moodke, Ferozeshah, Aliwal, and Sabraon, and Lahore was occupied. Peace was made at the cost of Sikh territory and a limitation of their military forces. The arrival of Lord Dalhousie as Governor-General was the turning point of Anglo-Indian history. Well-intentioned and masterful, he believed that the extension of British rule was the true remedy for all the ills of India. His annexation of the Punjab was forced on him by the Sikh soldiery, who again challenged the British power at Chilianwala and Goojerat ; his annexation of Lower Burmah was the consequence of the ill-treatment of British merchants and insults offered to the captain of a frigate sent to remonstrate ; but the annexation of Oudh and of the State of Satara as an escheat to the British Crown was in pursuance of his policy of expansion. Dalhousie improved the administration, adjusted the finances, and organized irrigation ; but shocked the native princes by forbidding the immemorial custom of adoption where a ruler had no son to inherit his principality and perform the religious rites for the dead father. His successor, a son of George Canning, responding to a demand by the more advanced Indians, offended the feelings of the orthodox by permitting the marriage of widows. In the coast fringe Indians sought western education as the surest passport to government employment and professional success, but throughout native society the effervescence of the new learning produced doubt, suspicion, and dissension ; men were shaken by the clash of eastern and western knowledge. In the isolation of India her people had preserved ancient rites and their own peculiar life, differing in tradition and domestic organization from any other community in Asia. They were attached to their civilization, which, though gradually overlaid with gross superstition and monstrous practice, was distinguished by its sacred writings and philosophy, and had a noble tradition of architecture, painting, and skilled crafts. In the foreigner's reforms the orthodox Indian was less pleased by material comfort than displeased by the shocks to his strong conservative instinct which many of the administrative improvements entailed. The people were

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ignorant, and found continued regulation irksome. These and other causes of dissatisfaction more recondite gathered force with the conviction that an old Asiatic civilization could find no appeal to European rulers but by the sword.

While India was shaken by this contest of ideals and interests the events of the Crimean war furnished insidious gossip for the bazaars and diminished the dread of English power. Hostility to alien rule was intensified by the humiliating sense that the will of the foreigner was enforced by an insignificant army, which had been depleted by the troops withdrawn to the Crimea and China till the English soldiers were outnumbered by eight to one. In the native army religious excitement had been roused by the distribution of a new rifle with cartridges, part of which had to be bitten off before use; the story spread that in their manufacture the grease of cattle or of swine was used, the touching of which was an abomination to Hindus and Mohammedans respectively. The Indian government at once issued new cartridges for the troops, but suspicion still haunted the soldiers. Rumours and prophecies were spread abroad, and mysterious messages passed from hand to hand. Local mutinies began with the outbreak in Meerut and spread to the cantonments in Hindustan. The mutineers made for Delhi, where the last of the Moghuls kept a precarious state—a city which in their hopes was again to be the glorious centre of a Moghul empire. From Delhi the insurrection swept down the valley of the Jumna by Agra, over Central India and Bundelkhand, and reached its greatest force in Oudh, annexed only a year before, and along the valley of the sacred Ganges by Cawnpore and Benares. Traditions of old dynasties, the ambitions of local chieftains, and religious fanaticism, were united against the foreigner. A few instances alone can be given of the peril and heroism of those tragic days. In Cawnpore 800 Europeans were shut in a temporary fortification with a garrison of 210; after a fatal siege in the summer heat, almost starving, they surrendered on the promise of a safe conduct by the Rajah of Bithoor, commonly known as Nana Sahib, and claiming to be the adopted heir of the last Mahratta Peishwa, whose adoption had been disallowed under Dalhousie's edict; but the fugitives had hardly embarked upon the Ganges when the mutineers opened fire, killed a large number, and hacked most of the survivors in pieces. The women and children were massacred in cold blood and their bodies thrown into a well, only just before forces arrived for their relief. British troops supported by Sikhs were sent to relieve Delhi, but were themselves besieged on the awful ridge they held, and for three months suffered every horror of exposure to the Indian sun, of cholera and disease, of assaults day and night, and a deluge of fire from the fortifications, till reinforcements arrived, and the city and palace were occupied. Havelock and Outram hastened on to the

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help of Lucknow, the second city after Calcutta, filled with mutinous soldiers, where almost a thousand Europeans, men, women, and children, and the bulk of the 32nd Regiment, with some loyal native troops, were gathered in the Residency and a group of houses in a small park below it—buildings never intended for defence. On the second day of the siege Sir Henry Lawrence, Governor of Oudh, had been killed, but in their absolute isolation the garrison held out for three months under General Inglis until aid came, and a month later the city was retaken by Colin Campbell. The government hurriedly diverted troops from the China war, from Persia, from Madras, and Ceylon; and by the end of the year the danger to England had passed away. The revolt had been mostly limited to the army and the troops of native princes. India was preserved to the Empire by the gallantry of the British army, the fidelity of most of the native princes and of the Sikh soldiers, and the assistance lent by the Maharajah of Nepal, from whose hill state came the hardy Gurkha soldiers.

For a time the terror and rage kindled by the revolt broke out in deeds of vengeance, and extreme excesses were indulged in on both sides. The Governor, dreading the dangers of an embittered conflict, sought to mitigate these passions, and by his courage and magnanimity earned the honourable nickname of "Clemency Canning." While the mutiny still raged, he issued a proclamation exhorting the East India Company to refrain from unreasoning vengeance. "We have had bloody enmities with every tribe and race in India," he wrote, "but we have never yet treated them when vanquished with sweeping contempt and hatred. It will be a bad day for us when that word becomes naturalized in India." His attitude was condemned by those who demanded "Saxon domination," stringent laws for the natives, and the exclusion of the Indian from all places of trust and authority. If that is "Saxon domination," said Canning, "the less we have of it the better. Justice, and that as stern and inflexible as law and might can make it, I will deal out. But I will never allow an angry or discriminating act or word to proceed from the Government of India so long as I am responsible for it." His own policy of confiscating to the State the soil of the entire province of Oudh was vehemently impugned in England, but he justified himself by re-granting it to the proprietors on condition of payment of the revenue and of loyalty to the British Crown. These grants are now prized by the proprietors, or Talukdars, as their indefeasible title deeds, and Canning's policy would have been admirable if it had only been accompanied by adequate provision for the cultivators of the soil. This omission was not rectified till very recent times. Not only the dangers of the mutiny, but the rapid accessions of territory, and the new problem of government, forced Englishmen to feel their grave responsibility

for so vast a dependency. The whole extent of subject India, with two or three hundred millions of inhabitants, forty-three separate races, and twenty-one languages in common use, was still governed by Pitt's India Bill, and her trade by the directors of the East India Company. Palmerston brought in a Bill for the better government of India, and at his temporary fall from power the Conservatives assured Canning of their support. They framed the final bill by which the Court of Directors and the Board of Control were abolished, and the powers and territory of the East India Company were at length vested in the Crown. The Queen was proclaimed Sovereign of India. Her first Viceroy ruled in Calcutta, and at Westminster a Secretary of State was made responsible to Parliament. In the later development of this great dependency the officials of Irish and Scottish origin played a prominent part in the work of peaceful and humane government, winning for themselves a high position as administrators, nearer in comprehension to the subject peoples, and intelligent in softening the more rigid lines of rule imposed by conquest.

Scarcely was the mutiny ended when Indian troops were hurried to the China coast, where England had lately made Hong-Kong her farthest station in the east. One of Palmerston's earliest acts had been to admit English merchants to the China trade, until then a monopoly of the East India Company. Stripped of its old prudent regulations, the new trade was carried on with grave disorders and complications. The Chinese, resentful of intrusion, forbade the import of opium, "the foreign curse," amid protests of the Indian government at their loss of revenue, and angry outcries from the merchants, nine-tenths of them engaged in the opium trade, who declared that the Chinese only closed their harbours to opium as a crafty excuse to bar out all trade with foreigners. An opium war became in the popular view a war for the "open door" to commerce. Confused and unequal conflicts followed of coast-guards and smugglers, Chinese officials and British agents. Palmerston, with his brisk methods of coercion, demanded of China a commercial treaty, or the cession of one or more islands from which Great Britain could trade, and sent a naval force to blockade the rivers and secure the necessary islands; with such success in assault and capture that the treaty of Nanking ceded to England Hong-Kong, opened five other ports to her trade, and granted rich indemnities. Britain required only such trading rights as should be extended to other nations. America hastened to make a treaty, and to stipulate that if ministers of European peoples were allowed at Peking her envoy too should be received. France with a powerful squadron obtained her commercial treaty and a protectorate of Roman Catholic converts. The whole world, Shaftesbury said, "was intoxicated with the

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Euro- pean wars	<p>The conflict for world-empire however was delayed for twenty years by a series of five great wars within Europe itself. The congress of Vienna had left some ten peoples, or groups of peoples, without national life or security, and of these only two small powers, Greece and Belgium, had as yet won independence. The Crimean war, which ended the long peace, and the imperfect settlement of the treaty of Paris, let loose the fears and jealousies of Europe, and opened a new era of conflict and reconstruction. England stood aloof; but as the determination to accomplish the national ideal passed from country to country, the boundaries of peoples were</p>
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remade, their ambitions recast, and in the overturning of the old balance of power the European concert was swept aside.

"All the territorial arrangements on this side of the Alps are complete," wrote Castlereagh in 1815. Beyond the mountains Italy was still struggling for unity. The "cry of woe" which echoed throughout Europe was due to mediæval forms of misgovernment in the Papal states, the hard hand of Austria in Lombardy, and the scandalous rule of the Bourbon kings in Sicily and Naples. The aspirations of Italy centred round the kingdom of Piedmont-Sardinia, with its liberal institutions and its small but gallant army. The republicanism of Mazzini, and the work of the secret societies, had been discredited by the failure of forlorn revolts. On the other hand Cavour, the prime minister of Sardinia, was a statesman of the first rank. Some of his most impressionable years were spent in England; he had written upon the Irish question, and studied English methods of agriculture. He saw in the power of industry and science the source of political freedom; "railways," said he, "were to stitch up the boot." Eager to cultivate English support, he sent Italian goods to the Great Exhibition, lured the Liberals with a promise of free trade, and furthered his cause by supplying our writers with material, our press with facilities. King Victor Emmanuel visited Windsor and impressed the Court by his courage and honesty. Panizzi, librarian of the British Museum, laboured to create a public opinion favourable to "that most interesting and unfortunate country." Piedmont was made an example; her leaders were neither republicans nor advocates of assassination, but Liberals, who paid their debts and conducted the government upon a sound financial basis. Such a combination of ideals and efficiency won English sympathy. Palmerston and Russell were pronounced adherents, and the minister at Turin, Sir James Hudson, was "more Italian than the Italians themselves." Gladstone had witnessed political trials in Naples, and proclaimed Neapolitan misrule, with all its horrors, as "the negation of God erected into a system of government." The English Whig recalled his contests for Belgium and Greece; the Radical supported a small state which in the name of freedom attacked the outworks of clerical privilege; Protestant zeal approved a movement which challenged the Pope, and even Lord Shaftesbury "the Huguenot," though no radical, welcomed an anti-papal rising. Cavour in return encouraged the Bible Society, provided its agents did not excite disorder in ardent endeavours to convert the Piedmontese. Step by step the cause of the "noble little country" gained ground. The utmost enthusiasm was aroused when, at the invitation of Napoleon, Cavour sent an army to the Crimea, and by this courageous act allied himself with the democratic powers and established his position in the councils of Europe. He obtained at the congress of

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Paris a discussion on the affairs of Italy. Our envoy, Lord Clarendon, spoke with warmth and indignation, but when on his return Lord Lyndhurst, a true friend to Italy, moved to condemn the Austrian occupation the motion was withdrawn at Clarendon's request, as though, said a statesman, we had barked and then not ventured to bite. Cavour indeed, by revealing his desire for war against Austria, had alarmed Clarendon, who hoped that the pressure of France and England could provide a peaceful solution of the Italian question. "If our Allies desert us," said Cavour, in an outburst of disappointment, "the triumph of Austria and the Pope will be complete."

This danger was increased by the fall of the Whigs. Frequent shelter given to political refugees, from Kossuth and Mazzini to lesser fugitives, had made London in the eyes of foreign sovereigns "a den of conspirators." An Italian exile, Orsini, well known in society, attempted to assassinate Napoleon by bombs made in Birmingham; the indignation of France forced Palmerston to frame a Bill which, preserving the right of asylum, converted conspiracy from misdemeanour to a felony; but public resentment at any alteration of the law on the behest of a foreign power drove the Whigs from office. The Tory government and the Court, clinging to their tradition of "peace and order," dreaded the tearing up of the treaties of 1815 in Italy or elsewhere, as certain to lead to war and to another period of Napoleonic ambitions,—fears which were realized in the wars of 1859, 1866, and 1870, though these did not end in Napoleonic aggrandizement. Lord Derby, like Castlereagh, hoped by agreement with the central states of Prussia and Austria to maintain a balance of power against danger. But this renewal, in a more peaceful way, of Pitt's policy involved leaving Austria mistress of Italy, and compelled English opposition to the Italian liberal movement. Queen Victoria supported the view of Lord Malmesbury, the foreign secretary, that Austria's title to Lombardy was as good as that of England to Ireland, "quivering in our grasp," and that the Neapolitan government had a right to deal with revolutionaries in its own manner. Dreading the consequences of Cavour's "diabolic energy," the Conservatives sought rather to palliate the grievances of Italy than to aid her by arms or diplomacy. Cavour turned to Napoleon, who dramatically pledged his support. While preparations for war were accelerated, Malmesbury urged a conference to enforce disarmament. France wavered, and Cavour in despair accepted the proposal. But Austria, confident of victory, played into his hands; the Emperor hurled an ultimatum at Piedmont and declared war upon the combined forces of France and Sardinia. One province after another rallied to the cause of Italian unity. The rapid success of the allies amazed and disconcerted the whole of Europe. Prussia, restless upon the Rhine, threatened to take up arms in defence of a German state. Not only

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was Napoleon fearful for France, but he saw that his retainer might fast become an independent colleague. The French reproached him with raising a possible rival in the Mediterranean. After the victories of Magenta and Solferino he deserted his ally, and concluded a truce with Francis Joseph at Villafranca. Lombardy alone was freed. The great betrayal forced Cavour to resign; and Italy, confronted with Austria and France, could not hope to achieve alone her unity and independence. In her extreme peril she found help in England. When the downfall of Derby's ministry was announced the representative of Sardinia, waiting in the lobby, threw up his hat with joy. The papers which might have justified their foreign policy were withheld from the House in inscrutable fashion by Disraeli. In June, at the very crisis of Italy's fate, Palmerston barely scraped back into power with a majority of only thirteen votes. Instantly his foreign minister Russell rejected the proposal of a European conference, proclaimed the Italians to be the best judges of their own affairs, and asserted that the British government viewed with sympathy the prospect of a people building up the edifice of their independence amid the good wishes of Europe. "You are blessed night and morning," said his nephew, "by twenty millions of Italians."

It was England's view that the various provinces should confirm their union by a popular vote, and Napoleon, whose power rested on universal suffrage, could not well resist. He was paid for his help by the cession of Savoy and Nice, a sacrifice so great that only the timely return of Cavour rendered it possible. Bologna and Parma, Tuscany and Emilia voted with scarce a dissentient voice for union with Piedmont. But the south was yet to be won, and Russell supported Cavour in frustrating the intervention of the Powers. It had been Napoleon's object to establish in north Italy a weak liberal state dependent on himself against Austria, and to reform the governments of the Pope and the Neapolitan Bourbons under French influence. Palmerston and Russell, on the other hand, proposed to check the dreaded power of Napoleon III. by raising up a liberal kingdom strong enough to drive both France and Austria beyond its frontiers. They accepted Hudson's view that a united Italy would gravitate to alliance with Austria and Prussia against France—a prophecy fulfilled later in the Triple Alliance. Sicily and Naples were liberated by Garibaldi and his thousand volunteers, part of the papal territory was annexed, and Victor Emmanuel was hailed king of Italy. The British fleet, which under Nelson had aided the excesses of the Neapolitan court, now as a friendly neutral at Naples gave moral support to the King and to Garibaldi: when Napoleon threatened to retain the Bourbons in Sicily, a strong remonstrance from England compelled the French admiral to withdraw his squadron from Gaeta. The success of Palmerston and Russell in defeating the schemes of

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Napoleon III., and establishing a united Italy able to stand alone, remains the greatest achievement of English diplomacy in the century. Within a month the Parliament elected by various states met at Turin, and England was the first power which accorded recognition to the monarchy. The death of Cavour called forth a tribute in Parliament such as is rarely given to a foreign statesman, and cries of applause greeted the eulogies spoken by Palmerston and Russell. Robert and Elizabeth Browning and George Meredith gave noble expression to the feeling of the country. No sovereign could have met with a more royal reception than did Garibaldi when he came to our shores. He was accorded a gala night at the opera and given the freedom of the City of London. But the most striking tribute came from the English people. Trade unions and benefit societies escorted him through London; miles of human beings lined the streets and flags decorated every window. "I like to be called the brother of the working-man," said their guest, "in every part of the world." So striking was the evidence of democratic feeling that when his visit terminated abruptly there were politicians who said that he was hurried out of the country. Thousands of those who welcomed the "pure patriot" lived to see the fulfilment of his dreams. During the struggle between Prussia and Austria, Italy, though defeated on land and sea, obtained Venetia, and it was only the greater issue of the Franco-Prussian war which obscured the importance of the silent conquest of Rome and the withdrawal of the French troops. "The people of England," said Victor Emmanuel, "that home of liberty, nobly affirmed our right to be the arbiters of our own fate, and they were liberal to us in their good offices, the memory of which will endure for ever."

The union of Italy quickened the imagination and hopes of the German nation, as the Napoleonic empire in France had already deeply stirred national rivalries. Prussia, inspired by the memory of Frederick the Great, resolved to revoke the dual confederation made at Vienna and to challenge Austria for the leadership of the German race. Her great future had already been predicted. "The Allies," said Talleyrand at the Congress, "have pledged themselves to leave Prussia with ten millions of her people. If she be so left she will soon have twenty millions, and all Germany will be subject to her." Heeren, a Göttingen professor, apprehended that a united German monarchy seeking to attain that preponderance which her central situation demanded would dig the grave of European liberty. Prussia steadily pursued her aims; her Zollverein gradually drew into its sphere all the states north of Austria, blending commercial interests with national ideals. Aspirations for a united Germany resounded in the triumphant songs, "Die Wacht am Rhein" and "Deutschland über Alles." England thought of her as a homely and peaceful nation nurtured

on music and philosophy, a misconception fostered by the German influence so powerful at Court. Cobden regarded the mild form of absolutism practised in Prussia as the best government in Europe for the mass of the people ; and Russell, in spite of Disraeli's scoff at his "mystical hallucination of German nationality," was convinced that she would "establish representative institutions." But Prussia had not forgiven Castlereagh for thwarting her aims at the Congress, she had been angered by the Monroe doctrine which hampered her growing trade with South America, and she was attacking the liberal constitution granted by William IV. to Hanover at the time when his death severed it from the English crown. English diplomatists were suspicious of her bearing ; Stratford Canning resented the fictitious interviews which the Prussian minister at the Porte put into his mouth, "a scheme of treachery almost unparalleled even in diplomacy" ; and Malmesbury declared that the Prussian government circulated false reports of his conversations over Schleswig-Holstein. The necessity of understanding her aims was urged by Robert Morier, a diplomatist who was in Germany when a trivial incident aroused bitter feeling. An English officer, equally ignorant of Prussian law and the German language, became involved in a dispute about a seat in a railway carriage. Neither side would tender an apology, and the affair assumed an international importance justifying the publication of a blue-book. An indignant speech of the Prime Minister led to recriminations in the Prussian Parliament. "Has the devil a son?" said a German rhymester, "he is assuredly Palmerston." The press did "enormous and wanton mischief" by a series of attacks upon everything Prussian. A quarrel so easily misunderstood and exaggerated had far-reaching effects. The Crown Prince had in 1858 married our Princess Royal ; and England's reputation for arrogance was increased, and her influence at Berlin lessened, at the very moment when Prussian Liberalism was making a last struggle for power, and a strong party favoured an Anglo-Prussian alliance. But all hopes of constitutional government were extinguished by the army bill which Otto von Bismarck forced on the nation ; the state of Prussia, he affirmed, was too critical to venture a constitution ; great questions were not decided by speeches and votes, but by "blood and iron." His single purpose was to beat back the dangers that threatened every German frontier. To protect the east, and secure his country against France on the west, he gained the alliance of Russia by a signal service. The constitution granted to the Poles at the Congress of Vienna was revoked in 1832, and their hopes now rested on the liberal policy which the Tsar had inaugurated after the Crimean War. "Enemies from abroad" procured their ruin ; a new and harsh system of conscription in Poland for the Russian army led to a desperate revolt, encouraged from Prussia. Confidential correspondence lately discovered at Cracow

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has revealed the mistrust and jealousy which prevented common action by the powers. Napoleon suggested a congress. "If the congress had been a house of Babel," said the Queen of Holland, "at least it would have taught to lurking democracy the sincere desire of the governments to do something to settle claims and wrongs which are growing daily more clamorous." English sympathy was largely with the Poles; but intervention was impossible without the support of France, and Napoleon was engaged in a fantastic attempt to create a Catholic Empire in Mexico. Austria feared the revolution as an example to her own possessions. Bismarck, in spite of the liberals, threw his country on the side of the Tsar and secured the triumph of Russia. His eastern frontier safe, he turned to make Prussia a maritime power commanding, and linking together, ports on the Baltic and the North Sea. The duchies of Schleswig and Holstein were united to Denmark by a vague personal tie, and when in 1848 they revolted against a threat of incorporation they were assisted by Prussian troops. Disraeli alone in England protested against this attempt to convert the "dreamy and dangerous nonsense" of nationality into an excuse for Prussia to take the Baltic ports and the mouth of the Elbe. Before long Prussia was forced by Austria to withdraw her army from Schleswig-Holstein, whose relations with Denmark, and whose complications of succession, were regulated by the Protocol of London. But Bismarck still regarded the "liberation of the Duchies" as a means for Prussian aggrandizement. The quarrel burst out again with the accession of a new king of Denmark. In return for his support to the dynasty Bismarck demanded a marine station at Kiel, and the right to construct a Prussian canal between the two seas. The aggressions of Denmark on the liberties of the provinces, and its dynastic disputes, enabled him to lure Austria into a scheme for a united invasion of the duchies. Fired by their success in Italy, Palmerston and Russell desired intervention, and in their speeches pledged the government to maintain, even by arms, the integrity of Denmark. But Napoleon, who had proposed a congress, refused to join, and Russia held to her new ally. The navy alone could not affect the issue, and the army was inadequate. While the country sympathized with a small nation, the Queen supported Prussia, and asserted that "any encouragement to Denmark would be fatal." A conference was unsuccessful, for the Danes trusting to English help refused compromise, and England had to stand aside while the duchies were overrun by the joint armies of Austria and Prussia. The government had pledged her good name in foreshadowing engagements she was compelled to disown. Had England been impartial she might have acted as mediator, but as a partisan she was out of court. Disraeli lamented the harm which was done, and taunted the government with its want of system in foreign affairs.

Even Cobden, who welcomed the blow given to intervention, condemned our policy. After fifty-eight years of public life, in which only nine had been spent out of office, Palmerston was now by his death spared the spectacle of an advancing rival whose great destiny he had not foreseen. His system of foreign policy died with him, and the helplessness of England in the matter of the duchies made Bismarck regard her as a nation negligible in continental affairs. "The theory of the balance of power," said Bright, "is pretty nearly dead and buried." For two years Europe was entangled in intrigues. Bismarck pacified Austria by proposing to divide the duchies; he bribed Italy to neutrality by promising possession of Venetia, drawing her towards the German alliance foreseen by Hudson; he secured the acquiescence of France by deceptive offers to Napoleon of illusory frontiers on the Rhine and Belgium. When his plans were completed he suddenly denounced the action of Austria in the duchies, demanded of the Frankfort Diet reform of the federal constitution of Germany, ordered his troops to occupy Holstein, and finally declared the German federation dissolved. A war of seven weeks ended with the triumph of Sadowa. Austria ceded Venetia to Italy, and withdrew from Germany. Prussia gained her coveted position on the sea, and took her place as head of a newly created "North German Confederation"—henceforth the greatest military power in Europe. The stupendous revolution was little observed in England by a people wholly occupied in Hyde Park riots, in a reconstruction of public finance, and in projects for a wider reform bill. Tories and Whigs saw in a greater Prussia increased security against Russia and France, while to the Court it gave added brilliance to a royal alliance.

Bismarck and Napoleon now remained the chief figures on the European stage. France represented the last menace to a Prussian frontier, and the menace increased after the expulsion of Austria from the German Confederation, when the South German Catholic states, in their hatred of the hegemony of Protestant Prussia, turned to Napoleon III. in secret negotiations. Bismarck saw his opportunity to consolidate German unity, and define a military frontier to the west. The failure of Napoleon's romantic adventure to set up a Catholic and Latin empire in Mexico had diminished his prestige; he had alienated the sympathies of Italy and England; the weakness of Austria had deprived him of a possible ally; and he was lured to a fatal step over the old question of the Spanish succession. When he resented the candidature of a prince of the House of Hohenzollern it was withdrawn, but in a rash attempt to obtain further assurances a French envoy was dispatched to Ems, and the account of his interview with the king of Prussia was distorted by Bismarck and sent to the press. At a moment when Europe appeared supremely tranquil the telegram was answered by a declaration of war. Ten days later Bismarck announced through

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the *Times* that Napoleon had recently plotted to annex Belgium ; the English government, deeply concerned by the revelation, decided that if either combatant crossed the Belgian frontier, Great Britain would assist the other in defending neutral territory, but would not engage in further operations. Important declarations were appended. Gladstone affirmed that our action was voluntary, that a guarantor might weigh the circumstances of a case before honouring his security, but he considered that England was not forced to stand aside because neither Austria nor Russia chose to intervene. A vote increasing the army and navy showed Belgium that England was in earnest, but to the bitter disappointment of the French her sympathies leaned at first in favour of Prussia from the belief that France had provoked the conflict expecting an easy invasion of Germany. The course of the war soon showed that one combatant was prepared and united, the other unprepared and the victim of her dynasty. Within six weeks Sedan was fought and France defeated. After the fall of Napoleon Gladstone and Lord Granville refused the appeal made by Thiers to England first among the powers, for mediation on behalf of the French in their extremity ; and in spite of his remonstrances against their abdication of any part in continental affairs, they left France to deal alone with Germany. The severity of her punishment, the cession of Alsace-Lorraine, the ruthlessness of the Prussian troops, combined to react on public opinion. England had maintained her neutrality amid the indignation of both sides—"too holy to fight," wrote Morier, "but rubbing our hands at the roaring trade we are driving in cartridges and ammunition. We are heaping up to ourselves the undying hatred of this German race that will henceforth rule the world." The proximity of France enabled her to buy from us coal, munitions, and horses. Prussians reproached our government, and recalled the day when Wellington and Blücher joined hands at Waterloo ; we allowed free trade, they said, in instruments of slaughter, though we could always prevent the sale of arms to the Fenians. "The English are more hated at this moment than the French," wrote the Crown Princess, and the warning was repeated by countless diplomats and correspondents. A further danger was disclosed in the discovery that Bismarck had ensured Russia's neutrality by a promise to refrain from protest when his ally violated the treaty of Paris and reopened the Black Sea to her warships. Palmerston had seen, as Gladstone saw, that the restriction could hardly be permanent, but the deliberate breach of a treaty without the consent of the signatories was of evil omen. Menaced as England was by disputes with the United States, and hampered by the helplessness of France, she found herself in a dangerous position, but a threat of war won for her a conference in London. Though Russia's action received formal sanction, the

principle was affirmed that no power could alter a treaty or liberate itself from an engagement without the consent of the European concert.

The elevation at Versailles of the king of Prussia to the place of German Emperor, and the Treaty of Frankfort dismembering and humiliating France, changed the course of European history. The rise of an overpowering military nation, prophesied by every continental statesman since Talleyrand, was accepted in England with satisfaction. "A strong Germany under Prussian leadership," said an observer, "had been the life-long dream of Baron Stockmar, under whose influence Queen Victoria and Prince Albert had placed this fundamental idea as their chief hope for the new Europe which was to arise from the ashes of 1848." "So if Sadowa and Sedan had gone amiss," wrote Lord Morley later, "the resplendent orb of German radiance and intellectual power would never have broken through the nebulous skies of a disunited fatherland and diffused its beams over the civilized world." The English in general watched almost as disinterested spectators the fall and rise of continental empires. England, in fact, stood apart from the European conflicts that followed the Crimean war. Her concern lay beyond the European border. From 1856 onwards there was scarcely a year in which Great Britain was not at war in some far region of the globe, pushing out her frontiers over ever-increasing territories, or defending her settlements. An empire had arisen from the sea, the first island empire in the world's history. If its swift expansion, and the complicated administration of subject peoples, exceeded in extent and degree all former records, those did not constitute its original character or its ultimate strength. They were of less significance than the steady movement of self-government by which England was establishing a power wholly new in the tale of empires ancient or modern. The development of the German state and of the British dominions moved forward step by step during the same years. Europe watched the deliberate creation of a typical military empire, of single design and marvellous organization, an empire inspired by traditions from the past of Charlemagne, and of Barbarossa. The work of England lay in half-consciously moulding her own scattered colonies on the other side of the world along peaceful and democratic lines into a confederation of common consent—a bold advance into the future, where the past could give neither pattern nor experience, and where the design and organization of statesmen were subordinated to the living spirit of free peoples. Twenty years before the Crimean war she had begun to convert the colonies of English race into the "five free nations" of an empire planted in the great oceans. While Palmerston busied himself with China or Spain, the colonists were preparing the way for the independence to which the bolder

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spirits aspired. "Emancipate your colonies," wrote Bentham in 1793, and pointed the way to a new policy. The mercantile system had been discredited by the loss of America, and a new empire slowly took shape, rising from the ruins of the old. The terror of the American revolt and of the Napoleonic wars had imposed strict military discipline and command; and during the first half of the nineteenth century imperialism stood for rigid and centralized control. As a measure of greater security Parliament took the place of the Crown as supreme authority. No new territory was granted a local legislature: in all the governor was absolute, subject only to the minister at home. The colonies, in complete commercial and financial subjection, suffered at times considerable loss and inconvenience. Ministers who encouraged a tentative growth of democratic principles in England were fearful lest colonial democracy might become a menace to the Mother country. Whigs and Tories alike opposed the doctrine of freedom; even Russell held that extended self-government was outside the pale of practical politics, and Wellington persisted that "responsible government and the sovereignty of Great Britain were completely incompatible." But the same spirit of freedom which by the Reform bill had captured the outworks of responsible government in England against all obstacles and prejudices was also astir in colonial life.

A small band of men endowed with imagination determined to show the truth of Bentham's prophecy that empire was not inconsistent with self-government. Charles Buller and Edward Gibbon Wakefield—"a democratic man in all fibres of him," said Carlyle—were the apostles of a new age and a noble future. They foresaw the opportunities which the colonies would give to the wealth of England, to her industries and shipping, and to the vigour and daring of her people. They deplored the slowness of politicians to grasp the importance of the new lands, and decried the rigidity and lack of sympathy shown by "Mr. Mothercountry," the embodiment of Downing Street rule; their remedy was to train the colonies themselves by control of municipal affairs to wider duties. They soon had occasion to test their creed. "You have got another Ireland growing up in every colony you possess," said Peel, and the issue bore witness to the truth of his warning. Canada had in her representative assemblies a shadow of self-government; but the reality of power lay with a Governor and an administrative Council responsible only to Downing Street. To the jealousy between the council and the assemblies was added the racial strife of English and French Canadians, and a conflict between the democracy and the local oligarchy, or "family compact" of the church, magistracy, and banks. At length the provinces of Upper and Lower Canada broke into open revolt, and for two years political passion drove insurgents

to resist the law, while the ruling class perverted justice in the name of order. Refugees crossed the frontier and mingled with the wild and lawless men who lived near the Great Lakes. America justly complained of disturbance so near her borders. At the same time the strong ties of the frontier colonists with their neighbours in the United States foreshadowed a powerful agitation for the absorption of Canada. Loyalists, suspicious of every mark of sympathy as an attempt to seduce Canada, cried for vengeance on the French Canadians, and for war with the United States. Both countries threatened a campaign of plunder and reprisal. In this tragic and disastrous confusion Lord Durham was sent to Canada as High Commissioner, and with him went Buller and Wakefield. "Never, I believe," wrote Buller, "did men embark in any public undertaking with more singleness and honesty of purpose." Durham's first step was daring and conciliatory; he proclaimed an amnesty and released the prisoners. The effect in the United States was instantaneous, and for a time jealousy was forgotten in admiration for his boldness. He had rallied Canada to the Crown. But at home Melbourne's ministry was divided; it failed to support him in the amnesty; and within six months of his departure Durham returned to England baffled and heartbroken. In his passion of imperial patriotism he sent to the press, as a matter of "grave urgency," his report drawn up by Buller and Wakefield. "It needs no change in the principles of government," ran the report, "no invention of a new constitutional theory. . . . It needs but to follow out consistently the principles of the British constitution." Many detailed reforms were insisted on, but above all was the principle of responsible government as the Magna Charta of the colonies, coupled with "a good system of municipal institutions." The Crown should "henceforth consult the wishes of the people in the choice of its servants"; the executive Council should no longer retain office when they lost the confidence of the representative Assembly. Lord Durham and his helpers left their mark on imperial affairs by their bold spirit of constitutional liberty. They foretold the future greatness of the dominions, the pride of nationality within the colonies, and the need of giving to the new peoples a country of their own, a country whose course they would themselves direct, and whose free existence they would defend against all enemies. Though Durham's mind was concentrated on Canada and its dangers, he laid down principles which made his report "the text-book of every advocate of colonial freedom." Russell accepted his advice, and Canada received representative government, with a single Parliament and a legislative Council.

"British America is lost!" was the cry of the Tories, and in this "rank and infectious report" they saw only an excuse for future

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rebellions : at any sacrifice England was bound, in their view, to keep complete command over the colonies "as an integral part of the Empire." The Whigs, in their fervour for free trade, insisted on commercial control while allowing political liberty. The Radicals believed that complete freedom and the growth of common interests would alone secure imperial union. But, as the colonies complained, the general indifference of English people "abandoned them entirely to Downing Street." Save when a party vote was involved, imperial questions were discussed in an empty and inattentive House. An endeavour to educate the country was made by the Society for Colonial Reform, founded by William Molesworth. He recognized that a Colonial Office which undertook the care of forty communities had set itself an impossible task. England had to meet the "vast expenditure" of their internal administration, the protection of their interests in a world-wide diplomacy, and the military defence of a hundred frontiers, mountain ranges lost in snow, parched deserts of sand, rivers, seas, or a bare line of latitude ruled across the prairie. The colonies paid but a tenth of their expenses ; they yielded no tribute ; it was doubted whether they offered any important commercial advantages ; and there was a common opinion that the adoption of free trade had destroyed the only motive for retaining them under control. As responsibility grew enthusiasm declined. Carlyle's satire broke forth : " ' If you want to go from us, go ; we by no means want you to stay : you cost us money, which is scarce ; desperate quantities of trouble too : why not go if you wish it ? ' " Such is the humour of British statesmen at this time." Molesworth for his part urged faith in the colonists : and showed that with the expansion of self-government they would gradually shoulder their own burdens. While politicians argued, Canada was leading the colonies towards a new position in the Empire. She owed much to the guidance of Lord Elgin, who launched responsible government. Though mobbed by a minority, who burned down the Parliament House at Montreal, he insisted on giving his assent to an unpopular Bill, and urged Canada to grip her own administration. When her farmers were faced with ruin by the repeal of the Corn Laws he struck off the shackles of the Navigation Act, thus preparing a reciprocal treaty with the United States ; and five years later Canada established her own protective tariff and founded the fiscal independence of the colonies. Her statesmen foresaw the day when the inhabited plots should be pieced together and a greater Canada should stretch, like the States, in unbroken political unity from the Atlantic to the Pacific Ocean. They desired a boundless expanse of territory to provide for the needs of a fast increasing population, which the certainty of freedom and the hopes of fortune attracted from Europe. Above all they feared the activity of a powerful and aggressive neighbour ; for Polk, President

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of the United States, after annexing Texas, had attempted to push his claims across the vulnerable Canadian border, where the advent of alien traders or the raids of alien armies might intercept the road to the Pacific, and wreck not only their hopes but their very independence. Moreover the progress of the Civil War in the United States involved them in the grave risks which threatened England. Dangerous questions had arisen as to the definition of belligerents and of rebels, of blockade, contraband, "continuous voyage." Two envoys from the southern states who sailed for London in a British steamer, the *Trent*, were arrested by an officer of the Northern navy. Palmerston sent a force to be held ready in Canada, and demanded instant apology for a violation of international law. For some weeks peace hung in the balance; the press was violent; prayers for war were said in the States Senate, and a resolution was passed in favour of a navy sufficient to "defend the seas from the sway of an arbitrary trident." By wise counsel war was averted; but scarcely had the envoys been given up than a new peril arose. The Confederates having bought a British vessel fitted her as a privateer, and while the government was inquiring into the rights of the enterprise the *Alabama* slipped out of the Mersey, and delivered a series of attacks upon Northern commerce. In the height of excitement at her extraordinary success, Gladstone made his famous declaration as to the Confederates of the South: their leaders had made an army, they are making a navy, and what is more than either, he said, "they have made a nation." Thousands of Englishmen echoed his words, for they regarded the South as fighting for its constitutional life. But there was a sudden revulsion of feeling with President Lincoln's proclamation of freedom to the slaves. All other matters forgotten, Englishmen refused to recognize a State "based on the foundation of human bondage." They came to think as Manchester had thought for many months. The mills had long been deprived of raw material, but even in face of starvation the cotton-workers refused to take a single bale from slave-owning states. Rich and poor, Whig and Tory, hastened to subscribe for the relief of Lancashire. President Lincoln sent cargoes of flour for the workers whose attitude had helped to maintain peace between the countries. A section of opinion in the Northern States indeed was eager for war with Great Britain, and the hotheads urged an attack on Canada or on English commerce, while English merchants on their side proposed to break the irregular blockade of the Southern States, and two ironclads were built in English yards for the Confederates. The government however checked every breach of neutrality, detained the ships, and resisted Napoleon's project for joint mediation. The close of the war brought new difficulties. Hundreds of thousands of Irish fugitives from famine and eviction had sought in the States, beyond the British

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Empire, liberty, home, and opportunity. They lay outside the current theories of "Anglo-Saxon kinship." Many thousands had joined the American army. A Fenian rising was planned on both sides of the Atlantic; at the peace soldiers of Irish birth, set free from the army, were joined in a raid across the Canadian frontier by American comrades eager for war with England. A member suggested in Congress that Ireland should be recognized as a belligerent; rumours of political dissensions in Canada and doubts of its loyalty gained some credence; while even in England fear of entanglement in war with the States led to a talk of separation. A flood of pamphlets showed the popular excitement. Meanwhile the States denounced the reciprocal treaty of 1854 in the hope that commercial pressure would force Canada into the Union, an end desired by her own republicans. But the covert threat stimulated the Canadian spirit of nationality. Already the approaching victory of the Federals under President Lincoln had quickened the demand for Federal union of the provinces, and at a meeting in Quebec the delegates mapped out a Constitution. On the threat of coercion or of war a deputation of Ministers carried their scheme to London and triumphantly concluded their Treaty. The British North America Act created a Parliament for the Dominion of Canada, with a Governor and a Ministry supreme over the provincial legislatures. Without realizing the greatness of her deed, England had overturned her old colonial system; and while many hailed a step towards "amicable separation" she had forged the stoutest link in the chain of empire. When "Dominion Day" witnessed the opening of the first Parliament at Ottawa a mighty nation sprang into life. As the remoter parts, one by one, came into the Union, the Dominion was extended to the Rocky Mountains and to the Arctic Ocean. By the accession of British Columbia, a province twice the size of France, Canada bordered on the Pacific. Seven states and several territories were united under its rule. A railway built with British capital soon spanned the Dominion from sea to sea, and opened a route from England to Hong-Kong half as long as the journey by the Suez Canal. The vast distances which by dividing the eastern and western provinces formed a bar to federation, were conquered by railway development without parallel. With the means of transport her trade in wheat and cattle, furs and fruit, increased a thousandfold; her products were turned to the English markets, and her prosperity encouraged a rapid extension of settlements beyond all example. The word colony has long been proudly rejected by this first of nations within the Empire.

Australia

1787

Newfoundland, refusing to enter the Canadian Union, maintained the constitution given it in 1855; but the example of Canada inspired the settlers of the Pacific. When the United States were lost, England

turned to colonize Australia. With the coming of the earliest convicts and their guards the first plough was driven into Australian soil at Parramatta; and John Macarthur soon planted the first vineyard and imported merino sheep. From that time the squatter began to feed our woollen industries with abundant raw material. The first free colony was established as a warning to French explorers. A vast continent equal in size to Europe was dotted with tiny settlements, and separate bands of colonists pressed from the sea to the heated and parched interior. Searching for pasture-land, explorers rowed up the broad rivers or toiled across illimitable deserts which yielded neither water, shade, nor sustenance. For fifty years the squatters composed Australia's chief population, but the discovery of gold brought new problems; shepherds and labourers rushed to the gold-fields, and crowds of immigrants flooded the land. Hitherto each colony, ruled by autocratic governors and councils, fought for its own hand; there was no racial question, no indefensible boundary, no powerful neighbour to emphasize the need for union. Contests for irrigation or the control of navigable rivers, for tariffs or boundaries, were embittered by animosities between colonies formed by emigration and those whose origin lay in convict settlements where men were drilled and brutalized under penal discipline. Amid the dangers of the wilderness and the sufferings of frequent years of drought, settlers were hardened in mind and body; they endured the evils of alternate hoarding or waste and instability, due to speculation in land or metals; their opportunities for worship or education were scant. Australia, like Canada, owed a debt to Edward Gibbon Wakefield. While imprisoned for elopement with a ward in Chancery he talked in Newgate with felons condemned to Botany Bay, bought books, and emerged from confinement a colonial reformer, indignant at the scandal of transporting convicts, the iniquity of simply "shovelling out paupers," the numbing effect of the want of schools and the dearth of religion. Though his schemes for the disposal of land were a failure, he stimulated thought upon the whole range of the problem, and it was largely due to him that an end was put to transportation. Its firmest opponent was Henry Parkes; a farm labourer from Warwickshire, he set out with his wife "to unlock a door," and landed in Sydney without a friend to meet him, to become at first keeper of a toy shop, then journalist, and later a dominating parliamentary leader. The passionate energy of the new settlers made Australia. Ignorance was stamped out, political life lost much of its factiousness, a "constituted anarchy" lost its power, the brutality and violence of the press were mitigated. The slow evolution of order forms one of the finest tributes to the virtue of self-government. But under the guidance of self-made men each colony preserved a strong sense of its

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SEC. II. FOREIGN AND COLONIAL POLICY 1815 TO 1914	<p>own importance. Varieties of climate and products led to conflicting problems of labour and development. New South Wales was inclined to free trade, Victoria was wholly for protection, South Australia was mainly pastoral, Queensland had abundance of gold, while Western Australia imported convicts until compelled to desist by the anger of its rivals. Isolated by vast tracts of waste and desert, each State was content with its separate constitution, and though the British Government urged Federal Union the question was pushed aside. Its most powerful advocate was an Irish emigrant, Gavan Duffy, who had barely escaped a rebel's doom in the cause of "Ireland a nation," and now worked ardently for the national idea in his adopted country: "In the eyes of Europe and America what was a few years ago known to them only as an obscure penal settlement in some uncertain position in the Southern Ocean begins to be recognized as a fraternity of wealthy and important States capable of immense development." But in vain he warned the colonists that "neighbouring States of the second rank inevitably become confederates or enemies." The first proposal for federation was received with shouts of laughter. His great effort failed. A later conference and Bill for a Federal Council came to nothing. The strong pressure of external danger could alone put a check on internecine war and fratricidal struggles. There had been occasional alarm when the French patrolled the Pacific, annexing Tahiti and other stations, or seized New Caledonia; and the Australian demand for possession of the Oceanic archipelago against all other European Powers was met by Disraeli in his annexation of the Fiji Islands. But the first effective shock towards union was given when France planted a penal settlement in one of the islands, and Germany entered on New Guinea and the "Bismarck Archipelago." In their remote and isolated position the colonies consented to a general conference for defence; and asserted an Australian Monroe doctrine, that no foreign power should establish itself in their western waters. But the Act to create a federal council for the protection of their interests was a scanty and imperfect sketch of union for definite effort; and when a wider scheme was supported by Sir Henry Parkes, a national convention at Sydney still failed to construct a constitution.</p>
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1880	
1882	
1883-1885	
1889	
1891	
New Zealand	<p>New Zealand, in the very centre of the water hemisphere, 1,200 miles from Australia, had taken form as a British colony under the same sense of jealous independence. From 1814 English subjects had settled there, but the British Government, 11,000 miles away, had disavowed sovereignty, till French activity in the Pacific and their efforts to establish a colony in New Zealand and make it a dependency of France hastened our annexation of the islands. Six provinces were united under a Governor and Parliament, and the provincial governments presently sank into County Councils. After</p>
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ten years' fighting with the Maoris, English troops were withdrawn, and the country was left to its own resources. In the planting of the islands Wakefield's intense hostility to Ireland had left New Zealand the most purely English and Scotch in blood of all the colonies. The little community of half a million white people were confident of their own vigour, proud of the wonders of their country, with its snow-clad mountains fuming with volcanic heat, its glaciers and abundant rivers, its ice-cold lakes towards the Antarctic zone, and towards the tropics sheets of water heated to boiling-point by hidden geysers. A people ambitious and self-dependent refused to merge their colony by federation in the Commonwealth of Australia; the two countries in fact find their market on the other side of the world, and have no need to look to each other for raw material. The aim of New Zealand was to become a sister State in an Imperial Confederation, and trust for the protection of its isolated settlement to the central government, under whose guardianship the colony worked out her experiments in social reform.

It was by no road of peaceful development that South Africa entered into the circle of the free States of the Empire, but by a way of sorrow, violence, and storm. When Cape Town was taken from the Dutch in 1806, South Africa was mainly regarded as a stepping-stone to the East, and the Cape as a half-way house on the route to India. At first a mere outpost of empire, this harbour of call soon became the chief town of a new and expanding settlement. When finally the Cape became a Crown Colony immigrants poured in from Great Britain, and the Dutchman saw himself gradually ousted from a land he had marked for his own by a race equally insistent upon expansion, with whose language and law he was unfamiliar, and with whose methods of dealing he was justly dissatisfied. The Dutch courts of *Landroost* and *Heemraden* were abolished, their places being taken by resident magistrates; judicial proceedings were to be in English; equality of rights between the white and the coloured population was established. But a predominating grievance in connexion with the emancipation of the slaves determined the Dutchmen to cast off for ever English law and government. They considered the compensation to be inadequate; the order that it should be paid in London alone threw the Dutch slave-proprietors into the hands of English agents who basely defrauded them. Indignation at the treatment to which they were subjected drove them to the Great Trek. Northwards lay the unbounded veldt; harnessing their oxen to cumbersome wagons, some seven thousand, Paul Kruger among them, set out for new soil, and founded the Transvaal and the Orange Free State. By continued wars against fierce tribes of Zulus and Matabele, they maintained a precarious independence. But each move was countered by the British, who by the annexation of Natal cut off the Dutchmen

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from the sea. At length the home government, reluctant to bear for an obstinate and disaffected neighbour the cost and risk of defence, signed the Sand River Convention, by which the Boers were allowed to assume their independence. Two years later the Orange Free State obtained a like agreement at Bloemfontein. Thus, with the consent of the home government, South Africa had been divided into provinces of different allegiance. The rivalry of the old Dutch and French settlers with the incoming and dominating English was aggravated by feuds both within and without the borders of the several states. The Boer Republics saw in the provinces under English dominion a perpetual threat. Cape Colony, practically partitioned between Dutch and English, was divided against itself, contemptuous of the Boers beyond its borders, and opposed to Natal, which was intensely British. In one danger South Africa stood alone. No other colony had to face the problem of a native race which did not disappear before the European advance, and where the existence of the scanty white population was continually menaced by powerful military tribes. Besides recurrent wars with Kaffirs and Basutos, the settlers were confronted with the even more ominous problems of a community dependent on native labour, and the relations of a white race to a subject population of Africans within their borders. To meet the danger of the encompassing tribes Sir George Grey urged a system of common defence by a federal union of the various states, united under British rule, but so as to leave great individual freedom of action to each province. His scheme was wrecked by the home government; and a new proposal sent out from London was refused in South Africa on the question of the native vote. From Canada the colonies had learned that the question of their federal union must be a purely colonial question to be decided among themselves.

While the colonies acquired political self-consciousness England was gradually awakening to the range and importance of her vast heritage. Ocean steamers were now carrying out emigrants from every class in the country; and travellers such as Sir Charles Dilke, a statesman of unrivalled knowledge and sympathy with the rising fortunes of the colonies, endeavoured to inform public ignorance and compel the attention of Parliament. A new world had arisen where our language, laws, and customs were now supreme, and whose people were justly proud of their achievements. Literature, art, and music had in towns toned down the roughness of the earlier settler. The countryman bred in toil, in adventure, in daily conflict with nature, had gained an astonishing physical vigour and endurance, and skill in every sport. Confident in his freedom and strength, rapid in resource, stern and even ruthless in purpose, he was little disposed to subject either himself or his country to discipline or control. When Canada

imposed her first protective tariff the protest of the Colonial Office was met by a curt answer: "Self-government would be utterly annihilated if the views of the Imperial Government were to be preferred to those of the people of Canada." Thus at a blow ended the old theory of Empire. With the development of colonial institutions a stalwart independence grew up side by side with imperial sentiment. Pioneers of freedom, encouraged by some small successes, boldly questioned the right of Great Britain to dictate fiscal treaties and decide foreign relations; it was suggested that the colonies should become like Hanover, an appanage of the Crown, but not necessarily involved in her wars. But colonials in the main extolled "the crimson thread of kinship," and claimed the right to maintain their position and privileges as Englishmen; like Queensland they refused to be "thrust out of the Empire." In England itself all parties had abandoned "the hated name of force and coercion exercised by us." Sir Charles Dilke proposed through Imperial Councils to admit the colonies to a share in the common defence. Disraeli had in fact preceded him with a scheme of colonial representation in the Imperial Parliament, and for over a quarter of a century advocated a customs union. But politicians shirked a problem perplexed and tangled, until pressing needs of imperial defence forced them to take a wider outlook. The Maori wars in New Zealand, a futile invasion of Canada by Fenians, the Red River rebellion led by the half-caste Louis Riel, the native troubles in Natal, illustrated the expediency of leaving to the colonies their own defence. Liberals regarded the withdrawal of imperial troops as a pursuance of their general "principle of freedom," and claimed that self-government was the cure for disturbance and unrest. The system, in fact, of throwing on the colonies that managed their own affairs the entire cost of their own support enabled Britain to maintain an empire ten times as large as that of France at a third of the expense. To Conservatives the measure seemed a signal of dissolution—the final slackening of the old imperial bond. Their only alternative to separation was federation of the Empire, and extremists sought in premature fashion to introduce "in black and white" a definite federal tie, alien and abhorrent to the traditions of English political life. Ardent imperialists regarded the day of small nationalities as past, and pointed to the German empire and Italy as examples of the strength which federation produced. But neither England nor the colonies were as yet prepared for the administrative difficulties of such a union. In the main all sides accepted the actual situation. Separation might come, colonials admitted, but the general feeling was that the colonies themselves were moving in the other direction. They predicted a day when Great Britain would define her wishes and duties and the colonies would accept their obligations.

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Not only in colonial questions, but in foreign affairs, the country was torn by rival policies. After Palmerston's death English Liberals shunned intervention in Europe; Gladstone, schooled by Peel and supported by Granville, a foreign minister who loved peace, reverted to an unaggressive and conciliatory attitude. He had carried out the cession of the Ionian Islands to Greece, and had made the Treaty of Washington, to adjust many old and long-drawn-out disputes with America. Six months later he accepted arbitration to end the five years' dangerous quarrel over the *Alabama* question. The award was given by a composite tribunal sitting at Geneva. American statesmen assessed English liabilities, not at the damage that the *Alabama* had done, but at all she had cost by prolonging the war; the "indirect claims," said Disraeli, were like a tribute levied on a conquered nation. At length America reduced her terms to nine millions, and obtained three. Great Britain expressed regret for the damage done; and certain conditions were laid down governing the conduct of neutrals. The enthronement of "public right as the governing idea of European policy," together with peace and economy, were Gladstone's guiding principles. England, he wrote, could never be unfaithful to her great tradition, nor forswear her interest in the common transactions and general interests of Europe. "But her credit and her power form a fund, which in order that they may be made the most of should be thriftily used." He urged the country not to encourage the weak by expectation, but to deter the strong from aggression. Disraeli, on the other hand, represented the change of outlook in England, the distrust of a cosmopolitan view, a jealous imperialism, and the superseding of home affairs by an imaginative and striking eastern policy. In his earlier spell of power he had made war in Abyssinia and reduced Magdala. His return to office on the fall of Gladstone was marked by the annexation of the Fiji Islands, and he appealed to the pride of the country by a dramatic purchase of the Suez Canal shares that had been allotted to Egypt at its opening six years before. The magnitude of English trade through the Canal, which exceeded tenfold that of any other nation, had made a revolution in ship-building, and the excitement in Liverpool as the new model vessels arrived to load up in the Mersey gave force to his imperial ideas. At the same moment the brilliant tour planned for the Prince of Wales to India brought home to the general public the importance of the highways to the east, and the interest of England in the Ottoman Empire, whose "dominion is recognized at the head of the Persian Gulf, on the shores of the Levant, and in the immediate neighbourhood of the Suez Canal." Disraeli's Asiatic policy caught the imagination and satisfied the ambitions of the country, and invested the empire with a new glamour. Under his guidance the peaceful Tory tradition was transformed into an ostentatious and aggressive

imperialism, marked on distant frontiers by a new "forward policy." The expansion of British dominions was at all times pushed on with equal energy and success by both parties, and in the winning of new territories neither side had the slightest pre-eminence. The causes of difference lay deeper. All the nations now stood at the outset of a new age of conquest unparalleled in the world, for the first time made possible by the exaltation of man's power through scientific and mechanical discoveries. England with her coal-fields and her iron, her fleets of steamers and her ocean cables, was inevitably in the forefront of the struggle; and her leaders in enterprise, looking at past efforts and future endeavour, saw no limits to her material triumph if her spirit rose to the great occasion. On the other side were men deeply impressed by difficulties of a different order—men who saw as yet no certain solution to the grave problems of colonial government, and who questioned whether the resources of a small island were sufficient for the responsibilities it was assuming to administer, control, and defend a quarter of the earth's surface. The democracy on its part justly demanded that imperialism should mean not only foreign undertakings but a home policy, that before English resources were lavished on the outermost regions of the empire slums should be cleared from England, health given to her people, and a fitting education to her children—a policy which, if the ruling classes had understood the great issues involved, would indeed have made their country the first in the world and impregnable to all attack. The instinct of the English people, very nobly reinforced in this controversy by the Celtic races, remained true to the spirit of liberty. To Liberals the name of imperialism was justly suspect. It was the denial of a generous tradition handed down since Canning, that in Britain small and oppressed nationalities ought to find a liberal support. The word carried the implications of reactionary oppression in Russia, of government by massacre in Turkey, of the vast pretensions and corruptions of the fallen empire of Napoleon, and the military rule of that which was rising in Germany. Before the title of imperial could be accepted by a free people it had to receive after long effort a new British interpretation, as yet hidden from the Tory party of that day, and almost beyond the hopes of the Liberals themselves.

The policies represented by the two mighty antagonists, Disraeli and Gladstone, were brought into the sharpest contrast, and invested with intense popular emotion during a new crisis of the eastern danger. The problem of the Ottoman Empire after every supposed settlement reappeared more threatening than before. It took its most ominous form after the defeat of France. Alarmed at the French power of recovery, and fearful of her alliance with Russia, Bismarck almost precipitated a second war, which was only averted by the personal

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efforts of the Tsar and Queen Victoria. To prevent any union between Russia and France, he pressed the Tsar to push his conquests round the Black Sea; while he encouraged Austria, now barred out from Germany, and expelled from Italy, to repair her fortunes by a Balkan empire. The old duel between Russia seeking an outlet to the sea, and England guarding the way to India, became a conflict among the leading European powers for dominance in the East. England was isolated by the fall of France. The Sultan on the other hand gained strength by the check given to the influence of French thought, which had penetrated the Ottoman Empire, stimulating among its peoples, and even among the Moslems, aspirations of nationality; and he was now prepared to assert his mastery with a powerful army, reorganized on western lines. Turkish bankruptcy added an argument for extortion from the subject Christians. Their misery was extreme; and a rising in Herzegovina and Bosnia, planned or encouraged by Prussia, set the whole peninsula in a blaze of revolt. Three years followed of massacre and war within, and ceaseless intrigue without. Europe was divided by rival policies. The powers demanded a system of local reforms suited to the needs of the various provinces and guaranteed by Europe; England advocated the integrity of Turkey and her absolute rule, admitting no local autonomy, but giving to the Christians the protection of the European concert to prevent Russia from claiming their guardianship in the Balkans and Armenia, and France in Syria and Egypt. When therefore Austria offered the mediation of the three imperial courts, the Sultan threw aside the proposal by an announcement that he was considering a universal reform in the Ottoman Empire—a proposal in great part inspired by Disraeli and the English government. To this Austria answered by the famous “Andrassy Note,” which presented terms of immediate and definite relief for the special Balkan provinces, agreed upon by the three Emperors, by France and Italy, and half accepted by England. Since there was no hint of real pressure Turkey might acquiesce in reforms which she could “accept with reluctance and neglect with impunity.” But a new outbreak of Mohammedan fanaticism, and the murder of the French and German consuls at Salonica, forced from the three Emperors the “Berlin Note,” shorter and more decisive than the last, and threatening “efficacious measures.” Though France and Italy signed, Disraeli—who had sent a fleet to Besika Bay to protect British interests—refused joint action, offered no alternative policy, and broke up the last hope of peace enforced by the will of a united Europe. For Disraeli the day of small nations was over, while his foreign minister, Lord Derby, held that Turkey had as much right to deal in her own fashion with rebellion in the Balkans as England in Ireland, then shaken by Parnell’s demands for “Ireland a nation.” The Sultan mocked at powers in discord,

From Bulgaria came news of a month of massacre, when 10,000 bashibazouks were let loose to slaughter and burn—in Batak not 2,000 left from a population of 7,000, in the Philippopolis district alone some 12,000 hideously tortured and massacred—"horror which turns one's blood to flame," said Lord Carnarvon. In their fury Serbians and Montenegrins declared war. Overrun by Turkish forces, Serbia appealed to Europe. Disraeli scoffed at his own consul's reports as "coffee-house babble"; he professed his faith in a Young Turk constitution; which, after two Sultans had disappeared in a few weeks, finally vanished under the notorious Abd-ul-Hamid, nominee of the Old Turks. Gladstone's indignation glowed with a white heat. He made the question one of humanity and the Christian faith. Russell, now at eighty one of the last links between the old and the new Whigs, declared that, like Canning, he was for making friends with Russia and Greece and turning the Turk out of Europe; it was Gladstone's policy—joint intervention, and the expulsion of the Turk from Europe "bag and baggage." "The unspeakable Turk," wrote Carlyle, "should be immediately struck out of the question, and the country left to honest European guidance." Meetings of protest were supported by Browning and Burne Jones, Froude and Freeman, Ruskin and Morris. In the height of this public excitement Disraeli was given the title of Lord Beaconsfield by the Queen, who six months before had become at his advice Empress of India. Lord Derby appealed to the Turks to make peace with the Serbians as an "urgent necessity," but knowing that his government would apply no force they pressed on the war. Meanwhile Russia had completed her preparations. At Reichstadt the Tsar and the Austrian emperor made a compact that Russia should have a free hand in the Danubian provinces, and that in case of war with Turkey Austria should remain neutral, and for her reward should occupy Bosnia and Herzegovina. Thus fortified, and moved by the approaching extinction of the Serbian people, Russia sent an ultimatum to the Porte, obtained an armistice for Serbia, and saved the country. Her ambassador Ignatief had restored even more than the prestige of Menschikoff. Beaconsfield retorted by instantly ordering the English fleet to Besika Bay, and by a menacing speech at the Lord Mayor's banquet; and his threat of war was repeated in every music-hall by the "Jingoes" in the blatant rhyme that gave them their name. To support "our traditional policy" appeals were made to the hatreds and prejudices of the Crimean war. England proposed a conference at Constantinople, where Lord Salisbury, "with no Disraelite prejudice," was sent as representative; but immediately before the first formal meeting a telegram from the Cabinet assured the Porte that it would never countenance coercive measures against Turkey. As the full conference opened, salvoes of artillery rang out

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to announce "the promulgation of an Ottoman constitution" by Abd-ul-Hamid. The audacious renewal of an old device for exploiting the dissensions of the Powers could deceive no one; but it enabled the Sultan, confident of English support, to refuse the terms offered him, and to reject the later proposals which the baffled diplomats drew up in the Protocol of London. Russia, tired of delays, ordered her troops across the frontier. Osman Pasha's brilliant defence of Plevna long delayed their advance, but at length Roumania came to the rescue, and Russia obtained her terms almost at the gates of Constantinople. The treaty of San Stefano recognized the independence of Serbia, Montenegro, and Roumania, and created a new Bulgaria—a Christian state which stretched from the Archipelago to the Black Sea, dividing in two the empire left to the Sultan. It restored to Russia the strip of Bessarabia taken from her in 1856, and gave her the mountain land of Armenia, commanding the descent to Mesopotamia, with a part of the caravan road from Trebizond to the heart of Persia. As alarm at Russia's success spread through Tory and Liberal ranks the storm of passion at Turkish atrocities died down. Early in the war, in spite of Gladstone's prophetic denunciations, Parliament had given to Beaconsfield full freedom to conduct affairs as he saw best. His cabinet was hesitating. Twice the fleet had been ordered to pass the Dardanelles, and twice recalled on threats of resignations. But when a misleading telegram from the British Minister at the Porte announced a menacing Russian advance on Constantinople, English ships were hurried to the Bosphorus and off the island of Prinkipo confronted the Russian army at San Stefano. War seemed imminent. Liberals wavered in the House of Commons and joined in passing a vote of credit. Gladstone's windows were broken by a "Jingo" mob. The impression was false, but panic remained. Beaconsfield seized the opportunity, called out the reserves, and on Lord Derby's resignation made Lord Salisbury his foreign minister. In a famous dispatch he struck the alarm of a shattered Turkey, a Canal in danger, and an omnipotent Russia in command of "the unrivalled situation and resources which Europe had entrusted to the Porte." He carried with him the stockbrokers and soldiers, and by a dramatic stroke announced an order, unknown to Parliament, to bring 7,000 Indian troops to Malta. Finally, supported by Austria, he refused to recognize the treaty of San Stefano, and forced Russia to submit to a general congress, on the ground that the eastern question was one for Europe, not for Russia alone.

**Congress
of Berlin***June 13*

The Congress of Berlin assembled under the presidency of Bismarck, who offered himself as the "honest broker," to revise the treaty of San Stefano. It met only to find itself already superfluous. Beaconsfield came, as he said, not to partition a worn-out state, but to strengthen an ancient empire. But an evening paper published the

terms, revealed by a temporary clerk, of a secret agreement already concluded between Salisbury and Shuvaloff. Russia was promised the lands she had won, renouncing only the caravan route from the Black Sea towards Persia ; and Austria received the protectorate of Bosnia and Herzegovina, where she stood as "sentinel of the Balkans." The boundaries of the proposed "greater Bulgaria" were redrawn, dividing it into three states, Bulgaria, Eastern Rumelia, and Macedonia, the diplomatists supposing that the danger of reunion would be averted by lack of a common name : thus Beaconsfield sought to avert the danger he feared, of a Bulgaria whose gratitude might yield to Russia a harbour on the Ægean from which she could threaten the Suez Canal. The frontiers of these states, like those of Serbia and Montenegro, were so amended as to weaken the power of each, and the Slav peoples were broken into groups between which Austria held the ways of communication. At the last moment Shuvaloff found himself outwitted. For by a secret treaty of "defensive alliance" with Turkey a week before the congress, Beaconsfield had secured possession of Cyprus in payment for his pledge to defend Asia Minor against any further advance by Russia. The Congress had little to do but register these secret agreements. The two great powers who had not struck a blow nor sacrificed a man in the war seized their prize of territory. France was confidentially assured that Great Britain would accept her occupation of Tunis. Bismarck suggested that England should acquire Egypt. Italy alone went away empty-handed, and alarmed at the advance of Austria over Bosnia : like France, she saw beyond the Mediterranean "the last door open" for compensation and expansion, and was ultimately to receive the offer of Tripoli. The integrity of Turkey had disappeared. Few treaties indeed have been more cynical in spirit or more cruel in its provisions than the treaty of Berlin. Excepting Russia, the one supporter of the Orthodox Slavs, the powers had repudiated belief in the solidarity of Christian nations. Great Britain, whose people could not, as in the Crimean war, plead ignorance of Turkish atrocities, had taken a culpable part in forcing Macedonians and Armenians, whom Russia proposed to emancipate, under the Porte, with cynical advice to trust in the Sultan's reforms. On the other hand Russia, whose enthusiastic crusade, heavy sufferings, and sweeping victory had begun the redemption of the Slavs, saw her work destroyed. For sixty years Europe had been occupied in undoing the settlement of Vienna : the Berlin Congress turned back all aid to subject nationalities for a generation to come. Beaconsfield's policy shattered the hopes of liberty, not only in the Balkans, but in Russia. The diplomatic defeat inflicted on the country by England—the darkest page, said Gortschakoff, in his career—threw disgrace on the new Liberalism, and a long reaction, strengthened by the assassination of

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the Liberal Tsar, settled down upon Russia, a reaction which lasted to our own day. The powers bequeathed to later generations problems which their contempt of national life and unscrupulous diplomacy had aggravated and embittered.

In England an exultant enthusiasm swept over the country at the triumphal return of Beaconsfield from Berlin, with his defiant cry of "peace with honour." All opposition was silenced as the Tory imperialism sprang to its full strength, ready for every enterprise, brave in expansion, confident of English force of dominion, sceptical of Liberal traditions as to "free" peoples or of the virtue of small nationalities, and contemptuous of the "parish pump politics of a democratic nation." Societies and institutes took the title of "Imperial"; and "Liberal Imperialists" disputed with the Tories the glory of empire and the pride of conquest. Lord Salisbury indeed lived to confess that in Turkey we had "put our money on the wrong horse"; while Lord Beaconsfield in a few months recanted his sensational description of the Russian advance. One result of his work remained. He had called in Bismarck to arbitrate in the Balkans, and after the congress Germany, arbiter of Europe, stood at the height of her diplomatic power, assured at once of the friendship of England and the gratitude of Austria. The initials of the Emperor Francis Joseph on the hill-side at Plevlye marked the advance of Austria, backed by Germany, in the "corridor" leading to Salonica. Russia, who had pledged herself not to enter Constantinople, saw Austria advanced nearer to the Mediterranean than herself, while her own communications with the sea were barred by a string of small states at the mercy of surrounding intrigues. Ambitions and disappointments ranged the European powers in a new order. The informal "League of the Three Emperors," Teuton and Slav, was broken up as Russia, duped at Berlin, slowly fell away, and in consequence of the Tsar's alienation the alliance of the "Two Emperors" was made. With subtle diplomacy Bismarck drew Italy into the Teutonic system, and by her union with her hereditary Austrian enemy the "Triple Alliance" was formed, which for over thirty years set its barrier from sea to sea between eastern and western Europe. France and Russia approached each other, and by gradual steps a "Dual Alliance" of east and west was established. Instead of the concert of Europe, there arose a system of opposing groups of nations, from which there could scarcely be any final issue but war. Meanwhile the new grouping of the powers, the suspension of national struggles in Europe, and the fresh direction given to political ambitions, foreshadowed an age of military dangers, of imperial contempt of national claims, and of a stupendous race conflict for dominion of the world. The Congress of Berlin was followed by the most astounding scheme that history has known for dividing up

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an entire continent among the powers of Europe—the partition of Africa.

So far European settlements had but touched the fringe of the “dark continent,” a land of mystery and terror, untraversed and unmapped. Explorers from every country were seeking the sources of the Nile, or tracking the Niger basin. Britain had sent Burton and Speke, and above all the Highlander McLeay, known as David Livingstone, explorer, philanthropist, scholar, and missionary, true representative after a thousand years of the old Celtic wanderers. His noble and tragic story fired the imagination of Englishmen, and concentrated the attention of the world upon the possibilities of Africa. A vast continent rich in untilled tracts promised for Europe supplies of cotton and food: the abundant yield of rubber and ivory attracted the merchant, while the missionary was stirred by the horrors of slavery and by the heathen masses yet to be won for Christianity. A Conference of statesmen and merchants, missionaries and scientists, assembled at Brussels under Leopold II. and founded an International Association to conduct “a crusade worthy of this century of progress.” Committees were formed and expeditions sent out from France, Germany, and Belgium. Suddenly there came news that Henry Stanley had traversed the continent, fighting against man and nature, and for the first time revealed the majestic course of the Congo through the vast basin left by some ancient sea. Messengers from King Leopold met him as he landed at Marseilles, and secured his services. As envoy of the King he was sent out to guide a “great philanthropic enterprise,” later known as the International Association of the Congo. Those who foresaw the dreary future were misrepresented and attacked. Amid projects of unknown wealth to be exploited “the scramble for Africa” began. From her western colonies, France endeavoured to control the basin of the Congo; but her noblest African explorer, de Brazza, was by Stanley’s enterprise held back to the northern bank of the river. Portugal, established for centuries near the mouth of the river, put in her claim for the territories that stretched across the continent to her dominions on the east coast, and signed with Great Britain a convention which secured to her Angola and cut off Leopold’s Association from the sea. For the first time Germany, from her place as arbiter of Europe, formally interfered in colonial affairs. She led a protest of France and the United States against the check by England to the “friends of humanity,” and called a Conference of the Powers at Berlin.

It was not the ownership of the Congo basin alone that was now put in question, but the fate of the entire continent. Along the outer borders of Africa the European powers had already marked claims and seized positions for further advance. England had led the way alike in north and south. The semi-independence of Egypt won

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by Mehemet Ali, and the opening of the Suez Canal, had magnified the importance of the Nile valley to English commerce. "We want to trade with Egypt," wrote Palmerston in 1857, "but we do not want the burden of governing Egypt." That burden was now undertaken. Egypt had won a sudden prosperity by supplying English mills with cotton during the American war, but her newly won wealth was squandered by the Khedive Ismail with oriental extravagance. The national debt mounted rapidly; loans were floated in England and France, but the interest remained unpaid until the two powers established a dual control of administration and finance—an unworkable arrangement, as events speedily proved. The extravagance of a decadent Khedive had ruined the peasant and bade fair to ruin the bond-holder. False accounts were issued, sources of revenue suppressed. Beaconsfield distrusted Bismarck's offer at the Congress of Berlin to connive at England's annexation of Egypt; and the suzerainty of the Sultan, a mere name since the days of Mehemet Ali, was called into use to depose the Khedive. Tewfik Pasha succeeded to an impoverished State with half his revenue pledged to creditors, a people oppressed and discontented, and an army unpaid. A nationalist movement, directed in part against Turkey, in part against the numerous officials and stock-jobbers who served the Dual Control, was led by Arabi Bey, who had risen from lowly position to be minister of war and Pasha. With the malcontents of the army behind him he helped to establish a Chamber of Notables and advanced schemes for a democracy; but when he claimed to touch the Budget, and the debt was in danger, the bond-holder called for action. The Sultan was persuaded to send a tardy mission to Egypt, and English and French warships anchored off the coast, while the other Powers proposed a Congress. But Arabi had prepared batteries, and popular resentment against the foreigner broke out in an attack on Europeans in Alexandria. The Sultan would neither decide to restore order, nor give a free hand to the representatives of the Powers assembled at Constantinople. Gladstone yielded to the cry of protection for British subjects, and the British admiral, seeing his warships threatened, demanded the surrender of the forts, and bombarded Alexandria. The premier was severely criticized, and to his great grief Bright left the Cabinet. But criticism was silenced when Arabi's troops fired the town, and a mob completed the work of rapine and plunder. England acted alone, for the French withdrew, willing to aid in protecting the Canal, but refusing to share in intervention. The remaining Powers protested. An expedition under Wolseley (who to the chagrin of the Powers used the Suez Canal as his base) routed the Egyptian army at Tel-el-kebir; when it occupied Cairo Arabi surrendered. His trial and banishment left England in sole command. The dual control was abolished, and France refused an offer that

she should appoint a financial adviser. A circular dispatch to explain the English position was sent to the Powers. The occupation, said Granville in the Lords, was to last until "a stable, a permanent, and a beneficial government" could be established. But Gladstone had prophesied that our first site in Egypt would be "the almost certain egg of a North African Empire," and fate forced his steps in the direction which he feared. The Sudan, a tributary state of Egypt misruled by bashi-bazouks and renegade Pashas, stretched southward, a land half rich, half barren, a home of the slave trade. There a Mohammedan leader calling himself the Mahdi proclaimed a holy war of liberation, and was joined by discontented troops who had fought with Arabi. An inadequate force under an Englishman, Hicks Pasha, was sent by the Khedive to defend the outposts of Egypt. Hicks Pasha hoped for help from home, but Granville, who would not prevent the expedition, denied our responsibility for the inevitable disaster. After other reverses under other leaders it was decided to abandon a "useless possession," and to withdraw from the Sudan the Egyptian garrisons surrounded by fanatical hordes. For this arduous task the choice fell upon General Gordon, who had previously governed the province on behalf of the Khedive and had zealously attacked the slave-trade. He was a strange combination of saint and hero. Misgivings as to the appointment of a man whose devout Christianity might alienate the friendly tribes were overruled by the Cabinet. "Are you sure," said Granville next day, "that we did not commit a gigantic folly?" On his way to Khartoum Gordon received incoherent instructions from the Khedive, who cherished thoughts of retaining the Sudan and appointed him Governor-General "for the time necessary." His impulsive nature led Gordon astray; remote from authority, he changed his mind. He had first told the Sudanese of the intended evacuation; he now began to talk of "smashing the Mahdi"; he dreamed of reconquest, and selected a governor to succeed him—an able ruler, but a notorious slave-trader. The Cabinet were sharply divided, some desiring Gordon's recall, others approving of his plan. Suddenly came news that hordes of Arabs had surrounded Gordon and his garrison in Khartoum. The Cabinet began to discuss whether he should be relieved, while their military advisers were unable to agree on the time, the force, or the route. Never were ministers more ill at ease, and never was a decision upon foreign policy made the object of so many barbed shafts. Late in the year Wolseley was dispatched with an army of rescue, but gallantry and determination availed them little in face of tropical heat, lack of water, and difficulties of transport. They were harassed by dervishes, delayed by accidents. And in Khartoum, among hundreds starving or dead and hundreds ready to desert, the means of defence were

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SEC. II. FOREIGN AND COLONIAL POLICY 1815 TO 1914	<p>exhausted. The city was taken by assault and Gordon slain. Few events have so stirred the heart of the English people as the last isolation and mysterious death of this singular leader, whose impassioned sympathy had made him a romantic hero both of the Egyptians and of his own countrymen. Throughout the Empire there rose a bitter cry of anger and humiliation. For many years advance southwards failed before the triumphant hosts of the Mahdi and his successor. But England kept firm control of the government of Egypt, even when at the news that Gladstone had replaced Lord Salisbury as prime minister the popular cry was raised of "Egypt for the Egyptians," with the encouragement of the Sultan, nominal suzerain of the country.</p>
English in South Africa	<p>In South Africa, as in the north, Gladstone was the unwilling heir to an imperial policy which embarrassed the Liberal party. The English had already pushed their eastern sea-board from Cape Colony to Natal, and beyond the Orange River had absorbed the diamond mines of Griqualand West : while the arrival of Cecil Rhodes heralded new schemes of conquest. A proposed federation of the provinces, English and Dutch, was hindered by the jealousy of Cape Colony in the pride of its newly won responsible government, and by the commercial independence of the Transvaal ; in 1868 it had annexed Delagoa Bay, and when by arbitration of the President of the French Republic Delagoa was allotted to the Portuguese, the Boers still enjoyed by treaty with Portugal an outlet to the sea that lay outside British rule. But the Transvaal was weakly defended, factiously governed, and financially in disorder, and when the federation of South Africa seemed imminent a minority of Boers appeared favourable to union. Their voice was eagerly accepted as the voice of the republic, and in accordance with the imperial policy of Beaconsfield, his government annexed the Transvaal, and the responsibility for its defence again fell on the empire. The Dutch, however, had not abated their hostility to British rule, nor their distrust of English interference with the native question. The Boers resented the counsels of the English missionary and the philanthropist. In his lonely farm he knew the menace of the surrounding tribes, and ruled his servant with the sjambok. It was only immediate danger from the Zulus under King Cetewayo, who threatened alike Natal and the Transvaal, that wrung a partial and sullen assent to annexation. Sir Bartle Frere, Governor of the Cape, demanded from Cetewayo the disbandment of his savage hordes, to whom marriage was not allowed until their assegais were washed in blood. The Zulu chief did not deign to reply. Immediately the British troops invaded Zululand, but no adequate reinforcements were sent from home, and many of the Boers who were half-hearted hung back. The general, Lord Chelmsford, was new to South African warfare ;</p>
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he divided his army: his scouting was defective, his camps undefended. One of his forces was annihilated at Isandhlwana, and Natal was only saved by the gallant defence of Rorke's Drift, where two lieutenants, Bromhead and Chard, with eighty men behind a barricade of sandbags and empty cans, held the Zulu host at bay. But before Sir Garnet Wolseley arrived from England with reinforcements Chelmsford had already defeated the Zulus at Ulundi. Their territory was divided; and at Pretoria, Wolseley as victor proclaimed the Transvaal a Crown Colony, denied any form of representative institutions to this vigorous and independent democracy, and installed an English government, announcing that British sovereignty would endure there as long as the sun shone or the rivers flowed into the sea. Already however during the Zulu War the Dutch had appealed to the Sand River Convention and demanded their independence. They awaited the return of Gladstone to office, regarding him as pledged to their freedom by his denunciations in the Midlothian campaign of Beaconsfield's annexation of the Transvaal. But they grew impatient as the Liberals dallied with a scheme of federation, and hesitated over the treatment of the natives. Hoisting the flag of the republic they proclaimed their independence and called their commandos to arms. The Cabinet renounced their pledge and postponed self-government till they had vindicated the Queen's authority. Once again a peace party drifted into war. The power of the Boers had been under-estimated; Sir George Colley's army was inadequate, and his gallantry alone could not stave off disaster. Parties of Boers besieged our garrisons, the rest invaded Natal and repulsed a relieving force at Laing's Nek. A month later in the surprise of Majuba Hill, Colley was killed and his men defeated by a band of two hundred. The disaster, slight as it was from a military point of view, had great political consequences. Peace was made by a government which had first encouraged the Boers and then declared for a fight. Gladstone had been as vacillating in action as he was magnanimous in speech. The British were angered and the Boers encouraged by an apparent surrender to force. After heated discussion, both in the Cabinet and in the Transvaal, self-government was granted; but the control of foreign policy was retained for the Crown, and a British resident was placed at Pretoria. Three years later the Convention of London restored the title of "South African Republic," and the word "suzerainty" was omitted. With new confidence the Boers held out against projects of federation put forward by the Dutch of Cape Colony in their Afrikander Bond; in face of all imperial schemes they clung desperately to the little country they had defended, and continued to wring their living from its ungenerous soil.

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Meanwhile a rival power had approached the English borders. For the last ten years Germany had been sending out her pioneers to

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Africa, and the growth of a colonial party forced Bismarck, who had till now opposed foreign adventure, and "wished only for coaling stations acquired by treaty," to a change of policy. Traders entered Damaraland, which the British had looked on as their own sphere of influence while they had done nothing to make the occupation effective. Alarmed at last by the growth of German settlements and intrigues for union with the Boers, Cape Colony which had just won self-government occupied Walfisch Bay; but Downing Street was indifferent, and left the inland district to German penetration. Their traders crept still nearer and acquired the bay of Angra Pequena with a strip of hinterland, confining Cape Colony to the south of the Orange River. A new and delicate imperial problem was created. The colonies could only protest through the colonial office, and Bismarck refused communication with any department except the foreign office which had made the concessions. "England," he said, "establishes a sort of Monroe doctrine in Africa against the vicinage of other nations." The problem raised a grave warning as to the dangers of international agreements on colonial questions made in London by the cabinet and the foreign office. Gladstone hailed Germany as a colonizing power, "our ally and partner in the execution of the great purposes of Providence." Granville, occupied with the critical question of the Sudan, had not "the slightest jealousy of the Germans acquiring colonial possessions." A barren strip of coast seemed a small price to pay for their goodwill and the peaceful tenure of Egypt. But the Cape Colony took another view. They saw that as the Germans advanced they could almost join hands with the Boers who were pushing westwards over the Harts river; at the rumour of a German occupation of the bay of St. Lucia on the Zulu coast a cruiser was dispatched to unfurl the British flag. Their alarms were excited by reports of skilled German agents on their borders, active and tortuous in their methods, alike with native chiefs and with the British consuls who gave them hospitality. On the west coast the Germans wedged themselves between France and England in the Cameroons and Togoland; following a proposal of 1867 they entered the east coast at Zanzibar to establish a colony. Within a few years they could boast that "the large pudding of Africa was dotted with German peppercorns." The French, pushing from Senegal to the Niger and over the Sahara, had taken north-west Africa for their dominion. From Lake Chad their way lay open to the Sudan and to the English colonies of the west coast; and by the Ubanghi into the Congo basin.

Such was the clash of conflicting interests when Bismarck summoned the Conference of Berlin. The powers agreed to define their claims, and laid down rules for "lawful and valid annexation," with other new doctrines of the "hinterland," and of "spheres of influence"

where annexation was not required ; and of free trade and free navigation of the great rivers. The International Association of the Congo was formally allotted the vast domain it demanded in central Africa, on condition of the forbidding of trade monopolies and suppression of slavery. Scarcely had the act of Berlin been signed when King Leopold announced his personal proprietorship of the lands Stanley had annexed, and his sole sovereignty over the Congo Free State. Maxims of the conference were cast aside in the haste of ruthless exploitation, and the "great philanthropic enterprise" ended in a scramble for possession. The nations flung themselves into Africa ; explorers were turned into conquerors, and in twenty years Europe by hurried strokes had carved up an entire continent, pushing vague frontiers into the unknown, till at last there was nothing left to divide save at the cost of the weakest of the conquerors. Germany emerged from the conference a colonial power, owner of the Cameroons and Togoland, with the Emperor's charter of protection for a colony in East Africa, and with South-West Africa already secured. France gained dominion over a homogeneous block of territory nearly a million square miles larger than the area of the United States—from Algeria and Tunis to the Congo, and from Senegal to Bahr-el-Ghazal. Portugal, with the consent of Germany and France, claimed the whole course of the Zambesi, to establish her empire across South Africa from Mozambique to Angola—a claim disallowed by the English. Italy extended her influence along the Red Sea coast. England revived her lapsed system of trading Companies ; the Niger Company disputed the progress of the French in the west ; an East African Company blocked German advance across the lakes and to the Nile valley ; while Cecil Rhodes, defying all rivals with his loud-sounding formula "From the Cape to Cairo"—a watchword already ringing through the imperialist ranks—founded the South African, or Chartered, Company, to seize the Zambesi. Bechuanaland was annexed, the great tract known as Rhodesia was seized ; and holding the whole of the rich central territory from Cape Colony to the Congo State, the British cut off all hope of expansion for Boer, German, or Portuguese. The European powers proceeded to regulate their respective boundaries by a series of agreements. Secret treaties with England and the Chartered Company gave to Germany rights of purchase in case Portugal should ever be forced to sell her colonies. In return for possession of Zanzibar and Uganda, she admitted a French protectorate over Madagascar, and ceded to Germany Heligoland—a post long desired by Bismarck, who proposed to crown his annexation of Kiel by opening the Baltic Canal, and threw out the bait of advantage to England from an easier route to Russia, and of the strengthening of good feeling by the cession. Granville dryly replied that the cession of Gibraltar would strengthen

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our good relations with Spain. He was willing to give "friendly consideration" to the question, but the transfer was left to Lord Salisbury. The War Office saw no advantage in its retention, the Admiralty insisted upon its strategical importance, and Parliament after long debate veered suddenly from strong opposition to consent. By the same treaty England secured a right of free transit over German land to connect her territories from the Cape to Cairo; and established the frontiers of the Sudan on the Congo State, and the watershed of the Nile. It was by this treaty that she claimed the right to repel, almost at the cost of war with France, a French force led by Marchand to Fashoda, in the very month of the English reconquest of the Sudan. A railway had been pushed from cataract to cataract towards Khartoum, and British troops were joined by Egyptian in the battles of Atbara and of Omdurman. There the Dervishes, clad in mediæval armour or in linen, charged with the utmost bravery again and again, to be mown down by the deadly Maxim. Two days later the British and Egyptian flags were unfurled over the place where Gordon died. Protests of the powers against occupation were met by the promise of free trade, and payment of interest on the debt, and the Sudan became a protectorate of England. The northern littoral alone remained for partition, and in a series of negotiations Morocco was allotted to France by England in 1904 and by Germany in 1911: while Lord Salisbury's unofficial offer of Tripoli to Italy in 1880 was ratified by France in 1900. Nothing was left of Africa but the mountain fastness of Abyssinia. In some dozen years the vast continent had been scored by European nations with the boundaries of their foreign sovereignty. Henceforth its interests were intermingled and confounded with the chances of European politics, and Africa lay at the peril of every war which the conflicts of Europe might fling on its remote and unconscious peoples.

The race for conquest, the secret treaties, the successive threats of war which were only revealed after the danger was passed, alarmed thoughtful men in England. "We should have a manlier and plainer way of dealing with foreign policy," wrote Bagehot, "if ministers were obliged to explain clearly their foreign contracts before they were valid, just as they have to explain their domestic problems before they can become laws." He saw that foreigners were often puzzled by our institutions, vexed at our statesmen, and angry with our newspapers, and that ambiguities might be avoided by open discussion between nations. But apart from the evident difficulty of dealing in the open between parliamentary governments and despotic courts where discussion is not practised, there was a further problem in the temper of England herself. The high tide of imperialism had lifted her people above the sense of national risk, and left them generally indifferent to European developments. Their eyes were upon the ends of the earth.

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At the third Reform bill the ruling classes had apprehended some disturbing influence of the new democracy on the conduct or continuity of foreign affairs, and had come to a tacit compact that foreign policy should be removed from party strife, and decided by agreement between the two front benches. Foreign ministers since Palmerston had been mostly members of the House of Lords, and this custom was continued until 1905. The conduct of external affairs was in fact practically withdrawn from Parliament. The matter passed unobserved among a people confident in their insular security: the system had the practical convenience of allowing them to choose and dismiss their ministers on questions of home policy alone, without interference of foreign questions. This lack of responsibility in its turn increased the popular detachment from foreign affairs. When a private member moved that "it is not just or expedient to embark in war, contract engagements involving grave responsibilities for the nation, and add territories to the Empire without the consent of Parliament," Gladstone as prime minister declined to settle so far-reaching a change on a single vote of the House: delicate negotiations could not be carried on in the face of the whole world, and since a secret committee would be necessary, matters of foreign policy must be trusted to the executive. As to annexation he was decided: enlargement of the empire was fraught with danger, even if the risk was not immediate. But there had been no agreement to withdraw imperial, like foreign, affairs from public contention, and problems of the empire were presently to cleave the Liberal party in two. In controversies between aggressive Imperialists or "Jingoes," and Liberals or "Little Englanders," the few Radicals who adhered to Cobden's tenets were overborne; and a Liberal Imperialist party arose under the guidance of Lord Rosebery, and the dominating influence of Joseph Chamberlain, whose exhortations to "think imperially" rang through the country. The divisions of the Liberals left Lord Salisbury dictator. Though he suggested a committee on foreign affairs, he emphasized the need of unanimity so that England could speak with a decisive voice. A strong imperialist, Lord Salisbury's view of our foreign policy was subordinated to the empire; when a disagreement with the United States over the boundaries of British Guiana and Venezuela led to a sharp assertion of the Monroe doctrine by President Cleveland, good sense on both sides made war impossible, and the dispute was committed to arbitration. Amid the vast obligations now borne by the British islands peace became the first of British interests, and both parties were agreed on abstention from continental politics. Without a single ally Great Britain stood in a so-called "splendid isolation."

The Imperial system had been laid down in years of British security and peace. It was to be tested in a world of war in which the whole balance of power was changed. The Conference of Berlin

<p>SEC. II.</p> <p>FOREIGN AND COLONIAL POLICY</p> <p>1815 TO 1914</p>	<p>had opened the gigantic conflict for the division of world-dominion. While Africa was still being parcelled out the battle for position and for new markets swung eastward to Asia. France had under Napoleon III. begun imperial expansion in the East, and closed thirty years of war by securing Cochin China, Cambodia, Annam, and Tonkin. She was feeling her way to a footing in Upper Burmah when the Viceroy of India answered by annexing that country. The "intoxication of the nations at the China trade" inflamed them with schemes of ambition more immense than any that had been projected since the great Napoleon. The Chino-Japanese war gave to Japan Formosa and the Pescadores. The union of France, Russia, and Germany to force her to give back to China the peninsula of Liao-Tung, was the beginning of vast European encroachments. In payment for the murder of two missionaries Germany extracted a lease of the district of Kiao-Chou, fortified a harbour at Tsing-Chou, and developed her naval and military "sphere of influence. Russia followed with a lease of Port Arthur and Talien-wan, winning at last an ice-free port on a temperate sea. As a make-weight Great Britain acquired the lease of Wei-hai-wei and Kowloon, together with the extension of the Shanghai settlement, the opening of new treaty ports inland, and recognition of her interests in the Yang-tsze valley. France in her turn demanded a lease of Kwang Chow Wan, and "a zone of influence" as far as the Yang-tsze, with railway, mining, and postal privileges. The resentment of China led to the Boxer risings and attacks on the foreign legations, and the spirit of the European troops sent to exact vengeance against "a barbarous foe" was illustrated by the charge of the German emperor to his troops: "Wield your weapons to such effect that for a thousand years no Chinaman shall ever again dare to look askance at a German." The United States signalized their new position in the Pacific as masters of the Philippines by joining the other Powers in the retributive march on Peking. "We are in desperate straits indeed," wrote the greatest of Chinese statesmen, Li Hung Chang. He judged that the division of China was only averted because the European nations could not agree upon their respective shares.</p>
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<p>Central Asia</p>	<p>In central Asia meanwhile Russia and Great Britain waged their perennial conflict. Checked in the Balkans, Russia turned again with sullen mien towards expansion in Asia. For twenty years India had been undisturbed, while relays of civilians wrestled with frequent famine, built roads and railways, grappled with the complications of finance or the problems of justice, and returned to an England which was little curious and little informed on the gravest problems of the empire. Beaconsfield had travelled in the East and its blood was in his veins; he determined to emphasize the grandeur of our administration, to revive the Empire of the Great Moghul, and</p>
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enhance the setting of the "most costly jewel" in the Crown. The Queen was acclaimed as Empress amid the pomp of a Durbar at Delhi; while the strong opposition aroused at home was only overcome by a pledge that the title should never be used in England. For the last three years Lord Salisbury, Secretary for India, had been seeking a "scientific frontier" to bar the Russian advance. Lonely outposts guarded each pass which threaded the hills of the north-west. Beyond was the scene of conflict, where Afghanistan lay "like an earthen pipkin between two iron pots." When the Amir, Shere Ali, desired closer relations with Great Britain Granville, preferring a "masterly inactivity," had refused his advances, and made an agreement with Russia. Still the shifting policy of the East saw Russia entangle the Amir in a diplomatic net as she wove protectorates closer to our frontier. Under Lord Salisbury a "forward policy" was adopted and carried out by Lord Lytton. The first sign was the occupation of Quetta, the second a request that the Amir would receive British officers as residents in his chief cities. Shere Ali, fearful and suspicious, "slipped out of our hands." No sooner had England denounced the treaty of San Stefano than the Russians sent a mission to Afghanistan; and on the refusal of Shere Ali to receive a British mission, Lytton closed twenty years of peace by a declaration of war. In Parliament a fierce conflict arose. When the Indian estimates were presented, Beaconsfield declaimed against the deleterious and mischievous doctrine of peace at any price, which occasioned wars and destroyed political equilibrium. Gladstone attacked the government's policy: it was Russia, he averred, and not Afghanistan, which should be called to account. But Shere Ali had already paid. His army had been defeated, and he died a fugitive. His crafty son, Yakub Khan, signed a treaty by which, in return for a subsidy, he pretended to cede the Khyber Pass and accepted a British envoy in Kabul. Six weeks later Sir Lewis Cavagnari and his staff were massacred. An army of occupation entered Kandahar, a punitive expedition advanced to Kabul, and the Amir was dethroned. In England the "forward policy" of the Tories was shattered with Beaconsfield's defeat at a general election; but Gladstone had to meet the difficulties bequeathed to him. The succession of Abdur Rahman, grandson of Dost Mohammed, was disputed by Ayub Khan. At Maiwand he inflicted a bloody defeat upon British and Indian troops, only half of whom returned to Kandahar and were there surrounded by hordes of Afghans. Sir Frederick Roberts set out from Kabul to their relief, following the road which had been cleared shortly before by his companion in arms, Sir Donald Stewart, in his famous march from Kandahar to Kabul. After three weeks of burning heat by day and icy cold by night Roberts's force emerged at Kandahar and routed the

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enemy. So brilliant a victory enabled the evacuation of Afghanistan to be carried through by the Liberal government without loss of dignity. But Russia had now to seek compensation not only for her diplomatic reverse in the Balkans but for England's occupation of Egypt. From a railhead at Merv the Russians marched upon the outlying stronghold of Pendjeh. Using every form of tortuous delay to arrest the decisions of a boundary commission, they routed at Pendjeh the Afghans who had resisted their advance. A challenge so direct united every party in the House, and Gladstone was able to carry a vote of eleven millions. The unanimity of Parliament impressed the Russians, and the Pendjeh incident was ended by the delimitation of the Russian boundary. For the next twenty years of Russian progress over central Asia, England stood at guard, and was involved in conflicts with frontier tribes, in the barren territory of the Wakkan valley, in unknown Thibet to the gates of the sacred city of Lhasa, among the mountains of Chitral, in Persia and the passages to the Persian Gulf. Not till the Russo-Japanese war for possession of the Far East was the rivalry with England definitely postponed, and a mutual agreement defined the relations of the two countries in Afghanistan, Thibet, and Persia.

Not only in Africa and Asia, but in the Pacific also, "spheres of influence" were mapped out for the colonizing Powers. France after sixty years' effort gained Tahiti and a position in the New Hebrides. Germany established her position in the Polynesian Sea by buying the remaining possessions of Spain, while her earlier settlements in New Guinea and the Solomon and Marshall Islands were assured by a treaty with England, who retired from Samoa during the Boer war. The United States also had entered into the world-policy. When war had given them the outlying remnants of the Spanish empire, the American line of naval bases reached from New York to Peking. By Cuba, Puerto Rico, and other islands, she was established in the Caribbean Sea and the Gulf of Mexico; the Philippines lay on the trade route from Europe to China; stations in the Pacific were secured by treaties—Hawaii with the impregnable base of Honolulu, "the Gibraltar of the Pacific," the islands of Wake and Guam, and a post in the Samoan group. Finally Japan, conqueror of Korea and Formosa, took her place as the greatest military and naval force in the Pacific. Her coming was a new challenge. In 1885 Victoria had forbidden Asiatic immigration—a law which was adopted later by all the Australian colonies, by New Zealand, Canada, and South Africa. But if at the outset Japan consented to a treaty which excluded her immigrants from British dominions, ten years later she refused even to consider the idea, and demanded for her citizens the same terms as the members of white communities. Her subsidized schooners, carrying

highly skilled shipowners and fishermen, explorers and traders, all trained to war, penetrated among the islands, and left thousands of skilled workers in naval stations such as Hawaii, or Naumea in New Caledonia, whose harbour could hold half a dozen Japanese fleets, with one of the finest coalfields in the world close at hand. In the storm-centre of the future Australia and New Zealand lay as isolated outposts of Great Britain, among Asiatic peoples whose multitudes were breaking through old boundaries. Here less than five millions of the British race (and their numbers do not increase) held territory almost as large as Europe. The lands of the colonies were still unfilled : they had not been finally won for England nor for the white race while their shores remained unprotected and their scanty population might be submerged by a more numerous people. Moreover while Great Britain was no longer unchallenged on the far seas, a change had come too in the balance of imperial commerce. Once the whole produce of the colonies had been distributed from English ports, and external colonial trade rested upon London as its financial base. But while England still held the first place in international trade, foreign competitors were attacking the markets of the empire : Germany had risen to the second place, while American trusts pushed a world-wide activity. A new element of distrust had been added to this competition. For fifty years the British empire had held an open door to the world, and the peoples who had free access to its markets felt the less alarm at its huge expansion. There was a quick revulsion of feeling when, under pressure from Canada, England denounced her old free trade treaties with Germany and Belgium, and a preferential tariff with Canada was established, amid rumours of an imperial customs union to extend all over the colonies—a new “isolation” for the British Empire. Each self-governing Colony hastened to set up its own protective tariff. The Tory party, backed by traders eager to monopolize the colonial markets, declared for commercial “preference” throughout the empire as against the outside world. France and the United States had already hedged round their possessions by tariff and shipping restrictions ; and Germany, the chief international trader after Britain, had no guarantee that England, possessing territory nearly five times the size of Europe, and half the sea-borne trade of the world, might not at last shut the door in all her dependencies, and that German trade would find itself banished from a quarter of the earth’s surface. Hence the efforts made by Germany to maintain free trade in England. Men foresaw a world divided into spheres of influence, where neutral markets would dwindle and disappear, where each nation would be denied free entry and competition except in dominions under its own sway, and the entire globe would be dominated by great powers as jealous for their trading monopoly as for their territorial rights. An economic world-struggle had begun for the possession of

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land and the appropriation of neutral markets. Instead of the old trade wars of cities, states, and countries, the threat hung over the nations of the monstrous clash of empires; and the problem of Europe—the balance of power among half a dozen states—broadened into the wider problem of equilibrium among the world-empires, and the complex alliances and counter-alliances needed to buttress an unstable and precarious peace.

Amid these conditions the imperialism propounded by Disraeli was before long to exhibit in its foreign policy the gravest elements of danger. At home his view of colonial empire was received with enthusiasm by his party, and his early impatient outbreak at the burden of the colonies was forgotten. He was the first prime minister to extol Canada in a speech. Self-government he accepted, but contended that all grants of liberty should have been limited by provisions for a customs union or imperial tariff, by a military code imposing the duties of common defence, and by a representative council in London. Chamberlain followed him as prophet of a united Empire with its ruling centre, its brain and its heart, in London. The majestic scheme was inaugurated by Lord Salisbury when, with a pomp beyond example, he celebrated the Queen's Jubilee at the Foreign Office by the first assemblage of representatives of the free nations from oversea. But even the first Colonial Conference demonstrated that the imperial idea as conceived in England—the scheme of an empire under strict central control—was not easily reconciled with the temper of the dominions. These had now more than doubled in population. Each boasted of its own history, more original than that of many independent states. The supremacy of the Imperial Parliament, so cautiously established to ward off revolt, had vanished, and a new nationalism, distrustful and half mutinous, might even threaten to disrupt the empire. The "free nations" made their own laws, controlled at will citizenship, immigration, and trade; and asserted their national duty to allow no sacrifice of their prospects or privileges for any advantage to England or the Empire. Divergent interests led them to political isolation and to their own "Monroe doctrine," the doctrine of non-commitment to imperial responsibilities. Lord Salisbury justly warned the country of difficulties that must emerge from a state of things perfectly new to the world, the slow rise of an empire out of the sea, without territorial contiguity, held together merely by the necessities of naval defence, and resting on the feelings and affections of some of the most vehement races upon the face of the earth. If in conference the colonies admitted the principle of common obligation for defence, they rejected the idea of an imperial army as derogatory to their independence, and very doubtfully allowed an imperial navy. Australia's consent to contribute to an imperial squadron was

denounced by Canada as a poor-spirited and non-national "hiring of defence." Seddon, the popular Minister of Defence in New Zealand, told a country audience, "What does a man hunting the country with a swag upon his back want with armed cruisers and a torpedo corps?" In a like spirit the Colonies resisted Chamberlain's proposal for a customs union after the German example: "if there is no fiscal autonomy," they insisted, "there cannot for long be an empire of free nations." Led by Canada, the dominions questioned the authority of the Foreign Office to conclude any treaty drawn up without their consent, on the ground that English interests must be protected by the free will of free nations, and that each dominion must have the right to choose its part in the shifting diplomacy of England and of Europe. At the second Conference the Prime Ministers of the dominions were for the first time assembled; but behind the triumphant display of imperial might in honour of the Queen's second Jubilee rose more urgently the problem of defence. The Triple Alliance, hitherto regarded as a land power, was now threatening a formidable rivalry on the sea. For the first time advancing Asiatic immigration, even as far as African shores, forced discussion; if Indian emigrants could raise the claim of Imperial citizenship, the Japanese might justify their expansion by the force of fifty million people. But when Chamberlain, as Colonial Secretary, asked their aid in bearing the burden of empire—"The weary Titan staggers under the too vast orb of his fate"—the colonies showed no alacrity for a joint organization of defence; they gave their voice rather for commercial union by preferential duties, and asserted their financial independence by repealing the provisions for imperial free trade, and by making among themselves such fiscal treaties as they chose. At the third conference, after fifteen years of controversy, the Colonial Office scheme of federation under London control disappeared. The Boer War had proved its destruction.

The discovery of the richest gold mines in the world had drawn to the Transvaal adventurers from all countries, crowding to Johannesburg. There a medley of races found themselves under a primitive form of government originally framed for a pastoral and united people. Heavily taxed, vexed by partial laws and monopolies, and hampered by inexperienced and hostile officials, they demanded a share in government through the vote. The Boer refused it, and went his way. His one desire was to be left alone, and not to be disturbed by interlopers. Petitions and protests were unheeded. "You have not got the guns," said President Kruger, "and I have." It was at first supposed that the exhaustion of the mines might lead to the dispersion of the Uitlanders from a land so arid and ungrateful; but when the discovery of new deposits revealed that the gold of the Transvaal was equal to that of the British Empire or of the United States, it was

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plain that the foreigners had come to stay. The strife took fresh intensity. By annexing the coast the British took from the Boers all hope of securing a sea-port. The Uitlanders renewed their agitation for political rights. Rhodes, Premier of Cape Colony, secretly offered them assistance for an armed raid on the Transvaal under Dr Jameson, the Administrator of Rhodesia—a treacherous and discreditable conspiracy. At the last moment divisions between the English and foreign Uitlanders disturbed the plan of attack and the raid ended with the capture of Jameson and his six hundred horsemen at Doornkop. No serious censure of Rhodes, the prime mover, came from the Tory government, who were believed to fear inquiry and even graver implications. Henceforth all hope of voluntary reform and conciliation disappeared in the tumult of race hostility and suspicion that were to throw the country into war. The Boers, convinced that future violence was intended, hurried on their preparation of armaments, while the Orange Free State, hitherto a faithful friend of England, joined their cause. All Europe was indignant and hostile. Arms were smuggled from Germany and France, and volunteers from every country streamed into the Transvaal. Kruger offered a form of franchise with conditions that diminished its value, and claimed for his Republic, in whose founding he had shared at the Great Trek, the status of a sovereign state. The High Commissioner, Sir Alfred Milner, insisted upon suzerainty, and the conference broke up. “The co-existence of ideas so repugnant,” reported a Commission, “might at any time lead to an armed collision.” The Afrikaner Bond, a powerful union of the Cape Dutch, urged the Republic to carry a franchise bill; but the reactionary clauses of the draft made it of little value. England proposed arbitration, but included outstanding questions which the Boer regarded as an increase of the original demands. On the suzerainty neither side would yield. Repeated and emphatic warnings by Sir William Butler, the experienced general in command at the Cape, both as to the aggressive policy of the Uitlanders, and the inadequacy of the military forces for active operations, were met by his removal. Alarmed at the military preparations in Cape Colony and Natal, at the landing of troops from India, the surrounding of the Transvaal by armed forces—but above all at the calling out of the reserves in England—President Kruger demanded the withdrawal of British troops and the turning back of reinforcements. It was a demand “such as Her Majesty’s Government deem it impossible to discuss.” Three days later the Boers invaded Natal. “Before the diplomat proceeds to an ultimatum,” said General Buller, “the military should be in a position to enforce it.” But with a fatal contempt of the enemy there was neither plan of campaign nor any reliable maps, while the Boer knew every stream and kopje; and due provision of stores, hygiene, and sanitation were

alike neglected. The Boers surrounded Ladysmith, Kimberley, and Mafeking, and annexed Bechuanaland; and three separate lines of advance were ordered. The British troops, inferior in numbers to the Boers, had to meet marvellous marksmen, men trained on the veldt to peril, to hardship, to all craft and self-reliance of the fighter. Lord Methuen's way to Kimberley was barred by Boer commandos. Cronje, a veteran of former wars, defended the Modder River, and an attempt to surprise him at Magersfontein failed with heavy loss; on that day there was a disaster at Stormberg; and in the same week Buller on his march to Ladysmith was checked at the Tugela River, where the enemy under Louis Botha waited at Colenso, and the English lost eleven hundred killed and wounded. Since the loss of the American colonies no such week of humiliation had confounded England. Immense reinforcements were hurried out under Lord Roberts, with Lord Kitchener as chief of the staff. A storm of enthusiasm swept over the "free nations" of the Empire, and the astonishing sight was seen of troops landing in South Africa from Canada, Australia, and New Zealand to support the English armies. Lord Roberts's new host overtook the army of Cronje at Paardeberg and forced it to surrender. General French relieved Kimberley, the long siege of Ladysmith was raised by General Buller, and two months later a Rhodesian force went to the relief of Mafeking. Lord Roberts was advancing by rapid marches on Bloemfontein when a message from Kruger asked for peace with independence. The Boers, Lord Salisbury answered, must take the consequences of the war they had made; they had invaded our lands, and while success seemed possible had given no sign of conciliation. The Orange Free State was annexed, and once more a general at the head of an English army at Pretoria formally annexed the Transvaal. President Kruger fled to Holland to die in exile. But the Boers, led by Botha, Delarey, and de Wet, being now rid of every general over fifty years of age, maintained the war for two years, and even invaded Cape Colony. In Lord Kitchener's new campaign block-houses lined the railways and wire entanglements spread over the country, while women and children were collected in concentration camps, and Boer prisoners removed by thousands oversea. The method of conducting the campaign was vigorously condemned by the Liberal party in England. Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman denounced warfare carried on by "methods of barbarism": "The whole country outside the mining towns is a howling wilderness. The farms are burned, the country is wasted. The flocks and herds are either butchered or driven off; the mills are destroyed, furniture and implements of agriculture are smashed." The conflict had become as deplorable as civil war. A strong feeling grew up for conciliation, and the Unionists were urged to revert to those generous traditions which had so often

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brought colonial peace. "My function," said Sir Alfred Milner, "is to destroy the domination of Afrikanerism." The Boers on their side fought with desperation. Whole districts were swept clear by overwhelming force before the peace of Vereeniging put an end to the misery. England undertook to restore to the country representative institutions, and the prisoners and women returned to their farms. Chamberlain as Minister of the Colonies travelled over the ravaged land to urge imperial federation, but the Tory Government was tottering, and the Boers waited for the promise of the Liberals.

Little as it was understood in England at the time, the Colonial troops that landed in Africa had changed the outlook of the Empire. Elated with the sudden sense of the forces at their command and the services they could render, the dominions looked forward to winning a status no lower than that of England herself. The policy of imperial concentration under the colonial and foreign office fell into the background, and a new scheme took its place, that of co-operation and equal alliance, and of defence founded on the principle of "future Dominion Navies." The Boer war had started nationalism on its victorious way, and the dominions entered on a new stage of their history. By a strange irony, unexpected and almost unperceived in England, the forces that had poured into South Africa to assert imperial rule over the Boers established for the whole Colonial world a measure of independence which English imperialists had not foreseen. The third Conference, which followed the war, was the first to obtain absolute recognition from England of "national" aspirations. The occasion was favourable to their claims, for after the Jameson raid England was left without a friend, and exposed to extraordinary rancour from the governments and the press of Europe. "We are in bitter need of a strong German navy," said the Kaiser. The South African campaign, as well as the voyage of his squadrons to China, had afforded him a lesson in the resources of sea-power and the chain of coaling stations which linked the British Empire, and a new navy bill presented to the Reichstag was accompanied by the Kaiser's ringing words: "Our future lies upon the water." The challenge of the bill was made more definite by the Emperor's stirring visions of the "trident in our fist," and of the new division of the oceans, with "Germany to be Admiral of the Atlantic," even as "Russia of the Pacific." Nothing in English history has so suddenly changed the outlook of the people. Chamberlain apprehended the new issues of the future, and after his failure to bring about a Teutonic alliance between England, Germany, and the United States, he turned to the nations of the Empire: "More important than the goodwill of foreign nations was the confidence and affection of our kinsmen beyond the seas." Meanwhile the colonies were being forced into closer internal union. Within ten years three federated nations

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were formed after the example of Canada. Australia, watching the entry of one foreign power after another into the Pacific, cast off her hesitations of fifty years, and called a convention to frame a federal constitution. Every sentence of the new scheme was scrutinized in assemblies of the leading men of every profession and party. Approved in a meeting of prime ministers, and accepted in a referendum to the people, the Bill was carried to England. They rejected the term colony or dominion, and proclaimed a Commonwealth. A proposal of the Colonial Office to allow appeals to the Privy Council in constitutional disputes between the Commonwealth and the States after the example of Canada was refused. The first great act of the new nation was to assert a "white" Australia and exclude coloured immigration; the next was to take over the national defence. New Zealand stood apart, still aiming at the hegemony of the Southern Pacific and the island groups of Polynesia, which Sir George Grey had long before (1830) sought to establish by a customs union after the German example. Refusing to federate with Australia, she preferred to become a sister State in an Imperial system; and various islands were annexed to the Dominion. The latest entry into the "five nations," and the most stormy, was the Union of South Africa. Here the Liberals vindicated their principles of freedom when Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman took office. The South African Customs Union was the first step towards a new federation. Prodigious difficulties lay in the way. Since the nearest outlet for the Transvaal mines was through a Portuguese port, and their chief supply of labour from Portuguese territory, many questions concerning the internal relations of the States must be dealt with by the Foreign Office. Commercial quarrels aggravated racial hostilities. The Transvaal by its railway to Delagoa had the traffic interests of South Africa at its mercy, and could threaten Cape Colony with ruin. The railways that connected the several states cut across frontiers arbitrarily ruled on the map corresponding to no political or physical lines of division; and communities that owned competing sections were in chronic hostility. Memories of the Raid and the concentration camps had united the Boer of the veldt with the French Huguenot of Cape Colony; while the English feared the betrayal of their interests or of their ascendancy. Above all rose the unsolved problem of the coloured races. From the Transvaal to Cape Colony the various states had pursued their separate policies, inconsistent and uncontrolled, towards the native Africans. Natal for her part had imported indentured labour of Indian coolies till in some twenty years she had nearly as many Indian as white men, and the black race outnumbered the European by ten to one; but after she became responsible for her own government and defence, she shut out Indian immigrants by law, and raised a formidable imperial problem.

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Chinese labour in the gold mines added a later difficulty. The Liberal government determined to relieve a situation so desperate by the grant of Home Rule to the broken provinces and a place among the free nations of the Empire. Denounced as a "reckless experiment," the project, which might have failed in the House of Lords, was courageously launched by an Order in Council. By a scheme of self-government for the Transvaal and the Orange River Colony the way was prepared for a South African constitution. While the new Union was still in the making the Prime Minister welcomed the delegates of South Africa at a Colonial Conference in London. "I can assure you," he said, "the feeling of affectionate interest and pride entertained within the shores of the Old Country is not to be surpassed even by your warmest sentiments." A convention of members of the South African Government met to frame a constitution, which was amended and accepted by the four Colonies, and passed into law by the Imperial Parliament. The two races stood on equal terms, with both languages recognized, and with Pretoria as the centre of administration, and Cape Town as the seat of Parliament.

The constitutional experiments of the new Empire were as varied as the Colonies themselves. In Canada the federating provinces had suffered a complete loss of status, and had been re-created by the instrument which united them; a careful distribution of legislative power was made between the provinces and the new Dominion Parliament, which exercised all powers not expressly reserved to the local legislatures. Lieutenant-governors of the provinces are appointed by the Governor-General in Council, who can thereby exercise a veto in the name of the Dominion Cabinet upon all provincial legislatures, and who is given special powers to protect in regard to education the interests of religious minorities. Even the members of the Senate, supposed to represent the provinces, are the life-nominees of the Governor-General; this grave defect lowered their prestige, which was further diminished by their refusal of the commons' proposals to admit the western provinces to equality of representation in the Senate. The predominance of the central government in Canada is in striking contrast to the Australian commonwealth. Here the States, which had developed a strong provincial character, proudly refused to surrender their independence at federation, and continued under governors appointed by the Crown and responsible to it alone. It was not only by rejecting the interference of the Privy Council that Australia broke away from the Canadian precedent; another notable departure was the power to amend the constitution by a referendum to the Australian people themselves, whereas in British North America the constitution can only be altered through the imperial parliament. In both these respects the Australian Commonwealth Act is the high-water mark of colonial "nationalism," and approaches nearer to the

United States constitution than that of any other Dominion. There are other points of likeness, in the insistence on equality of State rights as represented in the Senate; and in the restriction, contrary to the Canadian system, of the Federal legislature within carefully defined limits, the residuary powers falling to the States. In South Africa all these conditions were reversed. The relics of past errors in allowing provinces of different allegiance to grow up, the sudden changes by which the wealth of gold and diamonds had turned old pastoral communities into new towns, the consequent revolution in local government, the presence across the frontier of the greatest military power of Europe—these were considerations that led South African statesmen to exclude the federation adopted elsewhere. More far-reaching than all these was the world-problem of the future, the relation between the white and coloured races. Its presence, more acute here than in any other country, is the clue to the history of South Africa, where a million and a quarter white men were intermingled with an African and coloured population of nearly five times their number, and two white nations looked upon the natives from two entirely different standpoints, and Downing Street and Exeter Hall from a third. In face of these complicated difficulties unity was preferred to federal union and the constituent colonies were required to surrender their legislative powers and to sink to the level of administrative councils for the conduct of local government, under one single and supreme parliament—a system by which highly centralized government has been, it is thought, carried too far. In the various Dominions every variety of political theory has thus been given a trial, and to them falls the task of adapting their several constitutions to their actual needs. South Africa may yet find means to reach her full national life by developing under the Union more liberal scope for local interests, and greater freedom of activity in her states. In Canada, notwithstanding the power of the central government, the balance in the distribution of legislative power has been carefully maintained by the judicial decisions of the Privy Council, even if it is only secured at the cost of an enormous amount of litigation and not a little friction. Australia, with its larger democratic independence, is in perpetual oscillation between the party of “State rights” and the party in favour of enlarging the Federal power—a party chiefly recruited from the ranks of labour, who desire to exercise effective control over the far-reaching industrial questions which by the terms of the Constitution are confided to the States. So far the weight of judicial decisions has been against any disturbance in the actual decision of power; and the States party have not succeeded in winning their victory through the referendum. The end is not yet, and the question remains in acute controversy. Federation in fact is no mechanical scheme. In no dominion have all adjustments yet been

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completed between local vigour and central uniformity, and still less has the final solution been found for the Empire. It was necessary for the dominions first to solve their own internal problem.

The absorbing question henceforth was how to strengthen the imperial organization. Bentham's plan of allowing the colonies to find their own way to national independence, and the attempt of Disraeli and Chamberlain to unite the forces of the Empire in a scheme of Imperial concentration, had been set aside. To divert trade by a British tariff-league or commercial bond in supposed imperial interests was felt to be but a milder form of the old colonial system. The colonies, suspicious of general trade preference to the Mother Country, declared that "their fiscal policy is a matter on which the Dominions will never surrender their autonomy. Preferences must be purely voluntary." They especially resented the control of foreign policy from London. In the early days of Imperialism the English government, in the name of foreign policy, could forbid Queensland to enforce her law against Chinese immigrants. But, led by Canada, the Dominions denied that any foreign treaty, whether as to trade or immigration, made by Britain without their consent, could be forced on them, and claimed both the right of making their own treaties and a controlling diplomatic influence in treaties made by England. Mr. Asquith emphatically warned the third Colonial Conference that the conduct of foreign policy must rest absolutely with the Foreign Office. But the pressure of imminent danger allowed a significant precedent; and the third Japanese treaty (which safeguarded the Empire from the possibility of being drawn by Japan into war with America) was the first occasion on which all the Prime Ministers in Council approved of a solemn international agreement. On the question of defence the Dominions were equally rigid. After the scare of the German navy bill controversy was carried on through a dozen years of growing perils. While the colonies discussed their future national navies, and the Japanese fleet asserted its strength in the Pacific, England was forced to withdraw her effective battleships to meet threatened dangers in the North Sea. Intensely occupied with their own social and industrial affairs the Dominions but dimly perceived the gravity of foreign problems, till these were forced on them by the threat of a European war on the question of Bosnia, by a third German navy bill, and by Sir Edward Grey's statement to the House of Commons that to meet the new dangers the British fleet must be rebuilt on *Dreadnought* lines. The Conference of 1909 hastened to give contributions to the imperial navies, and to increase greatly their own military burdens. As to naval defence the Dominions were divided between two schools of thought. The New Zealand government and one of the great parties in Canada, now led by Sir Robert Borden, support the principle of a contribution of ships and men

which shall at all times form an integral part of a homogeneous Imperial navy. Australia, and Sir Wilfrid Laurier's followers in Canada, preferred the system of national navies to be stationed in local waters, and to be subject to the Admiralty only in time of war. This agreement was the boldest recognition yet given by any Conference in London to national sentiment as one of the sure foundations of the Empire. But the scheme broke down before a menace of war such as had not threatened England since 1815. In the crises of Algeciras and Agadir the Dominions read the warning that their very existence was at stake ; and felt the approach of peril, at a rumour that France would cede Tahiti to Germany. By a hurried compromise they consented to unity of control and concentration of the fleet in the place of danger, while Britain agreed to maintain a squadron in the east. Excitement was increased by a fifth German navy bill. England, which in 1902 had 147 ships in the Atlantic, Pacific, and Mediterranean, had now but thirty-six. Without imperial help, "our seas are defenceless and our trade routes unprotected," said the Australians. "The dangers which face Australia are unique : they affect no other nation in the world in the same degree." The more ardent looked forward to ultimate control of the Pacific fleet by the Dominions' navies. "We are asking for a trust in us and for privileges which no Empire in history has yet accorded to its constituents." They needed "a great fighting navy" in what might "yet become the battle-ground of the nations." The building of their own ships was begun.

The Australian peoples, more than all others, are concerned with problems completely of the modern world. The most democratic part of the empire, carrying no burdens from a long past, they have made Australia and New Zealand the ground of experiments in social legislation more advanced and daring than any in the world. Except in Tasmania, church and state are absolutely separated ; labour is everywhere powerful in parliaments, and labour governments hold office in Commonwealth and states ; the public departments exceed those of European countries ; and the statute-books teem with laws to assure material well-being and social equality. Nowhere in any land have the workers fewer hours, or more pay and holidays. In New Zealand the average wealth of the people is the highest in the world, and here the rule of radical and labour governments has been longer than in any other colony. The influence of Sir George Grey, governor first and then leader of the Liberal revolt and prime minister, may be seen in the fearless democratic legislation of the colony. New Zealand was first in adult suffrage, which included even Maori women ; it led the advance in factory and shipping laws, in laws to subdivide great estates and establish the principle of state-ownership of the soil, in industrial arbitration, in life insurance, and in the

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admirable care of the citizens' interests by a public trustee. It has shared indeed with other new countries the dangerous effects of interests narrowed to material development and local problems, and subjected to the enormous influence of the borrowing and spending of money, and the doling out of grants for industrial and sectional purposes. But in the least of the free dominions as in the greatest the peoples have shown how a virile race, with the certain assurance of genuine and honourable self-government under the protection of an imperial peace, and with "habits equal to their birth," can justify the spirit of democratic responsibility. By a strange destiny the proof of the new Empire, slowly working out its problem of equal rights and free consent, was swift and sudden. Its casual conferences of delegates had but just begun to foreshadow a Council of the Empire. The South African Union had only existed long enough to take part in one Conference. Australia had scarcely prepared her first manifest signs of national union—the inauguration of railway connection for all the provinces, a postage stamp for the whole Commonwealth, and agreement for a federal capital in the desolate locality of Yass Canberra. Canada of east and west had not long been connected by three trans-continental railways over lonely prairies and lofty and unexplored mountain ranges. The Dominions in general, absorbed in rapid internal development, had but newly proclaimed their national consciousness, discussion on imperial organization had hardly begun, a plan of defence was still in hot debate, when the catastrophe of universal war fell on the world. Never was there a test of Empire so sudden in its blow, so fierce in its trial of a system still in the eyes of critics almost in chaos, haphazard and unscientific. But in the gathering of scattered colonists into self-governing nations, and of these again into an Imperial Commonwealth based on free consent, Englishmen proudly recognize the most gigantic experiment in government and the most stirring effort after human liberty that the world has known.

If the English settlers of the empire look back to Bentham, the races of other blood may look back to Wilberforce and Clarkson as their apostles of freedom. Beyond the fifty-six million subjects of the British crown who are of European descent lie the three hundred or more millions of other races whose administration Great Britain has taken in charge. This vast enterprise, without parallel in the world, is rather a study in governments than in the development of the English people. Every form of rule is represented, from the free colonial system at one end to the "political despotism" of the "protectorates" at the other, in which the Crown, without claiming ownership, can exercise absolute authority and set up whatever jurisdiction it pleases. In spite of deviations, failures, and human errors, there has been a growing purpose to protect the interests

of each state or territory as against the old notion of exploiting the inhabitants for profit. And with this has gone a series of experiments in broadening the share of the various peoples in their own government. During the last thirty years liberties have been enlarged in the empire of India. Not only is there a tendency to lessen the checks upon the power of the Princes in their own states, but in territories under British rule the attempt has been made throughout the whole administration to advance representative government: first by municipalities and district boards, then by a reform of provincial councils so that the majority shall be elected by the lower representative bodies, and finally by admitting to the imperial legislative council members largely elected by the provincial councils. The demand for fiscal and financial liberty has been recognized in the powers given to discuss the annual budget, and to interpellate officials, foreshadowing some ultimate abatement of a control from England which is essentially financial. It is the pride of Great Britain that she has won her way in Asia and Africa to a higher general standard of humanity and justice than any other rulers of alien peoples. Her advance may perhaps be best measured in the protectorate of northern Nigeria, where a company of devoted officials have illustrated how far the guardianship of native civilization can be made the purpose and the triumph of imperial rule. Everywhere, save in Canada and Australia, Englishmen have come into contact with the problem of governing and judging men of a lower or a different civilization from their own. It is evident that if their rule has meant the carrying of Indian troops to China, Somaliland, Crete, Persia, and at last to France, if it involves the planting of Indians and Chinese coolies in South America, of Indians in Africa, and of Chinese in islands of the Pacific, the problems of the future must be yet more intricate than in the past. For Englishmen, with their world-wide engagements, it is not possible to aspire to a Monroe doctrine of setting a boundary round any region of the earth within which they shall perfect their own civilization, and limit their obligations to external peoples. The duty of Great Britain and her fate are linked with the world universal. Within her empire her work has been to establish a wide peace, under one overshadowing authority, among peoples of every diversity of climate and conditions, of speech, tradition, and religion. By a just instinct she has seen in the free interchange of commerce the first means of intercourse and mutual comprehension among men of all nations and races, and has rejected the manipulation of tariffs on any plea whatever as "a fertile, frequent, and almost inexhaustible source of friction." Her policy has been justified, for England still carries half the produce of the whole world, and moreover provides for it the capital, and transacts in London half its business. It was in the midst of a development so engrossing that the English were called

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back into the circle of European conflicts which since Waterloo they had sought to avoid or to forget.

The lingering authority of the Concert of Europe had presided over the colonial expansion of the nations. While the powers were occupied in partitioning the world they ceased to arouse old quarrels at home, and more or less amicably adjusted their new boundaries in Asia, Africa, and the Pacific. But the failure of the most stupendous project yet imagined—the dividing of China into spheres of influence—checked foreign adventure. Europe was thrown back on herself. Her governments, entangled in confused disputes and indiscriminate ententes, endeavoured by means of independent and secret agreements to gain their several advantages, pushing back general perils and responsibilities to some later time : and the peoples, at the mercy of a secret diplomacy, became involved in engagements, responsibilities, and dangers of which they knew nothing, though they must ultimately assume the burden. While France, England, and Russia pursued their separate and uncertain paths, Germany steadily strengthened the Triple Alliance and determined her own policy. Soon after 1888 William II. received the imperial crown, not, as he claimed, conferred by parliament or popular decisions but by the grace of God only, 1890 Bismarck was dismissed, and the young emperor's romantic, vehement, and versatile nature had full scope. "Germany," said Bismarck, "as a unit is only a new nation ; but the time will come when the German empire will dominate Europe." The Kaiser looked beyond Europe. In emulation of the vastness of British power he resolved that Germany should be not only first among military nations on land, but powerful enough at sea to command a great colonial future. On 1896 the twenty-fifth anniversary of the inaugural ceremony at Versailles he proclaimed that the German empire was now a world-empire : world power and influence, he told his people, were theirs by the will of Providence. "Nothing must henceforth be settled in the world without the intervention of Germany and the German emperor." "My cause is the right one, and I shall follow it." "Those who oppose me I shall dash in pieces." The colonial party determined to outvie the splendours of India. The whole people were united in the sense of their mission, by the supremacy of German thought and German organization, to lead and benefit the nations of the earth. Endowed with energy, resources, and government, trained to the virtues of labour and thrift, educated to fulfil their allotted parts in the great scheme, they followed leaders who never lost sight of a fixed plan of aggrandizement. To the German accepting the rigorous training necessary for his gigantic task the impression of England was one of indiscipline, disorder, and ignorance. "A thing that is wholly a sham," said Treitschke, "cannot in this universe of ours endure for ever." The British empire, some five times as great

as Europe, scattered through the oceans, was a standing outrage to the Prussian sense of organization ; there was no conscript army for its defence, no fiscal agreement, and no unquestioned control, and in a hundred weak points Bismarck foresaw the undoing of the "boastful Englishers, even though German blood rules from the throne." Germany had in view a more compact and scientific dominion. The year after his accession the young emperor William II. visited the Sultan at Constantinople. There he looked out on a new world. In western Asia were lands rich in metals, with oil-wells more abundant than those of Russia and North America, vast forests, and fertile soil which could produce cotton, wool, and wheat. The exploitation of Babylonia and the valleys of the Euphrates and Tigris had been suggested by an English general, Francis Chesney, who surveyed the country for a railway, but English capitalists were diffident, and the project was abandoned. Von Moltke while training the Turkish army advocated the foundation of a protectorate in Palestine, and the day was predicted when German statesmen would be as powerful in the east as Palmerston, Thiers, or Menschikoff. German economists had urged for fifty years the scheme which was to be taken up finally by William II.—a scheme of reclamation equal to any in the British empire. A great railway contract between the Porte and France ended with the defeat of Sedan. The congress of Berlin opened new chances. Confronted with the Christian kingdoms sliced from his territory, Abd-ul-Hamid called in Prussian generals to make him an army. German interests in the Balkans were further advanced when Rumelia and Bulgaria came together in a single principality under Alexander of Battenberg, France and England consenting, and Lord Salisbury's ambassador at Constantinople now deprecating needless references to the treaty of Berlin. The Tsar however in his anger forced Alexander to resign ; and German influence persuaded Bulgaria to elect in his stead prince Ferdinand of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha, officer in the Austro-Hungarian army. Friendship with Turkey was confirmed ; Abd-ul-Hamid, the first Sultan to realize the value of Pan-islamism as a political weapon, and to exploit the spiritual sovereignty of the Caliphate, had led a Mohammedan revival which spread as far as the tribes of the Indian border. Feuds and local disturbances in Armenia were suppressed by massacres exceeding anything registered in the past : some 150,000 Christians perished. Gladstone with a last effort denounced to an indignant England the "Great Assassin" : to the French he was the "Red Assassin." Lord Salisbury, returning to power, threatened the Ottoman empire with extinction under the fiat of divine justice ; English vessels lay in wait at Salonica, Russian at Sebastopol, French at Smyrna, while in words that seemed to threaten war he demanded expiation for public crime. For the first time the

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Sultan could do as he chose unharmed in presence of six great powers so hampered by pledges, by distrust, or by ambitions that no common action was possible. After a new Armenian massacre in Constantinople he turned to forbid the withdrawal from the Turkish empire of Crete—the last relic of Ottoman sea-power since the overthrow of Navarino, the only link with Tripoli and the Mohammedans of North Africa, the chief naval base between Malta and Suez. The powers were called in to prevent the union of Crete with Greece : and when the Greeks declared war, the overwhelming victory of Turkey asserted Mohammedan strength. The memory of Armenian massacres was still fresh when the Kaiser, detaching himself from the universal condemnation of Europe, visited the “Red Assassin” at Constantinople. In Syria he proclaimed himself the protector of Moslem peoples, the immense majority of whom were citizens of the British and French empires, while there was not one under German rule. “May the Sultan and the three hundred million Mussulmans scattered over the earth,” he said at Damascus, “be assured that the German emperor will always be their friend.” It was the beginning of a momentous alliance. Germany foresaw with her entry into Asia Minor “a German Suez Canal,” and German culture in the Orient dominant over the whole Mohammedan world. Prince Ferdinand of Coburg readily gave permission for direct communication through Bulgaria from Berlin to Constantinople, while the Sultan granted a concession to a German company for a railway from Konieh to Koweit, one of the most important routes of his empire. Thus opened the scheme which strategic and commercial experts in Germany had prepared—a scheme as grandiose and more solidly based on fact than the “Cape to Cairo” catchword of Rhodes ; they looked forward to a Bremen, Byzantium, and Bagdad line, an overland route to India, trains for a thousand miles to coal a German fleet in the Persian Gulf, a railway from Damascus to Cairo, another from Angora to Erzerum and Tiflis. Branch lines were to link Constantinople with the Holy Cities of Islam. Russia was threatened on her Caucasian frontier, and Italy in her trade from Brindisi ; while French traders were ousted from Syria, and the traffic from Marseilles endangered. It was intended to emigrate thousands of Prussian peasants to Mesopotamia, and a scientific survey prepared for the irrigation of enormous tracts of land. “If one can speak of boundless prospects anywhere,” said von Bülow, “it is in Mesopotamia.” Throughout the nineteenth century the Ottoman empire had suffered from every incitement to war, international, national, racial, and religious, but a final passion was now added—the competition of the colonizing empires for possession of Asia Minor and Egypt, the lands in which all conquerors, from Alexander to Napoleon, have seen the keys of the world.

England, emerging from the Boer war into a changed world, was led to reverse her attitude to the European powers. France and Russia had been of old the enemy. Extreme bitterness had followed the Fashoda quarrel, and Chamberlain had rudely warned France to mend her manners. "Who sups with the devil must have a long spoon," he had exclaimed when Russia took Port Arthur. Both court and nation had been favourable to Germany; in the seizure of New Guinea Chamberlain saw "an unconsidered trifle of territory," and believed the cession of Heligoland outweighed by "vast advantages"; after the agreement over Samoa he suggested an alliance between Great Britain, Germany, and the United States, as a "potent influence in the future of the world." There began friendly discussions over colonial concessions. The English socialists admired and trusted their German brethren. But there was no real understanding. Germany held back from English advances, lest she should become "the sword of England on the continent." Chamberlain was made to see that he was "biting granite." His programme of fiscal reform and an imperial customs union, and Canada's preferential tariff, roused the suspicion of Germany and brought a threat of reprisals; and a second navy bill practically doubled her fleet. Her hostility was increased when England refused assistance for the Bagdad railway. At this moment the accession of Edward VII. gave the court a wholly new outlook on foreign affairs, and facilitated a reversal of English policy. So long as Lord Salisbury guided English affairs he maintained her "isolation." The Bagdad line was to him primarily a German-Russian matter. One startling innovation he admitted. England still controlled commerce by her carrying trade, her wealth, and her prestige, but France, who before 1870 had been second, sank to the fourth rank, while the United States and Germany stood second and third; it was no longer possible to maintain against all rivals a preponderant English navy on every ocean, and the government secured peace for Australasia by an alliance with Japan, the leading power in the Pacific. Under Mr. Balfour as premier, with Lord Lansdowne as foreign secretary, a revolution in policy was inaugurated, to meet the formidable menaces and the universal fears arising in Europe. Since Waterloo England had held her separate place, aloof from the alliances and disputes of European states; and her naval and military forces had been adjusted to that understanding. With Edward VII. there came a change. By a series of agreements the cabinet gradually reverted to the balance of power in the hope of preserving the European peace. The advances of French ministers to secure English support were no longer treated with reserve, and the first official visit of the new king to Paris led to an understanding with France closer than Palmerston had ever admitted. England, abandoning the system of Castlereagh

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Wild rumours were dictated by anger and suspicion, and lay in men's minds. It was not till over eight years after, on the outbreak of the European war, that it was made known to England how far her honour had been engaged by secret negotiations. When the French asked for an assurance of armed support in case of war Sir Edward Grey had refused a promise, but had admitted the possibility that if war were forced on France the British would rally to its material support: and had authorized secret naval and military "conversations" to prepare for such a contingency, on the condition that these discussions should not pledge or restrict either government.

There could be no doubt that the first and absorbing object of the Liberal government under Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman, with Sir Edward Grey as foreign minister, was peace. The traditional free-trade policy of the Liberals removed a dangerous source of friction with foreign states, and schemes for imperial preference were buried. The grant of self-government to the Transvaal won admiration and sympathy. An agreement with Russia in Central Asia tended to assuage the jealousy which for seventy years had prevented any loyal understanding between the two greatest Asiatic empires. It seemed that with the close of England's isolation the balance of power might again hang fairly equal, and the European concert have its resurrection; and in an exuberance of prosperity and of self-confidence difficulties were overlooked. On the one side was the Triple Alliance of the central states, compacted by thirty years of discipline, with an overpowering military force and a definite policy. On the other side were countries till lately hostile and suspicious, now drawn together by separate and local understandings concerning Africa and Asia, but without any common policy in Europe. The prime minister pointed to the parting of the roads—the broad and easy way to protection, military service, and the degradation of England's liberal institutions; and the path of free trade and larger liberties, leading to peace, retrenchment, and reform. His followers, burning with a long-restrained zeal, and autocratic by virtue of their huge majority, determined to push through their long-deferred schemes of social reform at home, outreaching the projects of any European country. A fervent energy pervaded the incongruous elements of the party—the preponderant body of lawyers in Parliament confident in the power of international law, the liberals believing in open and faithful agreements of the nations but maintaining an avowed distrust of reactionary Russia, the labour party in strong sympathy with German socialists and the international ideal of a "new brotherhood of labour," by whom war would be brought to an end, and whose messages of goodwill carried from country to country would reveal the power of the democracy to purge foreign policy and banish secret diplomacy. But their work for peace was hampered by narrowness of

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outlook and ignorance of foreign history and politics, the flagrant defect of England during this century. Cobbett had once regarded English interest in Greek independence as little but a manœuvre to obtain the advantages of a loan. Cobden and Bright often spoiled their case through overstatement, and Liberals who inherited their tradition were liable to misinterpret both their faults and their merits. Bright, an ardent pacifist, thought that the cause of liberty justified the American Civil war. Cobden was an advocate of naval supremacy, and offered to vote a hundred million pounds rather than see another navy on a level with that of England, since "any attempt of that sort would argue some sinister design upon this country." Mill desired a strong navy, and deplored the Declaration of Paris: "We have put away the natural weapon of a maritime nation," he said, "because we have abandoned the right of warring against the commerce of our enemies." When England proposed retrenchment of armaments, and set the hazardous example of cutting down her shipbuilding, Germany, recalling her struggle with Austria in 1850, replied that an agreement to limit her navy would be another Convention of Olmütz, and the reply was no mere rhetoric: "to ask from an independent power that it should limit its force is to assail its rights of sovereignty on its own territory"—so spoke Bright in 1855. Germany increased the number of her battleships, condemned academic discussions, and made it a condition of joining a Peace Conference at The Hague that there should be no proposal for disarmament. This second Conference, following that called by Nicholas II. in 1899 to mitigate the barbarity of war, accepted the rules of the Geneva Convention of 1864 for relief of wounded and prisoners; sought to protect neutral trade, and neutral lands under an occupying army; and attempted to frame rules for naval war, to form an international prize court, and to create a permanent judicial court of arbitration. Difficulties arose in defining the position of neutrals, in drawing up an accepted code of arbitration and of prize; even in the dubious authority of the Hague conference itself with its forty-four represented states. The South American continent had been taken into the European circle as professing the same civilization; but the great powers who refused to recognize the equality of small nations in debate, still less admitted that their ancient interests could be decided by a casting vote of Ecuador. The New World could not yet, a century after Canning's dream, redress the balance of the Old.

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The prime minister, a dying man, made his last effort for peace by a new reduction of shipbuilding, and by an open letter to the world urging disarmament in the interests of humanity and civilization. Mr. Asquith took his place, and with Sir Edward Grey consistently laboured for peace amid fresh threats of war. The controversy which opened at Tangier passed to the Balkans, and the menace of

European war swung from the western to the eastern Mediterranean. If Morocco, commanding the double routes of the Mediterranean and the Atlantic, seemed twice in the next five years the point of danger, the true centre of peril remained in the Ottoman empire. Austria extolled the mission of the future to open up Asia Minor as a worthy exploit of the German spirit, and received from Berlin help (in spite of engagements with Russia ten years before) to secure a railway through Novi-bazar opening on the valley of the Vardar towards Salonica, the true commercial outlet from the Danube for the whole German world. Serbia, supported by Russia, demanded a compensating railway to the Adriatic. The Novi-bazar project was suddenly replaced by a proposal formally to annex Bosnia and Herzegovina, as a suitable Jubilee offering to Francis Joseph in the sixtieth year of his reign—a conception of kings and peoples worthy of Metternich of a hundred years before. Already Austria and Hungary, alarmed at the growing unity of the Southern Slavs, were looking forward to a punitive expedition and the annexation of Serbia—the Piedmont of the Balkan states, the country which had been the first in revolt against tyranny in 1804, and had won its freedom with less help than any other people of the Balkans. Finally came rumours that at King Edward's visit to the Tsar at Reval England and Russia had proposed the administration of Macedonia by the six powers. The answer to these predatory schemes was the revolution of the Young Turks at Salonica. Reviving Midhat Pasha's famous constitution of 1876, they once more confronted Europe with "the integrity of the Ottoman empire." The German powers, checked for a moment, adopted the policy that Bismarck had pointed out—a Balkan confederation under Austrian leadership. There was a rapid "entente" with Bulgaria, and secret understandings with Roumania and Greece. The Protestant prince Ferdinand had in 1895 made his astute bargain for a possible entry some day into Constantinople by having his son baptized in the Orthodox Greek church; and now throwing off Ottoman lordship, he significantly proclaimed himself Tsar of Bulgaria. Austria formally annexed the provinces she had for thirty years administered. In the general excitement sinister rumours embittered every nation, and extraordinary unrest troubled men's minds. The Kaiser sowed distrust by a statement that in the Boer war France and Russia had proposed to him an alliance against England and had been repulsed. There was a war panic over the arrest of German deserters by the French at Casablanca, until the question was referred to arbitration at The Hague. As the Germans watched the agreements on African questions among the Latin powers of the Mediterranean, and the new cordiality between the Russian and English governments, they recalled the French phrase of "encirclement." The idea of the "circle" closing around

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<p>1910</p> <p>England and peace</p> <p>1911</p>	<p>The grief of England for the death of Edward "the peacemaker," as he was called, intensified the desire for general conciliation. A convention had already met in London to continue the work of the Hague Conference ; and the Declaration of London, which elaborated the Declaration of Paris, was an attempt to define the high-water mark of common agreement in a code of maritime war. The government, faithful to the cause of international right, passed the Declaration through the House of Commons. It was rejected by the Lords ; the Colonial conference was doubtful of its provisions ; the United States, with their enormous coast-line and interests on two oceans, refused their signature. Ten years of effort at The Hague had borne little fruit. Meanwhile the press and the pulpit were pouring out promises of a speedy disarmament and universal peace. A new Japanese treaty provided against the possibility of England being involved in any dispute between Japan and America. The warm reception to the German Emperor on his visit to England ; the amicable arrangement that the Bagdad railway should be given an opening on the Mediterranean and not carried to the Persian Gulf ;</p>

the large colonial concessions to Germany adumbrated in friendly discussions ; the settlement of outstanding disputes in Persia and the Mediterranean—all these encouraged high hopes. Germany, it is true, rejected proposals put forward by President Taft to discuss a system of general arbitration, observing that if a country would not spend enough on armaments to make its way in the world it would sink to the rôle of super on the world's stage. And in England a powerful imperialist opposition challenged the peace party in office, and Lord Roberts declared that "its armed force should be the measure of the nation's devotion to whatever end it pursued" ; called England to recognize in war the road by which, sword in hand, she had climbed to her unmatched eminence, the road by which had gone "all nations and cities that have ever added the lustre of their name to human annals" ; and desired his countrymen to admit the maxims of German statesmen and of General Bernhardt. But in his scheme of a voluntary army, with compulsory training for home defence, no sufficient thought had been given to the problem of the military necessities of England across the seas, nor had there been any effort to meet the practical question of how to adapt the soldier's training to the conditions of the industrial workers at home, to whom the leaders of the movement had no access either by knowledge or by experience. The system was not endorsed by a single responsible statesman on either side, nor by the War Office, who saw in it grave danger to the English army in India and the dependencies. Englishmen meanwhile still concentrated their attention on internal problems, and left European concerns to a foreign office which, in spite of the democratic inrush, had for a generation neither sought to inform the people nor to win their support. When a threat of war sounded once more from Morocco the country was distracted by an internal revolution which astonished Europe with the range and audacity of its movement, national, social, constitutional, and financial, and by an intense preoccupation with home problems, which ministers charged with the European policy had left undisturbed. The French, in spite of their twofold guarantee of the "integrity of Morocco," occupied Fez on the pretext of danger to European residents ; and the answer was a German gunboat, the *Panther*, at Agadir. Germany demanded a full understanding with France on the Moroccan question ; her share in the scheme of compensations arranged in 1904, when the northern littoral of Africa had been divided between France, Spain, Italy, and England ; and a close to the long and discreditable disputes on the Franco-German border in the Congo basin. England entered the lists with the declaration that she must take part in any discussion on Morocco, that she would not stand aside if the cession of the French Congo were asked, nor submit to any German proposal to make Agadir a naval base. The

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fleet, with sealed orders, lay prepared to put to sea; and the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. Lloyd George, announced that at all hazards Great Britain would maintain her place and her commerce among the great powers of the world. The speech exasperated German feeling beyond measure, but once more, as in 1905, war was averted by leaving all direct negotiations to France and Germany. Germany recognized the protectorate of France over Morocco, and in the name of "African equilibrium" obtained in the Congo basin a substantial part of the lands which had been won by de Brazza, the noble champion who had once represented the French ideals of liberty and chivalry. The dispute, sordid in its history and in its close, threw a gloomy light on the course of the partition of Africa which for thirty years had embittered the relations of the European powers. But Africa was no longer the real question between the continental states; and Europe turned from the problems left by the Berlin conference to those which had been bequeathed by the leaders of the Berlin congress, the Prussian Bismarck, the Magyar Andrassy, and the Jew Beaconsfield. National passions were again concentrated on the fate of the Balkans, the blood-stained battle-ground of the rising nationalities and the surrounding empire-builders. There remained the question of Serbia.

Since Bismarck and Andrassy in 1879 had laid the foundations of an alliance by which Germany could use Austria-Hungary as her outpost in the Balkans, the Magyars held the leadership in the Dual Monarchy. Their publicists and politicians claimed that no national culture of Serbs, Roumanians, or Slovaks did or could exist on Hungarian soil, while their men of business were assured of support in breaking every economic effort of the Slavs. Count Aerenthal, the Austro-Hungarian Foreign Minister, seeking a convenient justification for the annexation of Bosnia, connived at and encouraged the notorious high-treason trial at Agram, which dragged on for seven months. Its sequel was the even more scandalous trial of Aerenthal's publicist Dr. Friedjung, which established the fact of an extensive traffic in documents forged in the Austro-Hungarian embassy at Belgrade to discredit the Serbian government, with the complicity of the Legation, and indirectly of its chiefs in the Austrian foreign office. The Croatian constitution was abolished, the charter of the Serb Orthodox Church suspended, the "preventive" censorship imposed, among other harsh measures. Meanwhile in Macedonia the Christian races united to throw off the Ottoman yoke. Caught between Austro-Magyar oppression and the violence and disorder of Young Turk rule, and encouraged by Russia, they banded together in a Balkan League against the Turks—an ill-assorted group in which Montenegro and Serbia hated above all Austria, while Greece and Bulgaria never forgot their mutual distrust and hatred even in their joint assault on

Turkey. The campaign confounded the prophecies of the military theorists. While the Bulgarians were threatening Constantinople, the Greeks entered Salonica, and the Serbs recovered the capital of their mediæval empire. The German powers, whose future plans depended on the destruction of the Balkan League and the military reform of the Ottoman empire under Prussian officers, now saw a Turkey weakened and defeated, and a barrier of Slav states lying across their road. The belief that Russia was marshalling the peoples to drive Austria from the sea embittered the conflict of Teuton and Slav. And in the Balkans national consciousness was excited beyond measure. "The Bulgarian nation has need of three seas," it was said. Greece aimed at Salonica and Kavalla. Young enthusiasts of the "Greater Serbia" read of the Italian war of liberation and took the name of the "Piedmontese Party." But when the Serb army, cut off from the Ægean, entered Albania to win a port on the Adriatic, Austria mobilized to forbid her access to the coast. In the name of peace the powers interfered: Sir Edward Grey presided over a congress in London, and by his spirit of conciliation terms were arranged which Serbia was persuaded to accept. Amid the intrigues of rival empires the Balkan peoples were incited to a second war. The quarrel between Serbia and Bulgaria, envenomed by Austria, broke out in a midnight raid by the Bulgarians. From Vienna, Budapest, Constantinople, and St. Petersburg strife was actively encouraged. Serbians fought in greatcoats supplied by Russians for the last conflict, and had help from French banks; munitions poured from Austria-Hungary into Bulgaria, where the Tsar Ferdinand (who obtained from his parliament in 1912 sole control of foreign policy) had kept up secret relations with Vienna and Budapest in the fond hope of aid to establish his dominion from the Black Sea to the Ægean and the Adriatic. There was a second surprise for the powers. Serbia and Greece, with help of Roumania, stood stronger than before, while Bulgaria was left with an inadequate opening to the sea, and saw the greater part of Macedonia partitioned among her rivals. In this crisis Austria invited Italy to join her in a "defensive" war against the Serbians, and on Italy's refusal the German emperor came to the help of Francis Joseph in drawing up the treaty of Bucharest. Once more a settlement was planned under which no future agreement of the Balkan States was possible. The powers of the entente weakly allowed the treaty of London to be torn up. Adrianople was left once more in the hands of the Turks; Serbia and Greece retained the lion's share of Macedonia; but by the creation of an autonomous Albania under the German prince William of Wied, Serbia was excluded from the Adriatic.

A time of dark confusion followed, massacre, violence, and vengeance. The Tsar Ferdinand rejected the principle of "the Balkans

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for the Balkan people" and the solidarity of the Slavs; if he could gain Salonica, and amicably ensure Austria's road to the sea, he believed Austria would aid him to crush their common enemy Serbia. His cynical *Realpolitik* ended any hope of reconstructing the Balkan League, and small states, all but one ruled by foreign dynasties and all divided by unnational and fratricidal wars, lay at the mercy of surrounding empires. Out of the thickening gloom, a young fanatic of Bosnia stood forth at Serajevo to murder the heir of the Austrian empire, the archduke Francis Ferdinand. Never did guilt precipitate such vengeance and such ruin. The emperor Francis Joseph, with the strong support of Germany, answered by an ultimatum and manifesto to Serbia singularly alike in its charges and in its very terms to the ultimatum he had hurled against Piedmont fifty-five years before. Serbia was given forty-eight hours to accept demands that menaced her existence as an independent state. No time was allowed for diplomacy or mediation of the other European nations. On the declaration of war all the great powers of Europe one after another were swept into the prodigious conflict—driven by powerful ambitions, by patriotism, by panic of final destruction, entangled in the web of old diplomacies, or blinded by the swift uprising of a primæval instinct that machines of death could subjugate the spirit of freedom, or could vindicate honour, chivalry, and justice, notwithstanding that every nation, so long as it had life, would refuse to accept against it as authoritative any decision of war. The incalculable forces which had been revealed in the modern world transcended the measure of statesmen and the inherited traditions of the chancelleries.

Thus the hundred years, which began with the loftiest expectations from a European congress, ended with the hopes of peace utterly wrecked under a balance of powers so hazardous that a chance bomb could overthrow the whole crazy equilibrium and plunge three continents into war. This century too had seen the disappearance of the old belief in Christendom as a commonwealth charged with the highest mission of civilization. A new ideal had in its turn caught the heart of the peoples—the doctrine of nationality—and had fired men with an exalted resolve that, delivered from the abasement of servitude, the nations should be free to carry on the spiritual tradition of their fathers, in religion, in literature, in the shaping of their social life, even in the conduct of their trade for the advantage and uplifting of their own lands. The most democratic call yet heard, it summoned men of every class and degree to give their service to the land and people of their birth, and as it bound the whole community in one purpose of large emancipation, it opened to them wider issues than any industrial struggle to win material advantage for a single class. By reverent memory of ancient human conflicts, by the sense of obligations to an unknown future, imagination was lifted beyond the

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bonds of the present. Democracy as the spiritual union of an entire people was exalted in noble devotion and courage, and in a revelation of intellectual energy ; and through the western half of Europe the cause of freedom had its triumphs and public acclamations. The English people had in the main been the upholders of popular government and the refuge of those under constraint, and in alliance with France had vindicated national liberties. A more disastrous epoch opened after the defeat of France, when nationality became identified less with liberty than with aggression and power. Conditions were greatly altered. Mechanical and scientific discovery had from the middle of the century prodigiously increased the range of the power, and with it the expanding ambition, of man. The material strength of the proprietary dynasties was raised to such a height by the development of military weapons, and by the State control of vast mechanical resources, that no subject people could stand against them in rebellion, nor any small nationality in war. The rights of emperors claiming world-dominion superseded those of European kings, and old ideals lost their value in the mirage of new immensities. Even in England the subtle effect of empire might be seen in accustoming men's minds to the idea of law less as the protection of the subject than as the means of repressing the unruly. Above all, the dynasties were trebly secured in power when the new territorial ambitions passed from rulers to peoples, and nations themselves, intoxicated like the kings with the passion of aggrandizement, abandoned the ideal of liberation for that of dominion, and repeated the violences of the old despots under the plea of national life. The problems of the new age assumed a magnitude and a complexity beyond the skill of statesmen to compass ; the bureaucracies with all their conventional resources failed in their tasks. There followed an age of excitement beyond what Europe had ever seen—the greater States fevered by rivalry and dread, the lesser buffeted between their powerful neighbours. In the passion of the time imperialism and nationalism were set in sharpest conflict. Under the fatal sense of advancing doom the generous ardours of freedom were overlaid by the selfishness of panic and of ambition, and nationalism became the plea for violence, treachery, and hate. So times of war and danger confuse human virtues, and install the instincts of primitive man as the leading forces in human action. To some it seemed that nationalism had “spent its force,” and that the lesser peoples disheartened and exhausted would now learn “the larger patriotism” of empire. But national life, though it has been turned out of its course, will not fail, so deep does it lie in the nature of man. A time of peace and sufficient security is needed for the higher law to assert its power, and for men to find assurance that in the virtue of freedom, and not in the glory of dominion, lies the way of human progress. It may well be that the majesty of empires will

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not foster the highest developments of genius, when men gifted with intellect and energy recognize the discouragement of strength dissipated in boundless extension of space, or broken against the stupendous machinery of government on the imperial scale. Even though the several nations, without experience, knowledge, or habit of affairs, have to hew out their way against old traditions and diplomacies, and may too easily fall on this side or on that, their faith is steadfast. Liberty, and along with it a spirit of international solidarity, or greater still of human fraternity—these together can alone save and develop civilization; and a new concert of Europe will one day establish the principles of loyalty to the nation and “allegiance to humanity.” A hundred years have passed since England at the congress of Vienna ignored the rights of nations. Through a century she has been slowly learning, in a sense that the old Whigs and Radicals but dimly felt after, the power of national freedom as something greater than constitutional reform. For long ages the English people have been winning their own privileges under the protection of an assured national security such as was granted to no other people in Europe. Their history will have its justification when in confident faith of freedom they desire to extend the benefits they have themselves enjoyed; and when with resolution worthy of the matchless opportunities conferred on them, and with knowledge equal to their power, they set the high example of ordered liberty, of national emancipation, and of loyalty to mankind.

“The sympathies of peoples with peoples, the sense of a common humanity between nations, the aspirations of nationalities after freedom and independence, *are* real political forces.”

Feb., 1877.

“The great force which has transformed Europe, which has been the secret of its history ever since 1815, is a political ‘sentiment’—that of Nationality.”

April, 1880.

(Letters of J. R. Green, pp. 447, 480.)

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